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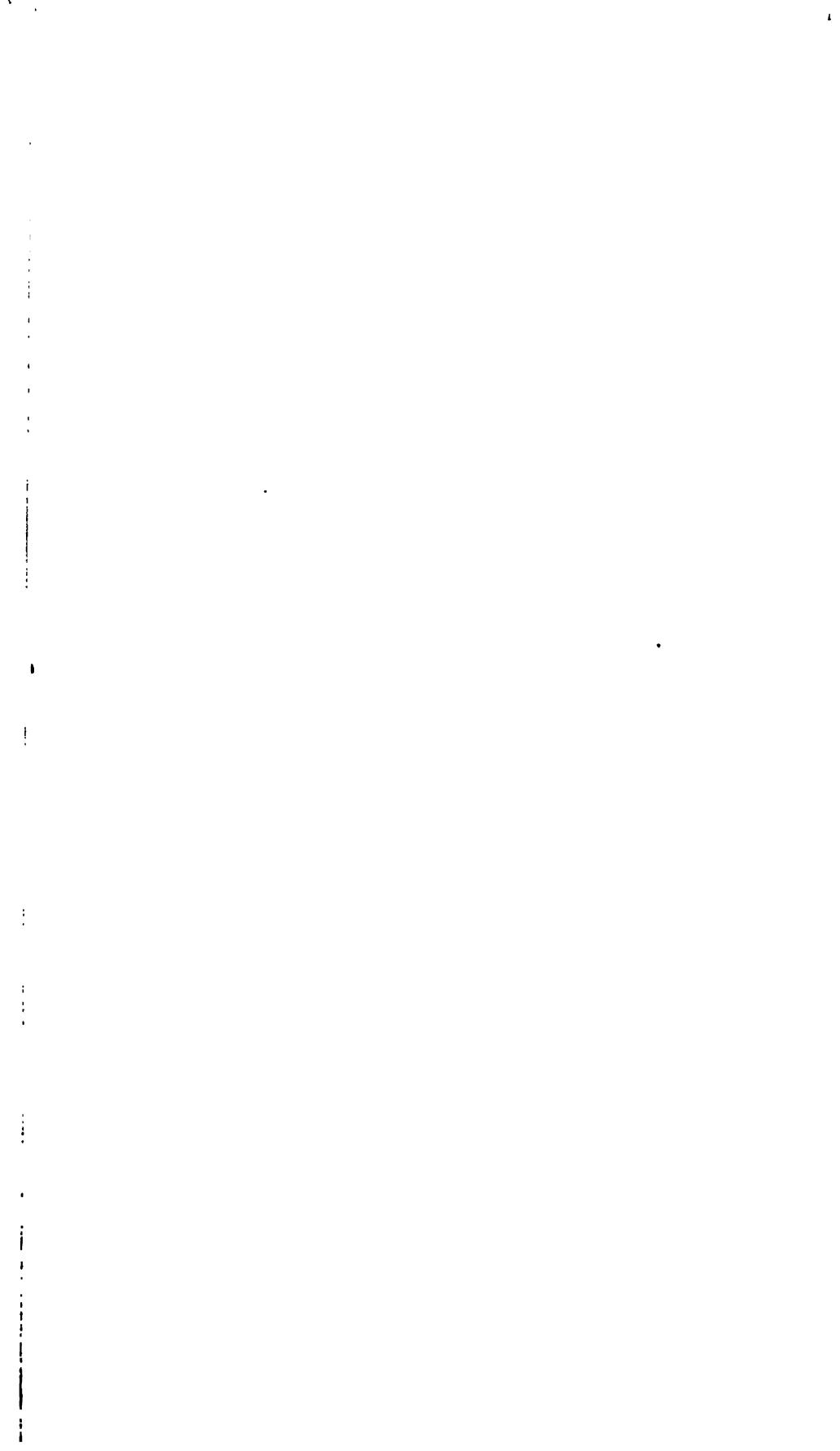
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266
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THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

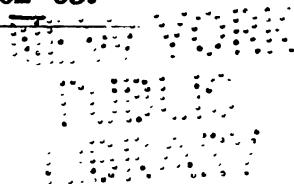
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

London

VOL. IV.

NEW SERIES.

1862-63.

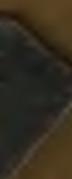


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McGLASHAN & GILL, 50, UPPER SACKVILLE-STREET.

1864.



P R E F A C E.

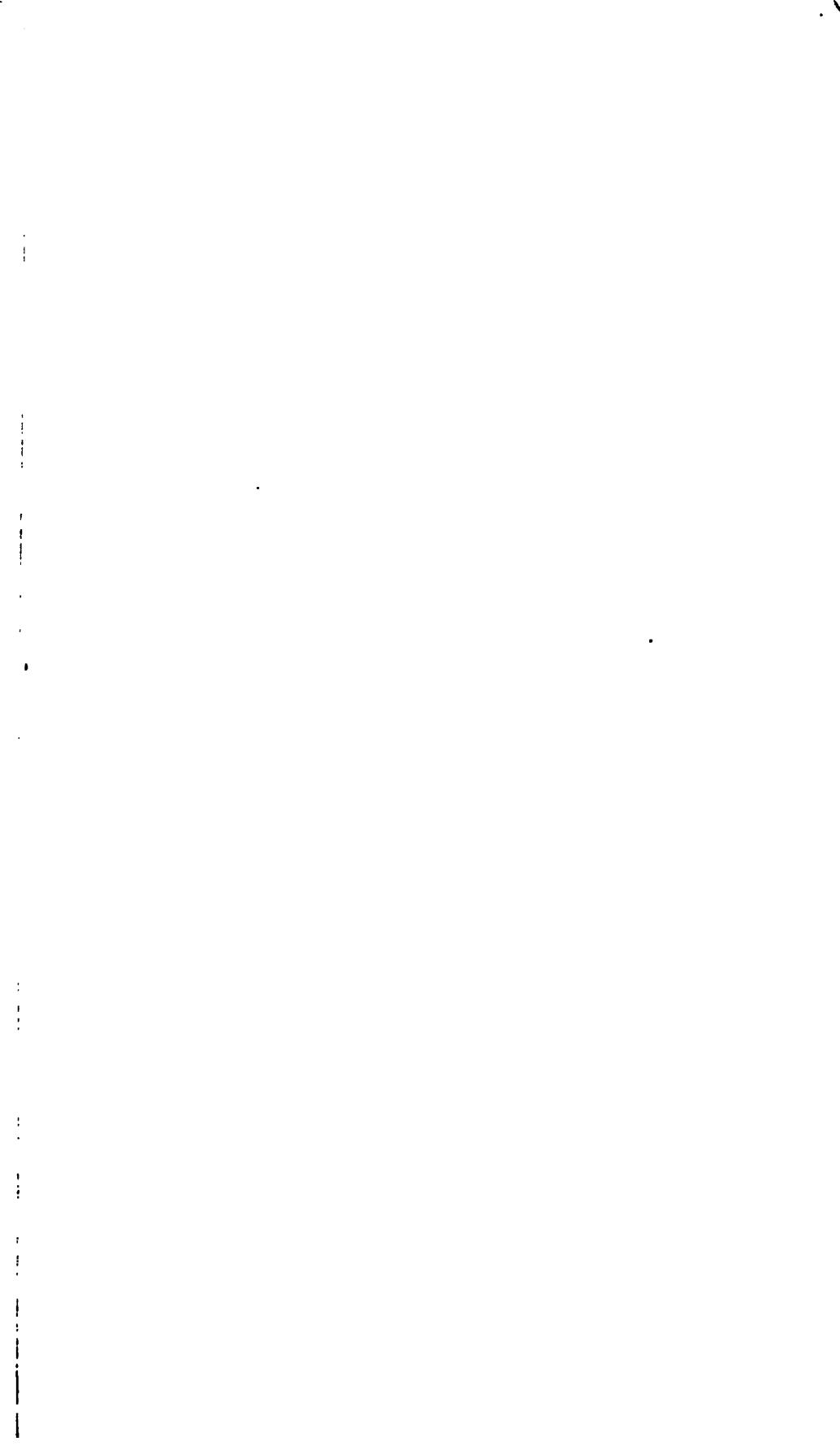
THE completion of the Fourth Volume of the New Series of the Society's "Journal" (the Seventh of the entire issue), brings the Editor again face to face with the Members. It is hoped that the kind indulgence awarded to his former exertions may not be now withheld.

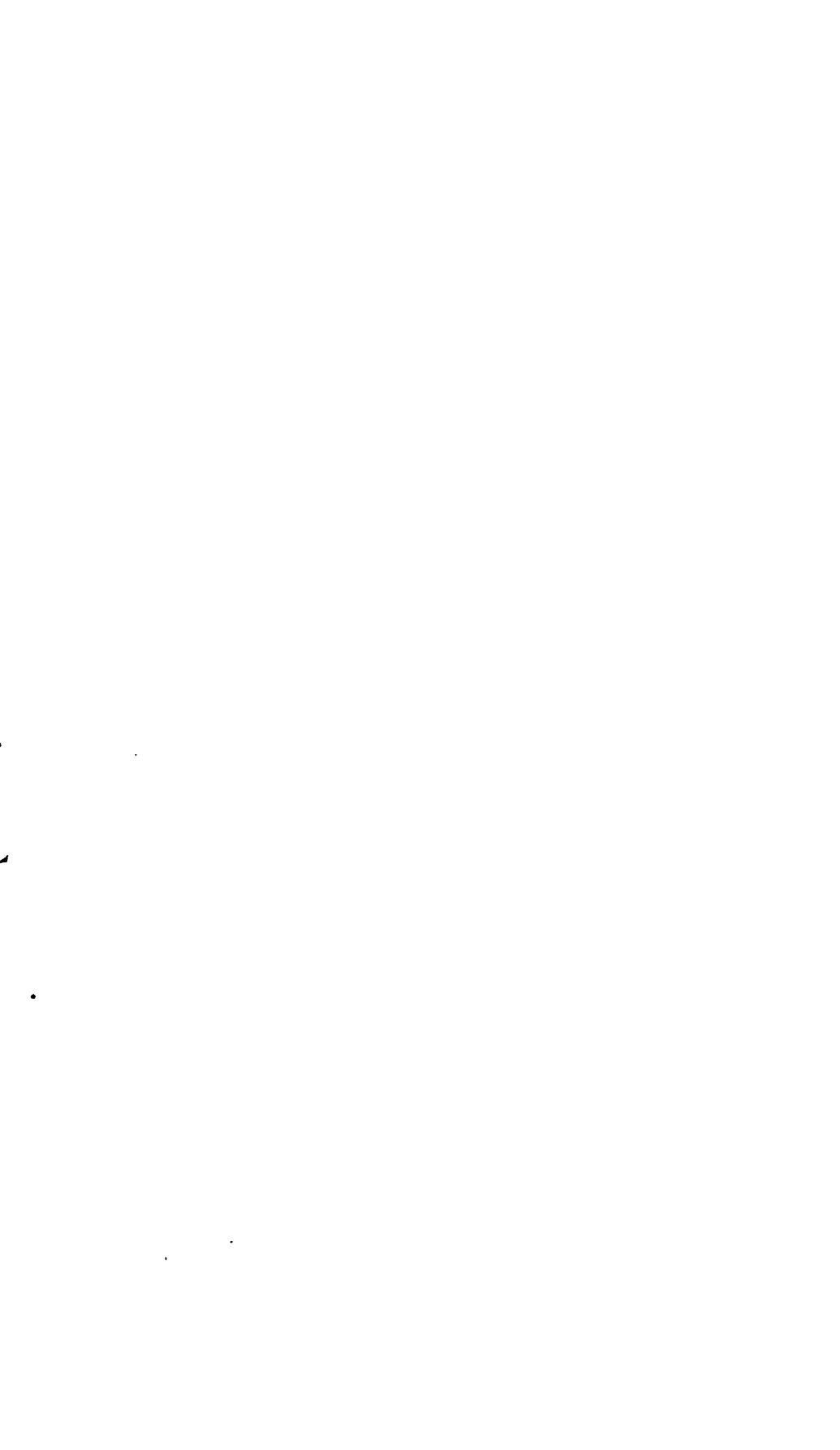
The Contents of the Volume speak for themselves; and the Illustrations, owing to contributions towards the special fund instituted for that purpose, will be found equal if not superior to those afforded on former occasions.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Cambrian Archaeological Association for the loan of two valuable woodcuts of Ogham monuments; to Arthur Gerald Geoghegan, Esq., for his liberality in defraying the entire cost of that portion of his paper on the Early History of Londonderry which appears in this Volume; to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Kildare, for the plate of facsimiles of the Kildare Rental; to Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M. P., for the numerous admirable Illustrations of the Dineley Tour; to the Rev. Samuel Hayman, A. M., for the woodcuts of the Earl of Cork's monument, and of a Tradesman's Token, struck at Youghal;



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Royal





PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1862.

FOURTEENTH SESSION.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Cittie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. IV.—PART I.

NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR MEMBERS ONLY.
1862.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

OF

THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1862.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held in the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January 8th (by adjournment from the 1st), 1862,

PETER BURTCHEL, Esq., C.E., County Surveyor, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Rev. Alfred Lennox Peel, M.A., Arthurstown, county of Wexford: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Lieutenant-Colonel Edward F. Cooper, Grenadier Guards, Guards' Club, Pall Mall, London: proposed by John Maclean, Esq.

Edward Fitzmaurice, Esq., Everton (Queen's County), Carlow; Benjamin Haughton, Esq., North-side, Carlow; Mr. Joseph Francis Lynch, Architect, and Builder, Carlow; Thomas O'Meara, Esq., M.D., Carlow; and Mr. William Whitmore, Shamrock Lodge, Carlow: proposed by Robert Malcomson, Esq.

Captain Leslie, Killybegs, Carrickmacross; and J. C. Burne, Esq., C. E., 61, Harcourt-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Mr. Thomas Alderdice, 4, Broady's-row, Armagh: proposed by John G. A. Prim.

The Report of the Committee, for the year 1861, was brought up, as follows :—

The financial condition of any Society having the most important bearing upon its well-being, your Committee naturally turn to that subject in the first instance; and are happy to report that your Treasurer speaks favourably of the healthy state of the Exchequer. Although not allowing the Committee to boast of much in that quarter, yet the balance

of the accounts for the year 1860 has removed some cause of anxiety from the minds of your Officers. A prompt liquidation of the subscriptions for 1862 is, however, absolutely necessary to enable the Society effectively to carry out the objects of its formation.

As it is usual to count the gains and losses of Members at the end of the year, your Committee have much pleasure in announcing that the list exhibits a sound vitality. During the past year no special efforts have been made to recruit the ranks of the Society. It is, therefore, matter of congratulation that thirty-seven names have been proposed for election; in the same time the deduction for deaths, resignations, and lapses, has amounted to 29. The total number of names now on the list amounts to .616, showing an increase of eight during the past twelve months.

The Third Volume of the new series of the "Journal" will be completed in a few days—thus with the first series forming an aggregate of Six Volumes, which have already taken their place on booksellers' catalogues, at a price considerably above that at which they were issued to our Members. There can be no more conclusive acknowledgment of the value of their contents. As an example of the recognition of the merits of the "Journal" of the Society on the Continent, it may be remarked that a copy has lately been purchased for the Grand Ducal Library of Hesse Darmstadt.

Twelve months have passed since the proposals made by the Committee to the last Annual Meeting were adopted by the Society. Of those proposals two have been carried out. The "Journal" has become a quarterly publication, to the general satisfaction of the Members; and the formation of an Illustration Fund has been crowned with a measure of success, which, although not as great as might reasonably have been expected, yet will tell favourably on the future issue of the "Journal." A series of engravings are in hands, which will appear during the year 1862, and which could not have been undertaken but for the funds supplied by the special contributions. It is hoped that this fund will be further enlarged when members are sending in their subscriptions for the year now commencing. The plan is one that has been found to work with good effect in most, if not all, the English Archaeological Societies, and, although open to some objections, yet is evidently considered by a majority of the Members preferable to a general compulsory increase of the annual subscriptions—an alternative that has been proposed by some sincere friends of this Society.

With regard to the proposition that the Museum and Library should be placed on an independent footing by special local subscriptions, nothing has been done; and perhaps, at this season of partial distress, it would be unwise to take action in the matter. At some more favourable time your Committee hope that this most desirable object may be carried out.

Doubtless the Members assembled at the Annual General Meeting will take fitting notice of the sad event which has thrown our beloved Queen, and the entire empire, into mourning—the death of the Prince Consort. Your Committee take a just pride in reminding the Members that although, in consequence of a rule laid down by the Prince Consort for his guidance with reference to local societies in such matters, our list of Members did not embrace his name, yet his Royal Highness had been

since the year 1855 a Life Member of the Society, having contributed to its funds the sum of £25—five times the usual life composition. That the “Journal” of the Society was deemed worthy of a place in the Prince’s private library is no mean testimony to its merits, when the literary attainments of his Royal Highness are taken into account.

Amongst the losses which the Society has sustained by the death of Members during the past year, your Committee feel they ought to particularise that of Lord Eglinton, who, in accordance with his accustomed patronage of every useful Irish institution, became a Member of the Society when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and so continued till his regretted demise. The Venerable Archdeacon Rowan, an early Member and prized contributor to the publications of the Society, has also during the past twelve months been removed from amongst us, full of years and honours.

Truly death has been busy amongst the great and good; and it is with deep grief, and an overwhelming sense of the loss which Irish historical literature and philology have sustained, that your Committee have, finally, to speak of the calamitous death of John O’Donovan. Prematurely taken away in the midst of his age, and in the maturity and full play of his acquirements and mental powers, Ireland has lost in him an illustrious son, and this Society an early and sincere friend. Sprung from the mingled blood of a race of Celtic chieftains, and of one of the most ancient of our Kilkenny Anglo-Norman gentry, the nature he inherited seemed to have arisen in renewed strength by its passage through a line of ancestors reduced by political changes to be tillers of the soil which their progenitors once owned. Gentle, unassuming, unselfish, John O’Donovan was one of nature’s noblemen. Of his labours in furtherance of Ireland’s national literature there is no need to speak here; but your Committee may be allowed to point with some pride to the valuable Papers which, in the midst of his multitudinous occupations, he found time to contribute to the “Journal” of this Society. However, but a very small part of his interest in its affairs is evidenced by what has appeared under his name in the Society’s publications. He insisted, out of his scanty means, on contributing four times the usual annual subscription required from Members; he was ever the ready referee in all cases of difficulty in editing the “Journal” of the Society, and contributed valuable notes to many papers not bearing his own name as their author; he ever placed his vast knowledge of Irish history, genealogy, and topography at the service of your Officers, and that with a courtesy which almost took away the sense of the obligations conferred.

An effort is now making by an influential committee formed in Dublin to secure Dr. O’Donovan’s MSS. for the nation, by purchasing them for the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; and as some mark of the sense of the loss sustained by this Society, in particular, should be placed on record, it is suggested that no more fitting means to effect this could be devised than a contribution to the fund proposed to be raised for this laudable purpose, especially when it is remembered that O’Donovan’s rare and noble self-devotion to the literature of his beloved native land has left to his widow and orphans no other possession than the claim which his great services to his country have given them on the sympathy of every true Irishman.

The Report of the Committee was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed.

It was then resolved that the Officers, Committee, and Auditors of last year be re-elected to serve for the year 1862.

On the motion of Mr. Robertson, seconded by Barry Delany, Esq., M.D., the following resolution passed by acclamation:—

“ That this Meeting desires to express its deep sense of the calamity which has fallen upon our beloved Queen and the Empire by the death of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, whose care to promote, in all parts of the country, the advancement of literature, led him to give effective aid to the funds of this Society, no less than by the expression of his approbation to lend his exalted sanction to its objects.”

Mr. Prim, in conformity with the suggestion of the Committee, proposed the following resolution—observing that, although £5 might seem a small sum as coming from a society, still when it was borne in mind that each subscriber's annual contribution was but 6s., it would be seen that the proposed donation to the O'Donovan Fund was comparatively a large one:—

“ That this Meeting, impressed with the irreparable loss which Ireland has sustained in the death of Dr. O'Donovan, and desiring to aid the exertions of the committee now formed in Dublin to provide for his family, hereby authorises the Treasurer to contribute £5 to the O'Donovan Fund.”

The proposition was unanimously agreed to.

The Secretary reported that the first volume of the Society's Transactions had been long out of print—the Society having at first issued a very limited number of copies, modestly supposing that the record of their Proceedings was not likely to be ever in such demand as it afterwards proved to be. Very many Members who had subsequently joined were anxious to complete their sets of the Society's publications, but could not obtain the first volume. This being the case, Mr. John O'Daly, of 9, Anglesea-street, Dublin, who had printed that volume for the Society, had offered to produce a reprint, for the purpose of selling it to all who might wish for it, provided the Society would give him permission, and allow him to have the whole profit, he also taking upon himself all risk of loss. The Committee considered that this arrangement would be likely to prove satisfactory, and therefore it was now laid before the Meeting, in order to be considered and decided upon.

The following resolution then passed, on the motion of Dr. James:—

“ That Mr. John O'Daly, of 9, Anglesea-street, Dublin, be authorized to reprint the first volume of the Society's 'Transactions' (for the years 1859, 1860, and 1861), and that he be assigned the sole profit of said re-

print, provided he is willing to undertake said reprint at his own risk and expense, and that the said reprint be an exact reproduction of the original edition, in paper, type, and illustrations."

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society for the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester: their "Journal," part VI., for 1857-59.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archaeology," No. 34.

By the Numismatic Society: their "Journal," new series, No. 3.

By the Cambrian Archaeological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 29; also, "Report of the Swansea Meeting, &c."

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 69 and 70.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Æliana," new series, part 18.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their 8vo. publication, No. 6—"A History of the Parish of Landbeach in the County of Cambridge," by William Keating Clay, B.D.

By the Associated Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester: their "Reports and Papers" for the year 1859, Vol. V., part 1.

By the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. II., No. 6.

By the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire: their "Report of the Proceedings" for 1860.

By the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: their "Annual Report" for 1860-61.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for October, November, and December, 1860, and January, 1861.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 973-86, inclusive.

By the Publisher: "The Dublin Builder," Nos. 25-46, inclusive.

By the Author: "De la Génération Spontanée;" "Nègre et Blanc : de qui sommes-nous Fils?"; both by M. Boucher de Perthes; also "Œuvres de M. Boucher de Perthes."

By the Author: "The Old Countess of Desmond; an Inquiry, did she ever seek Redress at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, as recorded in the Journal of Robert Sydney, Earl of Leycester? And did she ever sit for her Portrait?" by Richard Sainthill, of Tops-ham, Devon; from the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,

Dublin, 1861. This volume excited considerable interest amongst the members present at the meeting.

By Mr. Frederick Jones, Cool, Castlebridge, near Wexford, *per* George Le Hunte, Esq., Artramont: two iron antiques, found on the lands of Cool, about 200 yards from a rath, in levelling an old clay fence. The antiques were found beneath the level of the ground whereon the clay bank stood.

Mr. Graves said these iron things belonged to a very interesting and rare type—at least rare in comparison with the more ancient class of bronze antiques, the indestructible material of which the latter were made having handed them down to us in great numbers. He had sent drawings of the Wexford antiques to Mr. A. W. Franks, of the British Museum, remarking, that, if they were portions of a sword-hilt, they would seem not to have been pierced for the tang of the blade. The following was Mr. Franks' reply :—

" With regard to the antiques of which you have sent me a drawing, they seem to me of the same work as some sword-handles which have been found in England, and which we look upon as Danish. One in the British Museum was found in the river Witham, near Lincoln. The guard arrangement is exactly the same size in your specimens and ours, the ornaments being of gold, silver, and copper, on a hatched ground. May not your specimens have been intended for the hilt of a similar sword, but never finished? The holes for the tang need not have been very large. These swords are so unlike the ordinary Saxon, and resemble so much those found in Denmark, that I do not see why they should not be Danish."

No doubt, therefore, the articles presented by Mr. Jones were intended to form the hilt and pommel of one of that description of swords called with good reason "Danish," of which our museum includes one, and that of the Royal Irish Academy several specimens. These remains were found, be it remembered, close to Wexford, an ancient Danish settlement. They showed traces of heavy plating with gold, attached, by hammering, to a deeply cross-hatched surface; and they were indented with holes in regular pattern, in some of which the remains of a vitreous paste still may be seen. Others probably held jewels; of these latter no traces remained. The Society was much indebted to Mr. Jones and George Le Hunte, Esq., for the presentation of these rare iron antiques.

By Mr. John Reade, Balief: through the Rev. James Mease, a silver sixpence and a copper farthing, both of Queen Elizabeth; the first found at Balief, near the old castle—the latter turned up in digging up an old foundation in the town of Ballinakill.

By Mr. J. J. Murphy: a modern copper coin of the East India Company, value half anna, date 1834, found at Greenridge.

By Mr. J. Hogan: a small octagon-shaped stone, hollowed like

a bowl in the centre, apparently for the purpose of holding holy water. It was found amongst rubbish at the Butts, Kilkenny, and the under part seemed to have been used at some time as a shoemaker's lapstone. On one face was the date 1675: on another, the letters B and L, surmounted by S; on a third, B.C., with some carvings which had been obliterated; and on a fourth, I.H.S., the middle letter being surmounted by a cross.

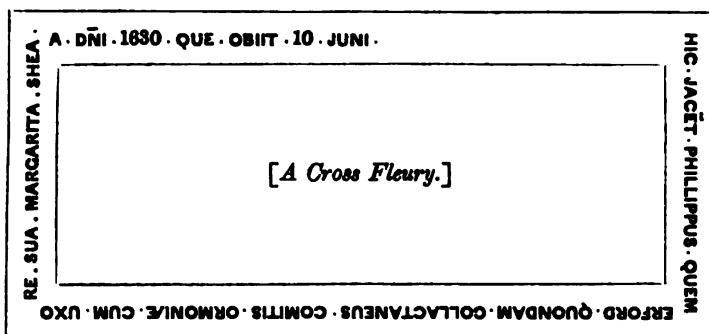
A letter from John Blacket, Esq., J.P., Ballyne, in reply to a communication from the Rev. James Graves, respecting the preservation of the old monuments in Fiddown church, shortly to be disused and dismantled, was read. Mr. Blacket stated that there need be no apprehension of the ancient tombs, or any other interesting remain in connexion with the old church, being treated as "rubbish." Lord Bessborough had been speaking to him recently on the subject, and care would be taken that everything of the kind should be preserved. The chancel of the old church was not intended—as had been stated in the newspapers—to be used as a mausoleum for the Bessborough family, but as a "mortuary chapel" for the use of the parish at large, as the adjoining burying-ground would still be the only place of interment of the parish, as it was not intended to have a burying-ground attached to the new church. Mr. Blacket added that he would be happy to receive any suggestions from Mr. Graves on the subject.

The members present expressed much gratification at the nature of the communication, and the Honorary Secretary was requested to communicate with Mr. Blacket when the proper time should arrive.

The Rev. William Russell Blackett, Liverpool (formerly of Ballyne, Piltown), sent the following most interesting communication, giving the only known example of the fosterage, so common in Ireland, being recorded in a monumental inscription. Premising that the centre of the monumental slab alluded to bore a calvary cross fleury, with two coats of arms sculptured one at each side of its stem, he observes:—

"I find in an old note-book of mine a record of an antiquity that may be interesting to some of your members. I think I never mentioned it before, though I intended to do so, and am not aware that any one else has drawn attention to it. It is a tomb in the church of Ballyneale, a few miles from Carrick-on-Suir, in the county of Tipperary. There are several ancient tombs in the church; but the one I refer to lies near the east end of the north side, within the church, and in contact with the wall. It is an altar-tomb, and bears two coats of arms, which I have thus described:—That on the dexter side is quartered, 1st and 3rd four roses (?) crosswise, within a border fleury.—2nd and 4th a lion passant. The other is divided into six quarterings, being the arms of the Shee family. I am not sure of the correctness of my description, where I have inserted

queries; but it is the inscription which gives its interest to this tomb-stone. It runs, as usual, round the edge of the stone, as follows:—



Ballyneale is not more than four or five miles from Kilcash, where the great Duke of Ormonde is said to have been born. Perhaps you will be able to find out something more of this Philip Comerford, who was so proud of his connexion as foster-brother with the great Duke's grandfather. I am sorry I did not make some inquiries about him while I had the opportunity. Very likely tradition will still hold in remembrance a man so highly honoured.

"I send you this, beside its own interest, to show you that I have not forgotten, nor ceased to care about, the Society I have belonged to so long."

Mr. Prim remarked that, as Mr. Blackett seemed not to be certain about the exact armorial bearings, he should say that what were described as lions passant were more likely to be talbots, or hounds, as such occurred amongst the armorial insignia of the Comerford family. On some old monuments (as in Callan church), apparently through ignorance on the part of the sculptor, mullets were so cut as to more nearly resemble roses. What Mr. Blackett describes as four roses within a border, were probably intended for mullets on a cross engrailed. In one of the editions of Keating's "History of Ireland," the Comerford arms are given as follows:—Quarterly, 1st. gules a talbot passant argent; 2nd and 3rd, azure a bugle horn garnished proper, between three mullets; 4th, gules on a cross engrailed five mullets. However, on the coat of arms sculptured on the Comerford monument, in the parish church of Callan, the charges on the cross were more like roses. The charges on the Callan monument, which seem to resemble the Ballyneale coat-armour, were as follows:—1st and 4th, a talbot passant; 2nd and 3rd, on a cross engrailed five mullets. Crest, on an esquire's helmet, from a coronet a peacock's head issuant. Mottos—beneath the shield, SO HOU HOO DEN; over the crest, VIRTUS VENUSTA. Some of

the Comerfords seem to have borne the bugle horn between three mullets as their arms, as appears by that coat, given in a different edition of Keating from that above quoted. The crest of this last-mentioned coat, is a peacock in his pride, and the motto: so ho ho dea ne. The Comerfords, or Quemerfords, are said to have settled in Kilkenny *temp.* King John, and to have come from Cumberforde, not far from Tamworth, in Staffordshire.

The Rev. James Graves said that the occurrence in Ireland of a Runic inscription was a new fact, if well founded. At all events, the scorings, of which rubbings were laid before a former meeting as occurring in the "Lettered Cave" at Knockmore, county Fermanagh, deserve further investigation; and it is for that purpose they are now again brought forward. It will be remembered that the rubbings alluded to, were carefully made by a member of the Society, Mr. Peter E. Magennis, a schoolmaster under the National Board of Education, who lives at Derrygonnely, near the spot.

Mr. Magennis's description of the mode which he adopted in making the rubbings, was then read as follows:—

"I placed the paper against the inscription, feeling the lines externally, and marking with a pencil. I then rendered the copy legible by drawing a pen over the pencil marks. I regretted, however, I could not supply a copy of all (that I conceived to be) ancient inscriptions in the carving, because of modern markings in the cave—visitors from time to time writing their names, &c. The rock (*knock*), containing the inscription, is considered a curiosity, and is often visited as such by gentry, and even in summer by the surrounding peasantry. It is limestone, and has a perpendicular face of about half a mile in length, though convex-shaped. It would take a stone about four seconds to descend it; but a well-wooded, and generally verdant-mantled, declivity reaches from the foot of the perpendicular surface, for about a furlong, to the valley below. The cave containing the inscription, is not in the *face* above described, but in the *summit* of the rock. The latter consists of a green sward, containing several mounds; and in the face of one of these mounds, in a retired spot, in a romantic, fairy-like situation, is the 'Lettered Cave.' At the foot of the mountain (on the side nearest the 'Lettered Cave'), are traces of ancient habitation—two forts (one very large); and in the vicinity, also, a valley among mountains, containing 'Giants' Graves,' as the peasantry denominate them."

The Secretary also read the following remarks from Professor George Stephens, one of the best authorities on ancient Northern Runes, in reply to a letter of the Rev. James Graves, submitting to him Mr. Magennis's rubbings, for his opinion. The diagram on next page represents what the Professor considered to be undoubted "wild runes," reduced to one-fourth the size of the originals:—

"The Honorary Secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society

having very kindly forwarded to me drawings of the various marks and lines carved on the walls of the 'Lettered Cave' at Knockmore, I have examined the same with great interest and attention. I can only come to one result respecting them. They have exactly the same character as the scribbles made by the Northmen in other similar places visited by them.

"The scribbles are 'Wild Runes' and 'Bind Runes.' Many of them are mere scratches; others are as evidently intended to be read, and could



be read now, if we knew the then well-known words, or formula intended. But this we do *not* know, and therefore, in my opinion, shall never be able to decipher them. This is so much the more the case, as later hands have added to the original carvings. The knots or twist ornaments are also of the Scandinavian type, and the whole is doubtless Scandinavian work, probably of the tenth or eleventh century.

"GEORGE STEPHENS, F.S.A.

"Cheapinghaven, Denmark, Dec. 16, 1861."

Mr. Magennis also communicated the discovery of a primitive corn-rubber or crusher, beneath the surface of the ground, in his neighbourhood.

Mr. R. Malcomson, Carlow, sent a well-executed photograph of an ancient fictile vessel, found at Ballybit, Lisnevagh, county Carlow; it was accompanied by the following communication, addressed to the Rev. James Graves:—

"I send you a photographic representation of an ancient fictile vessel, recently discovered on the lands of Ballybit, in the barony of Rathvilly, in this county, part of the estate of Colonel Kane Bunbury, of Moyle. The photograph was taken by Mr. Matthew W. Rowe, of this town (Carlow). I also send a cutting from the 'Carlow Sentinel' newspaper, of the 23rd of November, 1861, containing an accurate description of the discovery, from the pen of the late talented editor and proprietor of that journal, Thomas H. Carroll, Esq. (an esteemed Member of the Society), to which a melancholy interest is attached, as being probably the very last emanation of his pen; for, before the number of the journal which contained

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Sepulchral fictile Vessel, found at Ballybit, in the county of Carlow.

the brief sketch of the urn went to press, the writer had been suddenly taken away by an attack of apoplexy. There is a peculiarity about the ornamentation of this vessel, which it may be well to remark. In the accompanying plate, engraved from a photograph, a kind of criss-cross scoring is shown: the other side of the antique is ornamented in a more regular and careful manner, by a series of chevron markings, of which the ends appear overlapping at each side of our engraving. Finding that he had not space for another set of chevrons, the potter, with his sharp stick, rudely crossed in the marks we have engraved. This example serves to show the danger of ascribing fictile vessels of a rude character to an earlier period than those more regularly ornamented, as here we have an example of both kinds of ornaments on the same vessel. The height of the original is 5 inches; greatest circumference, 16 inches; circumference at mouth, 13½ inches; at base, 7 inches;—weight, 23½ ounces. As intimated in the notice, the vessel has been presented by Mr. Lynch to Colonel Bunbury, by whom it is greatly prized; and by whom, no doubt, it will be carefully preserved for the information of those curious in such matters. The following is Mr. Carroll's account of the discovery:—

"On Tuesday last, while Thomas Eddy (known in this county as "the Cornish Miner") was engaged by Mr. Joseph F. Lynch, builder, cleaving stones at Ballybit, on the estate of Colonel Bunbury, he discovered, under a granite boulder, weighing nearly two tons, a cinerary urn, in a state of perfect preservation, about four feet from the surface. It resembles, in shape, the frustum of a cone, accurate in its proportions. It stands on a flat stern or base, two inches in width, presenting the appearance of an elegantly formed bowl, with three projecting ribs upon the extreme surface. It is covered with curvilinear and vertical scorings, displaying, as a whole, a curious and elaborate specimen of ancient pottery—older, if not contemporaneous with the earliest discovered remains of Etruscan Art. It has no flange, like those discovered in 1853 at Ballon Hill,—engravings of which may be seen on reference to [the "Transactions" of] the Kilkenny Archaeological Society [vol. ii. p. 200, first series]. It stands six inches in height; its circumference at the top is fifteen inches; but we have no evidence to show, when discovered, that its contents indicated the result of a process of cremation, although, when the interior was examined with a microscope, it appears that some fine ashes were encrusted on the bottom of the urn. It was formed of the best brick clay, moulded by the hand, and then properly baked; and it is now as sound and fresh in its appearance (without a flaw) as it was when it left the hands of the ancient Celtic potter—possibly two thousand years ago. It is intended by Mr. Lynch to present it to the landlord, Colonel Bunbury. In the neighbourhood of Ballybit, and on the same estate, may be seen a cromlech, of hexagonal form, rudely carved at the top. It was noticed, together with the cromlech at Browne's Hill, some sixty years since, by the celebrated Captain Grose, in the *Antiquities*, and is worthy of a visit. We cannot avoid stating, that the students of primæval antiquity should be thankful to such men as Eddy for the careful preservation of such ancient remains of Celtic Art, as they tend to throw a light on the domestic history of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland."

A hope was expressed by several of the members present, that Colonel Bunbury might be induced to place this interesting relic in the Society's Museum, at least for a time.

Dr. Delany exhibited to the meeting an interesting printed document, being a copy of "The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially communicating Martiall Affairs to the Kingdom of England," No. 229, from Thursday, August 2, to Thursday, August 9, 1649. It was a small 4to, in the interest of the Long Parliament; and its "leading article" was intended to correct the rumours put afloat by those "who wish ill to this Republic, as they joy in Ormond's successes," in representing that Dublin was likely to be taken by the nobleman alluded to, before the succours sent from England, under Colonels Reynolds and Venables, could arrive. The matter of greatest local interest contained in it was, however, a narrative of "The Transactions of the Nuncio in Ireland, from first to last, drawn up by himself." This was a succinct account of Rinuccini's proceedings in this country, but the source from which it was derived is not stated. Referring to the excommunication fulminated in Kilkenny against those who were for the peace, it is observed: "Hitherto the Councell [the Council of the Confederate Catholics] had borne it selfe with some respect towards the Catholick Church, rememboring the clemency used by the Nuncio, in delivering some of them from prison; but upon this last excommunication, they so threatened him, that he was forced to go privately from Kilkenney to a castle [what castle, unfortunately, is not stated], where Preston, by order of the Councell, following, he fled to Galway, and call'd there a Nationall Councell to pacifie the troubles of the kingdome."

Dr. Delany also exhibited drawings of a silver bowl, stated by the draughtsman, John Carter, F.S.A., to have been an Irish race-bowl, then (time not stated) in the possession of a Mr. Browne. The following arms—a chevron between three griffins' heads, impaling, per chevron, three storks' heads—occurred amongst the designs, which were otherwise Chinese in character.

The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent the following account (to be followed by the other counties of Ulster) of the manuscripts and drawings relating to the county of Down, preserved amongst the Ordnance Survey volumes, now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy:—

"In the Catalogue of the Topographical collection of the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, the following list of MSS. is found, relating to the county of Down:—I. Names from Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution.—(See Ulster Volumes, i. and ii.) II. Extracts.—(See page 33; also, see Common Place Book C.) III. Letters, one volume. IV. Inquisitions, names of places; extracted from. V. Name Books, 67. VI. Name Sheets, 69. VII. Memorandums, one volume. VIII. County Index to Names on the Maps, one volume. IX. Memoir Papers.—(See detailed

list annexed.) X. Sketches of Antiquities, 22. I shall now proceed to a more detailed description of the contents of these different MSS., in the following *Catalogue Raisonné*.

"1. *Names from Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution.*—Being referred to the two folio volumes of the Down Survey of Ulster, for the matter connected with the county of Down, it may be necessary to premise, once for all, that these volumes contain copies of Sir William Petty's Down Survey, the originals of which are preserved in the Record Office, at the Custom House, Dublin. A portion of the original volumes was consumed by fire. Vol. i. contains matter referring to the county of Antrim (pp. 1 to 154); an Index to the barony and parish names of the county, on two unnumbered pages, precedes; matter referring to the county of Armagh (pp. 158 to 182), including an Index to the barony and parish names of the county (p. 158), and a letter afterwards inserted (pp. 59, 60), written by John B. Fowler, dated Record Office, Custom House, December 4th, 1834;¹ matter referring to the county of Down (part), pp. 9, 10, and Index thereto (p. 1); matter referring to the county of Cavan (pp. 186 to 235), including an Index to the barony and parish names of the county (p. 186); matter referring to the county of Donegal (pp. 239 to 277), including an index to barony and parish names (p. 239). This volume contains many blank leaves, which are numbered on alternate pages only: the matter referring to the counties of Antrim and Down is contained on large sheets, which fold into the volume, and are paged and written on both sides of each leaf. The contents of these several sheets, for the most part, comprise boundaries of the parishes, description of soil, castles, churches, mills, houses, improvements, villages, &c., natural features, denominations of townlands, proprietors' names, number of acres by admeasurement, divided into those profitable and unprofitable, &c., respecting the several parishes. On each sheet we find the signatures of William Hayes and John O'Donovan, usually stating that it had been compared with the sheets of the Down Survey, and occasionally that it had been compared with the Book of Survey and Distribution. The dates range from 7th of November, 1833, to the close of the same year. The matter referring to the counties of Armagh, Cavan, and Donegal, is not near so valuable as what precedes; for the most part, it presents a dry list of names of baronies, parishes, and townlands in each of the last-named counties. There are a few notices, written here and there, by the copyist. Although mostly written on both sides, in many instances, alternate leaves are only numbered. Many of the latter leaves are, however, only written on one side, and paged in a corresponding manner. The whole of this First Volume of the Down Survey of Ulster numbers 277 marked pages. Vol. ii. contains

¹ In this letter it is stated by the copyist, that the names of the townlands of the county of Armagh were taken from the Reference Sheet and Map of the Down Survey. He adds: "so great a portion of which was destroyed by the fire, that I was obliged to give copies of such parishes as were imperfect from the Book of Survey and Distribution, or else the deficiency would be very great; all

of which I have carefully compared, and marked the difference in the orthography." Mr. Fowler also remarks, that "the very dirty state of the Armagh volume rendered it much more tedious" than the last county he copied—he does not say which county he refers to—and that his time was much occupied in making the necessary comparisons, whilst using the burned volume.

matter referring to the county of Down (pp. 1 to 51), preceded by an Index to the barony and parish names of the county, and a letter from Mr. Fowler to Lieutenant Larcom, Royal Engineers, the present Under-Secretary for Ireland, and formerly the able and efficient Superintendent of the Irish Ordnance Survey;¹ matter referring to the county of Fermanagh (pp. 54 to 70), including an Index to barony and parish names of the county (p. 54), and an 'extract of a communication from Mr. Fowler, who copied the annexed list of names from the Down Survey' (p. 55);² matter referring to the county of Londonderry (pp. 78 to 137), including an Index to barony and parish names of the county (p. 78); matter referring to the county of Monaghan (pp. 138 to 177), including an Index to the barony and parish names of the county (p. 138), and a note from Mr. Fowler to Lieutenant Larcom, headed Record Office, 17th February, 1835 (p. 139);³ matter referring to the county of Tyrone (pp. 181 to 202), including an Index to barony and parish names of the county (p. 181). The counties of Down, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, contain lists of the denominations of the baronies, parishes, and townlands simply, with a few marginal explanations of the copyist, referring to burned places in the originals, to Vallancey's map, to Down Survey Map, &c. The counties of Londonderry and Tyrone are more valuable, as containing a vast deal of descriptive matter, relating to their several parishes, and written on large sheets, folding into the volume. A reference to what has been already said on the subject of the county of Antrim, and part of the county of Down, as found in the first volume of the Down Survey of Ulster, will give the reader to understand the nature of the information contained under the heading of the counties of Londonderry and Tyrone in the second volume. The church lands, the forfeited and unforfeited lands, in their several parishes, is also an additional feature of interest for the archaeologist.⁴ The last mentioned sheets are

¹ This communication is headed, Record Office, Custom House, January 7th, 1835. In this letter it is also remarked: "Some of the maps of county Down are so soiled, that it was with the greatest difficulty the proper orthography could be ascertained." All the deficiencies caused by the fire were supplied from the Book of Survey and Distribution, so far as the county Down was concerned, as stated in this note.

² This extract states, that the names of all the denominations of land that were set forth in the Down Survey of Fermanagh county were compared with the map; "and whenever there was the slightest difference in the orthography, the names were entered both ways." This extract is signed, J. B. Fowler, Record Office, Custom House, 3rd October, 1834.

³ Mr. Fowler here says: "Accompanying this note are the names of townlands of the county of Monaghan,

carefully revised and corrected as before; the reference sheets of this county are burned very much; the maps are not only much burned, but the parts remaining so much defaced, that I was continually obliged to refer to Vallancey's for the situation of the lands, before I could find it on the D. S. map. All names that were burned in the reference, I supplied, if possible, from the D. S. map; but if destroyed in both, I made good the deficiency from General Vallancey's maps, which are the next best evidence extant. Monaghan is by far the most troublesome county I have abstracted as yet, notwithstanding which, I trust all will prove correct and satisfactory."

⁴ Besides these notices, the names of the lessees of land are often given, with their respective races (English or Irish), and their religion (Protestant or Papist), as the occupiers are severally designated.

written on both sides, and, for the most part, paged in a corresponding manner.¹ The leaves on the county of Down are written and paged only on one side; the leaves on the county of Fermanagh are written on both sides, but only paged on alternate sides; the leaves on the county of Monaghan are sometimes written on both sides, and sometimes on alternate sides only, being invariably numbered on alternate pages. A few blank pages intervene, in this Second Volume. I have been thus particular in describing the contents of both volumes, and the nature of the information likely to be found therein; as well to illustrate the special MS. matter bearing on the county of Down; as also to spare the reader, for the future, the necessity of occupying his time, by more than a mere reference to the present paragraph, when treating of the several counties of Ulster.

"II. *Extracts and Common Place Book C.*—There is no separate volume of Extracts from printed and MS. sources relating to the county of Down; but the excerpts or transcriptions bearing on this subject are included in the Common Place Book C. Once for all, I shall, therefore, give a brief summary of the contents, and a short description of this volume. It contains, in the first place, a "Glossarium Topographicum Hibernicum, collected from printed books and MSS., especially from the following works:—1. 'A Glossary of the Irish Language,' by Cormac Mac Cuilinnain, King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel, who was born in 831. (See Ann. Inisfal.) 2. 'The Annals of Tigernach,' Abbot of Clonmacnoise, a man worthy of the highest historic credit. 3. 'The Annals of the Four Masters,' published by the Duke of Buckingham, vol. i. 4. The Second Volume in the same Annals, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. 5. 'Usher's Primordia,' printed in 1639. 6. Colgan's Works, printed in 1645 and 1647. 7. 'O'Flaherty's Ogygia.' 8. 'Keating's History of Ireland,' vol. i., published by William Halliday of Dublin, in 1811, and Second Volume MS. 9. 'Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.' 10. 'A Glossary of the Irish Language,' compiled by Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Annalists of Donegal, and many others too numerous to be here particularized," by J. O'Donovan. This compilation is contained in 208 exceedingly close but beautifully and clearly written pages, in the Irish and English character, and in Mr. O'Donovan's rounded and legible style of writing. The labour of composition must have been immense, for the Irish words are all alphabetically arranged; then their meanings in English are given, with illustrations from printed and MS. sources postfixed; besides accurate references to the several authorities, and to authors whose words are quoted in Irish, Latin, and English. So far as this Glossarium goes,—and it is really extensive,—it gives us reason to hope, that the learned author will be found to have inserted each word and its corresponding meaning and derivation in the forthcoming inestimably valuable Irish Dictionary. Next follows

¹ As in the former volume of the Down Survey of Ulster, most of the sheets referring to the county of Tyrone, thus particularized, are signed by William Hayes and John O'Donovan, these gentlemen having compared the copies with the

originals, about the close of the year 1833. The county of Londonderry sheets are not thus signed, but contain explanatory remarks, in pencil characters, in Mr. J. O'Donovan's clear and elegant handwriting.

in the volume, 'Index Locorum to the Life of St. Patrick, published from the Book of Armagh,' by Sir William Betham. This is transcribed in eleven pages by Mr. O'Donovan, and the places are all arranged in alphabetical order, with references to the original volume. Next in succession, we find an 'Index Locorum to Dubourdieu's Statistical Survey of the county Down,' also in Mr. O'Donovan's handwriting, in fifteen pages, and the names are arranged in alphabetical sequence. An 'Index to Hardiman's Antient Irish Deeds,' in twelve pages of localities, and transcribed in the Irish character by Mr. O'Donovan, with reference to the pages of Vol. xv. of Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. The proper names of places are all alphabetically distributed, with occasional explanatory pencil traces by the learned copyist. There are seven pages of proper names of individuals, with references to illustrative authorities, in alphabetical order, and in the Irish character; but the alphabetical letters are not duly arranged. An 'Index Locorum to that part of Archdall's Monasticon which treats of the county Down,' in fourteen pages. An 'Index Locorum to the Ecclesiastical Annals of the diocese of Down,' four pages. An 'Index Locorum to Adamnan's Life of Columba,' seven pages. An 'Index Locorum to Magnus O'Donnell's Life of Columbkille,' six pages. All of these Indices are alphabetically arranged, and all in the handwriting of Mr. O'Donovan. References to the originals are given throughout, with occasional notes and references to aid the topographer and archaeologist. I need scarcely remark, that, so far as the county of Down was concerned, the compiler had the principal share in all the investigations in either capacity, whilst engaged on the Irish Ordnance Survey. The Common Place Book C. is closely ruled, and the writing follows the ruled lines, but it is not paged; and hence the writer of this paper was obliged to count the separate pages, that were filled in the MS. The reader, therefore, must be left to imagine of what especial use the several parts of the volume are to the local historian and topographer of the county of Down.

"III. *Letters.*—The County of Down Letters are comprised in a medium-sized quarto volume of 122 pages, with an appendix, containing 'Vita Sti. Congalli, Abbatis,' in 23 additional pages.¹ The first is dated Belfast, March 15th, 1834, and commences at page 1; the second, Belfast, March 18th, page 4; the third, Lisburn, March 19th, page 7; the fourth, Lisburn, Friday, March 21st, page 10; the fifth, Lisburn, March 21st, page 14; the sixth, Lisburn, Hertford Arms, Saturday, March 22nd, 3 o'clock P.M., page 18; the seventh, Moira, Wednesday, March 27th, page 23; the eighth, Dromore, Iveagh, Good Friday, March 28th, page 30; the ninth, Dromore, March 29th, page 37; the tenth, Dromore, March 30th, page 40; the eleventh, Hillsborough, March 31st, page 43; the twelfth, Banbridge, April 2nd, page 46; the thirteenth, Banbridge, April 4th, page 50; the fourteenth, Banbridge, April 5th, page 53; the fifteenth, Newry, April 10th, page 56; the sixteenth, Newry, April 13th, page 63; the seventeenth, Rathfriland, Sunday, April 14th, page 66; the eighteenth, Rathfriland, April 15th, page 69; the nineteenth, Rathfriland, Tuesday, April 15th, page 72; the twentieth, Rathfriland, April

¹These letters were lately indexed, and they are now preserved in the Library of the

Royal Irish Academy, where they are accessible to the student.

16th, page 75; the twenty-first, Hilltown, April 17th, page 79; the twenty-second, Rathfriland, Friday morning, April 19th, page 82; the twenty-third, Castlewellan, April 20th, Saturday, page 86; the twenty-fourth, Castlewellan, April 21st, Sunday, page 89; the twenty-fifth, Castlewellan, April 23rd, Tuesday evening, 6 o'clock P.M., page 92; the twenty-sixth, Downpatrick, April 24th, page 96; the twenty-seventh, Downpatrick, Sunday, April 27th, page 99; the twenty-eighth, Downpatrick, April 28th, page 102; the twenty-ninth, Downpatrick, April 29th, page 105; the thirtieth, Downpatrick, April 30th, page 107; the thirty-first, Downpatrick, May 2nd, page 110; the thirty-second, May 6th, page 113; the thirty-third, Newtownards, Tuesday, May 7th, page 115; the thirty-fourth, Newry, Sunday, May 12th, page 118; the thirty-fifth, and last letter, dated Saturday, May 16th, 1834, page 121. Afterwards follows a large-hand trace by Mr. O'Donovan, who wrote all the foregoing letters. In this trace the barony of Mourne is given, with the names of its various mountains and other features, in both the Irish and English character. It is exceedingly valuable for the purposes of the antiquarian and topographer. The Life of St. Comgall is in contracted Latin, and extracted from the valuable vellum MS. in Marsh's Library, classed V 3.1.4. Many of the leaves in the County of Down Letters are foolscap folio, and are folded into the volume. It will not be necessary, for the present, to endeavour to give even a summary of the contents of these letters, which treat solely on the local features, scenery, antiquities, &c., of the county of Down.¹

"IV. *Names of Places, extracted from Inquisitions.*—These are contained in a series of loosely bound foolscap folio leaves, 66 in number. These leaves are only written on one side, and not paged. The names of the different places in the county of Down run in double columns on each of these leaves; and opposite the names of places, with their *aliases*, are the dates of the years at which they are mentioned in the printed 'Inquisitionum Cancellariae Hiberniae Repertorium,' vol. ii., Ultonia, under the heading 'Down.' Thus, the first page contains the names of places in the barony of Ards, and commences with Ballynesky, *alias* Archerstown, 1636.² There appears to have been no exact classification observed in this compilation, either as to placing the names in alphabetical order, or in consecutive dates as to the years. Each leaf, on an average, contains 48 names of places; a few only of the leaves not being filled up in both columns, or only containing a single column. These leaves are titled on the paper cover, 'County Down Names, extracted from the Inquisitions in Ulster (but not yet identified).' W. Mooney, 1836. This signature and date allow us to infer that the copyist in question, or any other per-

¹ It must be observed, that the letters referring to the counties of Ulster, in a general way, are not so valuable for the purposes of the Irish historian and antiquary as those relating to the counties of the other three provinces of Ireland. This was mainly owing to a want of perfection in the early arrangements of the Survey Office in the primary organization of the staff. The Ulster counties were amongst the first surveyed, and

hence the want of extracts, at more length, to guide the local investigators in the objects of their inquiry. The deficiency, however, in a great measure, is supplied by the many interesting Memoir Papers in the Ordnance Survey collection.

² These leaves are beautifully and legibly written, and with a marked degree of accuracy, few erasures or additions of letters being observable.

son, had not undertaken to compare or identify the names of the several places with the designations of localities found in the Name-books, Name-sheets, &c. Hence, then, the only special value attaching to these leaves is the collection of names and dates being presented in a more available form for purposes of historical reference to each, than will be found in the printed volume of Inquisitions referring to Ulster. But, all the names and dates contained in these leaves will, of course, be found in the published Ulster volume, to which allusion has been made.

"*V. Name-Books.*—These books are 67 in number, and are separately bound in vellum covers. In shape and size they resemble small block receipt-books, and contain, severally, from 20 to 50 leaves. Each of these books usually contains the names of the several townlands in each parish of the county; the name of the parish and No. of the book are marked on the back of each book; and an alphabetical index of each townland in that particular parish is contained on the fly-leaf, with reference to the page, containing notices of that particular townland. The townlands are given in the same alphabetical order from the first to the last page, excepting always the name of the parish, which usually gives a denomination to one of its townlands. In such instance, the parish denominational townland is first in order, on the first or second page. Alternate pages are only numbered in those books. In some instances, when the parish is of great extent, and the names of townlands numerous therein, two of these books are devoted to its illustration. These books were amongst the first prepared in the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park, but were only partially filled up there; the staff employed on the local survey being required to furnish further particulars to complete information they were destined to afford for the purposes of the engraver, antiquary and statistician. They were also adapted in size and shape to be easily carried about in the pocket; and hence, by members of the surveyor's staff, they were often denominated 'field-books.' The writing contained in them is by various hands, but in each instance elegantly and accurately executed. In all cases, Mr. O'Donovan gives the correct Irish or English name of each parish and townland in the Irish and English character, with his initials, J. O'D., postfixed; hence, then, I believe he is almost solely responsible for the orthography of every single name on the Ordnance Survey Map of Ireland.¹ Thus, although the Name-books are small in size, yet, being closely written on each page, they contain a vast amount of matter, which would be of especial interest for memoirs of the several parishes in each county of Ireland.

"To give the reader a general idea of the plan on which these Name-books are constructed, it must be observed, that the first opened page is alone numbered, and contains three separate columns, under the several headings:—1. *Received Name.* 2. *Orthography.* 3. *Authority.* On the opposite page are two columns, under the separate headings:—1. *Situation.* 2. *Descriptive Remarks.* Let us take, for instance, the parish of Aghaderg, thus described on 1st and 2nd open pages of Name-book 62.

¹ It may be observed, that when the present contribution had been prepared for the pages of the Society's Journal, in the first instance, this most distinguished

Irish antiquary and scholar was living, and in the enjoyment of perfect health. Now, alas! the nation mourns his premature and irreparable loss.

Received Name.	Orthography.	Authority.	Situation.	Descriptive Remarks.
Aghaderg Parish, generally pronounced A'gh-a-der'-rig. (Correct). at degnig Red-ford (local). Aghaderg. J. O'D.	Aghaderg, . . 1 Ahederg, . . 2 Aghaderg, 3 3 Aughaderg, . . 6 Aghaderick, 10 Ahaderig, . . 8 Aughaderg, . . 4 Aghaderg, . . 5 Aghaderrick, 7 Ahaderig, . . 23 Aghederrig, . . 9 Aghaderrig, . .	Boundary Survey or sketch. Vestry Register, Wm. Little, A.B., Williamson's Map, 1810. Antient Patent, 1610. Dubourdieu's Survey of Down, 1802, page 302. From Newry Tele- graph, 22nd June, 1880. Do. do., 13th Feb., 1820. Sleater's Civil and Ecclesiasti- cal Topography, 1806. Atkinson's Tour and Survey of Ireland. London, 1822. Vol. I. p. 305. Dr. Kennedy's Map of Down, 1755. Sir Wm. Petty's Map, 1654.	It is bounded on the north by the pa- rish of Tul- lylish, east by Seape- trick, An- cione, and Drumbally- roney, south by Newry lordship & Donaghmore parish, and on the west by the co. of Armagh. For further particulars, see General Remarks.	This parish contains 13,919 acres and 30 yards. The village of Loughbrickland is si- tuated near its centre; the latter contains the parish church, and a neat R. C. chapel, late- ly built. There is a Presbyterian meeting- house near north side of Lough-breac-lan, from which the town derives its name of Loughbrickland. The villages of Scarva and Poynings are on the western side; and at each the remains of the old fortified keep is visible. The Newry Canal runs through both villages. There are a few, but nearly exhausted, bogs. Coals (sea-borne) are procur- able from Newry.

" Then, on the open pages, numbered 3, follow the like notices of the townland first given in the alphabetical list of the townlands of this parish. On the top of the page, Mr. O'Donovan has given the Irish name in the Irish character, and its English rendering in the following manner —bot beinéit, Bennett's booth, hut, or tent.

Received Name.	Orthography.	Authority.	Situation.	Descriptive Remarks.
Bovennet Townland, generally pronounced Bo-vén-net. (Correct). Bovennett. J. O'D.	Bovene t . . . Bovennet, . . 1 Bovinett, . . 2 Bovennet, . . 3 Bovenit, . . 6 Bovennett, . . 4 Bovenit, . . 7 Bovennet, . . 8 Bovenet, . . 5	Vestry Register, 1754. Boundary Survey sketch. Vestry Register. Wm. Little, A.B., T.C.D. Williamson's Map 1810. Newry Telegraph, 22nd June, 1880. Map of Down, 1763. Vestry Register, 1747. Freehold Register Sept., 1830.	In the baro- ny of Upper Iveagh, and near centre of Aghaderg parish; bound- ed on the north and west by Legananny, on the south by Greenan, on the east by Drumahare and Loughbrick- land, and on the north- east by Col- nacran.	This is entirely a hill, rising abruptly from the south boundary, which winds through a deep valley. The town of Loughbrick- land is partly situated on the east side; and the road thence to Scarva runs through its centre, over the summit of the hill, which is good soil and well cultivated.

" VI. *Name-Sheets*.—They are 68 in number, with various loose sheets, in a brown paper cover, which has marked on it the following title—'Correspondence, &c., concerning the names of Places, Antiquities, &c., in the County of Down.' All the Name-sheets are bound in blue paper covers,

and are merely transcripts of the matter contained in the Name-books, with some trifling changes and omissions, and an arrangement somewhat different. The sheets are all large folios in size, and unpaged. The headings that run across two pages of the Name-books only occupy one leaf of the Name-sheets; the opposite leaf is blank, or contains occasionally a pencilled note of Mr. O'Donovan, usually under his initials. The simple name of the parish and townland is given, under the heading 'Received Name.' The matter, as found under the other several headings in the Name-books, is retained; and, in addition, under the heading, 'Orthography,' we have added, in neatly designed characters, traced by the pen, the name of the parish or townland as laid down on the Ordnance Survey Map, on the authority of Mr. O'Donovan. Under the heading 'Authorities,' and the matter afterwards transcribed in the column designated, we have traced, in characters similar to the former, the words, 'Ord: Map.' Under the heading 'Situation,' we have printed, in like manner, the word 'Sheet,' or 'Sheets,' with the number referred to; and this addition is found at the bottom of the boundaries of the several townlands transcribed. These townlands are usually found described on each leaf. Thus it will be seen, that in practical value, for purposes of reference, these Name-sheets differ little from the Name-books. It must be remarked, that the Name-sheets are beautifully written, and the traced matter elegantly and carefully executed. This was the joint work of Messrs. J. S. Sharkey and W. Mooney.¹ It must also be observed, that the Name-sheets were compiled before the engravers commenced their portion of the work. The loose sheets containing the 'Correspondence,' &c., are in Mr. O'Donovan's handwriting, and are ranged on the printed name-forms. This correspondence contains exceedingly valuable matter for the purposes of the local historian, as all available authorities and orthographies have been consulted by the laborious and researchful compiler regarding names of the old historical places in the county of Down. Under the heading 'Descriptive Remarks,' we have extracts from printed and MS. sources, in Irish, Latin, and English, bearing on the names and history of the several places. These sheets also contain a MS. translation of the charter of Newry, with notes, by Mr. O'Donovan². There are a few loose notes addressed to Colonel Larcom, on the subject of the Ordnance Survey, by gentlemen living in the county of Down, and other written fragments, scattered through the loose sheets of this 'Correspondence.' They appear to refer more properly to the volume entitled 'Memorandums,' and it is probable they were overlooked or not discovered at the time the volume in question was bound. The Name-sheets, including the 'Correspondence,' &c., form a bulky mass of matter; but many of the sheets are blank, or only partially covered with writing.

¹ Mr. Sharkey was formerly chief clerk in the Ordnance Survey Office, and Mr. Mooney was assistant. The former died over twenty years ago, and the latter is at present chief clerk to the Board of Works, and brother to Mr. Joseph Mooney, the present efficient and intelligent chief clerk of the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park.

² The "Charter of Newry" has been published by Mr. O'Donovan, with an introduction and fuller notes, not contained in this MS. See "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. i., No. 13, pp. 102 to 104, for an interesting article on this subject. However, the MS. contains matter, not found in the "Dublin Penny Journal," under the heading—"Notes."

"VII. Memorandum.—The MS. thus designated is a medium-sized quarto volume of 297 pages. It is filled with notes and scraps of writing, in various hands, from different places and of different dates. It contains also two different plans on tracing paper. The notes and letters, pasted into the volume, have reference to the settling of the orthography of several places in the county of Down. An Index of three pages, in double columns, prefixed, contains the names of all the places alluded to in the volume, with corresponding pagination. More than one-half the leaves paged are blank. There is much descriptive local information on the county of Down contained in this volume, and ascertained by surveyors, resident gentry, and others, connected with the various localities of the county.

"VIII. County Index to Names on the Maps.—This is a folio volume, and, like all of its class, much used by the clerks of the Ordnance Survey Office. It contains on each leaf, in three separate columns, *first*, a list of the several townlands; *secondly*, in parallel lines, the name of the barony in which each townland is situated; and *thirdly*, the name of the parish to which it belongs. The leaves are 76 in number, and written closely on each side, but not paged. Each alternate leaf is covered with pasted slips of paper; and numerals occur, either referring to areas of townlands under land and water, or position on the Ordnance maps.

"IX. Memoir Papers.—By referring, as directed, to the detailed list annexed, I find that the following memoirs are to be found in the library press, shelf 5, of the Ordnance Survey Office, relating to these several parishes of the county of Down, as numbered and alphabetically arranged in the order here given. I shall endeavour to supply very brief descriptive particulars of the respective memoirs:—1. Aghaderg. ‘Statistical Remarks on Aghaderg Parish,’ E. 21. This memoir contains 15 closely written folio foolscap pages, and, on the last page, is signed George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 20th Oct., 1834. It gives the names and pronunciation, situation, boundaries, extent, townlands, and particulars; hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, villages, churches and places of public worship, mills, communications, social economy, local government, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, fuel, remarkable events, chief proprietors, farms, con-acre, manure, occupation, customs, and antiquities,

¹ Included in this parcel of Memoir Papers there is a sheet containing, in alphabetical order, the names of the several parishes in the county of Down, stating by whom surveyed, and from whom the respective memoir papers were received. It appears from these lists that, in all cases, the surveyors of the respective parishes were also the receivers of the Memoir Papers. Thus, Lieutenant Bennett surveyed Aghaderg, Annac lone, Clonallan, Donaclo ney, Donaghmore, Dromara, Dromore, Drumballyroney, Drungath, Garvaghy, Magherally, Maralin, Newry, Seapatrick, Shankill, Tullylish, Warrenpoint. Lieutenant Bordes surveyed Annahilt,

Blaris, Comber, Drumbeg, Drumb o, Dundonald, Hillsboro’, Hollywood, Kil lany, Kilmood, Knockbreda, Lambeg, Magheradrool, Moira, Newtownards, Saintfield, Tullynskill. Lieut. James surveyed Clanduff, Drungooland, Kil broney, Kilcoo, Kilmegan, Kirkeele, Ma ghera, Tyrella. Lieutenant Rimington surveyed Ardglass, Balloo, Ballyboys ‘beg’ and ‘more’, Ballyculter, Ballymas canlan, Bright, Carlingford, Down, Dunsfort, Inch, Kilclief, Killyleagh, Kil more, Loughan Island, Rathmullen. Saul. Lieut. Tucker surveyed Ardkeen, Ardquinn, Ballyhillip, Bangor, Castle buoy, Donaghadee, Grey Abbey, Kil linchy, St. Andrew’s, Witter.

of the parish. Under the latter heading, we have two drawings of a section of the Danes' Cast, and a section of Lisnagade Fort. 2. Annac lone. A paper headed 'Annac lone Parish,' E. 18. It contains ten foolscap folio pages;¹ and on the last page is signed George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Engineers, 25th Oct., 1834. It treats of the name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, geology, towns, public buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, local government, dispensaries, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, and townlands, of the parish. 3. Anahilt Parish. This paper has no distinct heading, further than what is here given, and contains eight pages, without any signature. It contains an interesting tabular 'Examination of the Parish of Anahilt, by Mr. Weir, Hillsborough, 1831,' in townlands, giving the number of houses inhabited and uninhabited; buildings, families in occupation, how employed; inhabitants, males, females, total; classes of agriculturists, manufacturers engaged in retail trades and handicrafts; wholesale capitalists, clergy, clerks, labourers (not agricultural); servants upwards of twenty years of age, male and female, total; remarks, &c. All this tablet refers to the year 1821, county cess of the spring of 1834, of the various townlands, a tabular statement of detailed amount, areas, and remarks. Then follow various statistical and social observations, under the heading of the various townlands. 4. Ardglass. A paper headed 'Statistical Memoir of Ardglass Parish, Co. Down,' containing nineteen pages, and signed on the last page T. H. Rimington, Lt. R. Engⁿ Dec. 12th, 1834. The contents are name, locality, extent, contents, hills, lakes, mineral and hot springs, bogs, woods, coast, climate, botany, zoology, public buildings, piers, gentlemen's seats, antiquities, early improvements, local government, dispensaries, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, fairs and markets, grazing, men servants, cattle, planting, seaports, coast fishery, ecclesiastical summary, table of schools, county cess, and coast-guard. This paper also contains a loose sheet, furnished by Mr. Ogle of the customs, on the imports and exports of Ardglass and Killough, in this parish, containing the various items, under the years from 1827 to 1834, and in a tabular form. In it are also twenty loose pages of letter paper, containing a variety of useful matter for a local memoir, written by Doctor Smyth, of Downpatrick; and at the end is written, 'To be continued.' 5. Ballee. A paper headed 'Statistical Memoir of Ballee Parish, Co. Down,' containing fifteen pages, signed on last page T. H. Rimington, Lt. R. E., Dec. 15th, 1834. It contains name, locality, extent and contents, cultivation, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, climate, botany, prevailing names, local government, dispensaries, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, emigration, remarkable events, productive economy, fairs and markets, grazing, cattle, planting, antiquities, population, table of schools, ecclesiastical summary, table shewing the half-year's county cess of the various townlands, of the parish. This paper also contains a loose folio sheet by Mr. Waddell, tithe commissioner, descriptive of the soil of the various townlands; and another sheet by the same,

¹ All the Memoirs in this parcel are understood to have been written upon foolscap folio paper, unless when other-

wise expressed. Hence, it will not be necessary to repeat the observation, on referring to the several papers.

giving the names of the proprietors of the various townlands, the tithe paid, and whether under the Composition Act. It likewise contains nineteen letter-paper pages, written by Dr. Smyth, of Downpatrick, and embraces a variety of useful information for a local memoir. A number of loose sheets, of various sizes, are also tied up with this paper; and these sheets embrace a vast deal of statistical matter, connected indifferently with the parish of Ballee and Down parish, and Down county. 6. Ballyboys, 'beg' and 'more.' This paper has no further special heading, and only contains one tabular page, furnished by C. A. J. Gilmore, under the headings—townland name, pronunciation by the inhabitants, proprietor, agent, size of farms, length of leases, rent paid, value to the county cess, remarks. 7. Ballyculter. No further special heading; six tabular pages of statistical matter, in loose sheets, by Mr. Waddell, tithe commissioner; Mr. James Reid, civil assistant; and Mr. Laing. 8. Ballymascanlan. Do.; three tabular pages of statistical matter, on loose sheets, by C. A. G. Conroy, Corporal W. Campbell, C. A. A. M'Lachlan. 9. Blaris. A paper headed 'Statistical Return of Blaris Parish,' E. 6; contains three pages, signed F. W. Bordes, Lieut., Royal Engineers, 16th November, 1833. It embraces situation, extent, boundaries, proprietors, soil, agriculture, hills, woods, bogs, rivers, canals, streams, roads, fuel, inhabitants and towns. Besides, in this paper are to be found twenty-four pages, stitched together, but disjoined from the foregoing matters, and titled, 'Memoranda of Blaris Parish.' It treats, under various marginal headings, of the parish of Blaris—soil, mountains and hills, woods and plantations, bogs, marshes, and wastes; lakes, rivers, rivulets, canal, agriculture, tithes, mode of collection, state of feeling against their collection; cess, average rent of land, crops, enclosure, labourers, implements, cattle, mills, grazing, orchards, gardens, bees, &c.; market towns, nearest export town, inhabitants, names, emigration, principal occupations, religion and places of worship, if divided into parties and factions; dress, food, drink, fuel, industry, hospitality, longevity, manners, customs, traditions, proprietors' names, income, seats, &c.; manufactories, geology, minerals, and town of Lisburn. 10, 11. Bright and Rathmullan. A sewed small quarto book, and a few loose-written sheets and printed forms, referring to both those parishes, are found within the cover. The information here contained was chiefly collected by Civil Assistant Matier, and embraces statistical matter. 12. Carlingford. Two leaves or fragments, and a small sewed book, are under the cover: all these contain statistical matter referring to the parish, except one of the fragments, giving Irish derivation of the name in the Irish and English character. 13. Clonallen. One quarto leaf, written on both sides, giving statistical matter referring to the different townlands of the parish. 14. Comber. A valuable paper entitled, 'Comber Parish, E. 17, Memoir.' It contains twenty-four pages stitched, and eleven pages loose. It is under the following headings, viz., geography or natural state, name, locality, natural features, natural history, topography or artificial state, embracing a great variety of statistical matter in tabular form and otherwise, and antiquarian matter referring to the old church of Comber, with six beautifully executed drawings of old tombs and their inscriptions; productive economy (rural); extract from population report for 1831. The loose papers are a letter from John

Andrews, dated Comber, 27th June, 1834; tabular list of the population of townlands, males, females, total, and various statistics. 15. Donaghcloney. A paper headed, 'Statistical Remarks on Donaghcloney Parish, E. 2,' nine pages, signed at the end George A. Bennett, Lieut. Royal Engineers, 20th Oct., 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, rivers, bogs, woods, towns, buildings, churches, bleach-greens, mills, &c.; communications, habits of the people, schools, linen, townlands, with their pronunciation; proprietors, soil, situation, leases, &c. 16. Donoughmore. A paper headed, 'Statistical Remarks on Donoughmore Parish, E. 31,' seven pages, signed, George A. Bennet, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 3rd Nov., 1834. It includes name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, geology, towns, buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, townlands, of the parish. 17, 18. Downpatrick and Killyleagh. Under the cover thus titled, are fifteen pages, folio and quarto, in loose sheets. They contain an almost illegibly-written letter, in pale ink (signature undecipherable to the reader), reports by Dr. Buchanan on hospitals, dispensaries, &c.; and a variety of statistical matter, in the folio sheets. 19. Dromaragh. A paper entitled 'Statistical Return of Dromaragh Parish, E. 4,' seventeen pages, signed on last page G. A. Bennett, Lt. R. E., 22nd Nov., 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, uncultivated ground, geology, villages, public buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, local government, poor, schools, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, divisions and townlands. 20. Dromore. A paper headed 'Dromore Parish, E. 1,' eight pages, signed on the last page George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 29th October, 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, geology, towns, gentlemen's seats, manufactories and mills, communications, antiquities, local government, dispensaries, schools, religion, townlands. 21. Drumballyroney. No special heading for this paper of fifteen pages, signed on last page George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 31st Oct., 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, geology, name and locality, buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, scenery, social economy, poor, schools, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, townlands, table of schools, with a rough sketch and section of Ballyrony mound. 22. Drumbeg. A paper headed 'Statistical Report of Drumbeg,' three pages, signed at the end F. W. Bordes, Lieut. Roy. Eng. It contains situation and extent, soil, hills, woods, plantations, bogs, marshes, wastes, lakes, rivers, streams, roads, agriculture, produce, manufactories, inhabitants. 23. Drumbo. A paper entitled 'Statistical Return of Drumbo Parish, E. 12,' four pages, signed at the end F. W. Bordes, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 31st Oct. It contains situation, boundaries, extent, soil, hills, plantations, bogs, villages, streams, rivers, roads, agriculture, population, manufactories, antiquities; attached are two beautiful pen-and-ink sketches of the round tower in Drumbo parish, and the cromlech in the Giant's Ring, in same parish. There are, besides, eight leaves detached, referring to the various townlands in this parish and their statistics. 24. Drumgath. A paper headed 'Drumgath Parish, E. 40,' eight pages, signed on the last page George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 23rd Oct., 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs,

woods, geology, towns, buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, local government, dispensaries, poor, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, townlands and schools. 25. Dundonald. A paper, headed 'Statistical Return of Dundonald Parish, E. 30,' seven pages, signed, F. W. Bordes, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 29th Oct., 1834. It contains geography or natural state, name, locality; natural state, topography or artificial state, trades and occupations, table of schools, the people or present state, social economy, productive economy (manufacturing or commercial), productive economy (rural). 26. Dunsfort. A paper entitled 'Statistical Memoirs, Dunsfort Parish, Co. Down,' twelve pages, signed at the end, T. H. Rimington, Lieut. Roy. Eng., Dec. 15th, 1834. It comprises name, locality, extent, contents, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, climate, botany, zoology, towns, public buildings, gentlemen's seats, antiquities, prevailing names, local government, dispensaries, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, emigration, productive economy, fairs and markets, grazing, farm servants, cattle, planting, bogs, sea coast, coast fishery, population, ecclesiastical summary, observations on the tides made at coastguard's station from 7th to 22nd June, 1834; county cess, for half-year to end 1st of March, 1835. Besides these, there are eleven pages of loose letter-paper, containing a variety of useful information regarding this parish. They are without signature, but, I think, in the handwriting of the Dr. Smyth of Downpatrick, already alluded to. 27. Garvagh. A paper headed 'Garvagh Parish, E. 15,' eight pages, signed George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 29th Oct., 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, waste grounds, woods, geology, buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, productive economy, divisions. 28. Hillsborough. A paper, without further title, containing six pages, on the townlands and statistics of this parish, and a loose sheet, dated Lisburn, 11th Nov., 1834, signed Arch. M'Lachlan, civil assistant. 29. Holywood. A paper entitled 'Statistical Return of Holywood Parish, E. 29,' eighteen pages, signed at the end F. W. Bordes,¹ Lieut. Roy. Eng., 29th Sept., 1834. It contains geography or natural state, name, locality; natural features, natural history, topography or artificial state, trades or occupations, dispensaries, schools, the people or present state, social economy, productive economy (manufacturing or commercial), productive economy (rural), townlands, tabular 'Enumeration of Holywood Parish, taken by Mr. H. Pallen, jun., 1831, county cess valuation.' There are also seven pages of letter and note paper in the handwriting of Arch. M'Lachlan, civil assistant, and Thos. A. Larcom, Lieut. Roy. Eng., referring to this parish. 30. Inch. There are five loose pages, folio and quarto, referring to this parish. They contain the antiquities relating to Inch Abbey, and statistical parochial matter. 31. Kilclief. Three quarto pages and a hand-trace of the parish, with pencil notes inscribed thereon. The letters are signed T. H. Rimington and Henry Leslie, containing a few items of statistical and local matter. 32. Killyleagh. Under the cover are six small loose pages, entitled 'Statistical Queries for part of Killyleagh Pa-

¹ From a peculiarity in writing the first initial of Lieutenant Bordes' name, I cannot be certain whether the letter is designed for T. or F.

rish, by R. Campbell, C.A.' 33. Kilmore. Under the cover are ten quarto loose pages, entitled 'Part of Kilmore, by J. Mulholland, civil assistant.' The contents are statistical matter, under the heading of the various townlands of the parish. 34. Kilwood. Three pages of statistical matter, in tabular form and otherwise. 35. Knockbreda. A paper headed 'Knockbreda Parish, Statistical Report,' seven pages, signed on last page under an additional printed extract, pasted on fly-leaf, F. W. Bordes, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 31st May, 1832. It contains situation and extent, soils, hills, woods and plantations, bogs, marshes and wastes, lakes, rivers, streams, roads, coast, agriculture, produce, manufactories, inhabitants, manners, customs, population, extracted from 'Belfast Commercial Chronicle,' 21st Sept., 1831. 36. Loughinialand. Contains four loose pages of statistical matter, in tabular form and otherwise. 37. Magheradrool. No other heading. This paper contains ten pages of statistical matter, under the heading of the various townlands of the parish. 38. Magherally. A paper entitled 'Statistical Remarks on Magherally Parish, E. 14.' It contains seven pages, and is signed at the end George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 25th Oct. 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, geology, towns, buildings, manufactories, roads, antiquities, poor, schools, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, townlands. 39. Moira. Loose uncovered leaves, in three pages, containing statistical matter referring to this parish. 40. Newry. Under this cover are ten pages of MS., under the heading, 'Town of Newry,' containing churches, bank, court-house, exchange, market-house, hotels, theatre, bridges, barracks, concert-room, bridewells, penitentiary, hospitals, employment, markets, materials for building, conveyances, harbour, pilots, tides, trade, repair of vessels, naval stores, watering, harbour improvements, fishing, butter market, schools, hospitals, mendicity, charitable bequests, savings' bank, insurance companies, government, character and manufactures of the town, butter-crane note, 1835. A lithographed report of John Rennie, dated London, 29th June, 1835, relative to local improvements, and the following printed papers:—'Rules and Regulations to be observed by the Masters of all Vessels entering the Newry Navigation,' 'Tolls payable to the Newry Navigation,' 'First Report of the Newry Workhouse and Mendicity,' &c.; 'Newry Mendicity Association,' 'Tenth Report of the Newry Mendicity Association,' and 'Plan for a Poorhouse in Newry.' There are, besides, various papers and printed extracts, in a number of loose sheets, referring to the statistics of this parish. 41. Newtownards. Under the heading 'Newtownards Parish, plan No. 6,' is found statistical matter, in six pages, referring to this parish. Besides, there are two beautiful pencil-sketches of Newtownards old church, from N. E., and the ruins of Movilla Abbey from the W. end. 42. Saintfield. Under the heading 'Saintfield Parish,' are fourteen loose pages of statistical matter referring to the parish. 43. Saul. Without any other special heading, are found seven loose leaves of statistical matter relating to this parish. 44. Seapatrick. A paper headed 'Statistical Remarks on Seapatrick Parish, E. 19,' nine pages, signed at the end George A. Bennett, 4th Nov., 1834. It contains name, locality, townlands, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, towns, bleach-greens, manufactories, mills, communications, antiquities, scenery, agriculture, principal proprietors, religion, schools,

poor, habits of the people. 45. Shankhill (Kilmore townland, parish of Shankhill, county of Down). Under the heading, within brackets will be found three pages of statistical matter referring to this townland, and signed George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 29th Oct., 1834. 46. Tullylish. A paper entitled, 'Statistical Remarks on Tullylish Parish, E. 22,' eleven pages, signed at the end George A. Bennett, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 20th Oct., 1834. It contains name, locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, geology, towns, public buildings, gentlemen's seats, bleach-greens, manufactures, mills, communications, antiquities, scenery, local government, dispensaries, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, productive economy, townlands, schools, ecclesiastical summary. 47. Tullynakill. Under this simple heading are found four loose pages of statistical matter referring to the parish. After these papers thus minutely described, we find a parcel of papers tied together, but severally detached, under the heading, 'Miscellaneous Tables, Plans, Drafts, Copies, Extracts, &c., relative to Londonderry, Antrim, Down, Donegal.' After a minute examination, I only find the following paper relative to the county of Down:—One folio leaf, on which are written, under the headings of the several baronies and Newry lordship, all the parishes of the county, in alphabetical order, with their areas in acres, roods, and perches. This parcel is preserved in the library press, shelf 2, of the Ordnance Survey Office. There is another parcel of papers referring to this county and entitled 'Miscellaneous Documents for Memoirs, 17 Divisions.' These documents are all in loose sheets, under white paper covers. I shall therefore give the titles of those documents, of various sizes, as found on the covers: 1, Appplotment of County Cess, and other Information for sundry Parishes. 2, Co. Down; see also a large folio schedule; this contains six folio pages, extracted from the Annals of Ulster, relative to Bangor. 3, Grant to Viscount Montgomery, county Down, 43 pages. 4, Grant to Viscount Claneboy, nineteen pages. 5, County Down; several remarks, MS. papers, and newspaper clippings. 6, Remarks by M'Skimmin, Harris', Down. 7, Ballyphillip; a few MS. pages. 8, Bangor; a few MS. pages. 9, Castleboy; one MS. page. 10, Donaghadee; a few MS. pages and a printed sheet. 11, Grey Abbey; fifteen MS. pages. 12, Killinchy; seventeen MS. pages, signed at the end Henry Tucker, Lieut. Roy. Eng., 30th Dec., 1833. 13, St. Andrews; one MS. page. 14, Witter; four MS. pages. 15, Manors of Ballywalter and Ballyhalbert; two MS. pages. 16, Ardkeen; one MS. page. 17, Ardquin; one MS. page.¹ Amongst the MS. Memoir Papers² received from Captain Leach, Royal Engineers, October, 1851, are the following, as they occur in alphabetical order in the Index. I have endeavoured to present a few short notices of the contents of each paper. 1. Aghaderg. This parish is described in eighteen pages, as to its general

¹ The foregoing papers, for the most part, contain only statistical matter, and very little of importance to the antiquary and historiographer. All the leaves are foolscap folio. They belong to the library press, shelf 5, of the Ordnance Survey Office.

² These are all foolscap folio papers,

and written by various persons, whose signatures are attached; but, in many instances, the papers appear without the writer's name. These papers are preserved in the waiting-room press, at the Irish Ordnance Survey Office, and under the immediate charge of the present superintendent.

features, under the headings: bogs, climate, communications, crops, gentlemen's residences, general appearance, &c.; habits of people, hills, local government, lakes, mills (table of), poor, public buildings, with ground-plan of Roman Catholic chapel, religion, remarkable events, rivers, salaries of Presbyterian ministers, schools (Sunday and day), towns, woods.

2. Annaclone. Described in nine pages; contents: bogs, communications, general appearance, gentlemen's residences, habits of the people, hills, lakes, local government, locality, poor, public buildings, religion, rivers, salaries of Presbyterian ministers, schools, table of mills, table of schools.

3. Annahilt (part of). One page, descriptive only of a lake and mill.

4. Ardglass. Contains twelve pages, describing mills, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, wood, coast, climate, zoology, towns, church, Methodist meeting-house, Roman Catholic chapel, trades, habits of people, light-house, religion, harbour, post, springs, pier, dispensaries, gentlemen's seats, communications, antiquities, poor.

5. Ardkeen. Described in seven pages, containing hills, bogs, coast, climate, geology, towns, church, chapel, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, antiquities, general appearance, local government, schools, habits of people. Another paper of two pages, containing Ardnallon village, boys' school-house, corn mill, flax mill, islands.

6. Ardquin. For this parish I find on one page a detached memoir paper in the parcel. It describes schools, mills, and lakes.

7. Ballee. Described in four pages, containing hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, climate, towns, church, meeting-houses, Roman Catholic chapel, Druidical ring, communications, general appearance, schools, habits of people.

8. Ballyculter. Described in sixteen pages, containing mills, hamlets, school, church, religion, poor, hills, rivers, lakes, bogs, woods, coast, gentlemen's seats, Primitive Wesleyan Methodist chapel, towns, chapels, dispensaries, antiquities, communications, scenery, local government, habits of people.

9. Ballykinler. One page, describing mills and communications of the parish.

10. Ballyphillip. Described in nineteen pages, containing rivers, lakes, station for vessels, hills, bogs, woods, coast, school, windmill, Wesleyan Methodist meeting-house, Presbyterian meeting-house, mendicity, chapel, mechanics' institute library, market-house, court, fairs, harbour, clothing fund, library society, church, distillery, zoology, towns, castle, account of Savage family, gentlemen's seats, communications, local government, scenery, dispensary, habits of people.

11. Ballytrustan. Described in three pages, containing hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, zoology, towns, rivers, school, windmills.

12. Ballywalter. Described in six pages, containing appearance and scenery, bogs, coast, climate, geology, gentlemen's seats, communications, habits of people, hills, lakes, meeting-house, religion, schools, mills, towns, woods, windmills.

13. Bangor. Described in sixteen pages, containing coast, climate, coastguard, dispensary, gentlemen's seats, geology, general appearance, hills, habits of people, harbour, islands, light-house island, local government, library, mills, manufactures, meeting-houses, market-house, Mew Island, mendicity institution, police, poor-house, present state, &c.; religion, springs, schools, savings' bank, church. There is also another paper of two pages, describing schools, mills and gentlemen's seats in this parish.

14. Blaris (part of). Described in nine pages, containing bridges, communications, dispensary, distillery, general appearance, gentlemen's residences, habits of people, hills, lakes, local

government, locality of the parish, mills (table of), poor, public buildings and ground plan of stand-house, race-course, rivers, towns, school-house, table of schools, stand-house. 15. Bright. Described in two pages, containing school, church, antiquities, mills, communications. 16. Cappagh. Described in seven pages, containing hills, lakes, bogs, woods, zoology, towns, public buildings, gentlemen's seats, bleach mills and manufactories, communications, general appearance and scenery, social economy, local government, poor, religion, habits of people, trades, and occupations. 17. Castleboy. Described in three pages, containing antiquities, bogs, coast, climate, communications, geology, gentlemen's seats, general appearance, hills, habits of people, lakes, mills, rivers, schools, towns, public buildings, local government. 18. Castlereagh (referred to Knockbreda for part of). 19. Clonallan (part of). Described in three pages, containing communications, Roman Catholic chapel, with ground plan, school, standing stone called 'Clogh More,' with a drawing of its outline, table of mills. 20. Clonduff. Described in five pages, containing Deer's meadow, King Hill, M'Comb's Bridge, roads, Cabragh Roman Catholic chapel, with ground plan; mills, Ballynagappoge school. Another paper, on the same parish, in ten pages, containing Presbyterian meeting-house, church, deaths, illegitimates, longevity, flax and corn mills, woods, mountains, beetling and washing mill, school, Hilltown. 21. Comber. Described in twelve pages, containing appearance, cars, church, geology, hills, houses, mills, meeting house, manor court, police, people, poor, schools, streets, rivers, markets, &c. Another paper of one page, on this parish, describing schools and ruins of Knock church. 22. Donaghadee. Described in thirteen pages, containing appearance and scenery, barracks, church, coastguards, climate, communications, geology, harbour, habits of people, hills, local government, meeting-houses, masonic halls, markets, magazine, mills, news-room, police, religion, streets, &c.; savings' bank, steamboats, coaches, &c.; schools, towns, coast, light-house. Another paper on this parish, in three pages, describing schools, hamlets, bog, meeting-house, mill. 23. Donaghcloney. Described in nine pages, containing bleach-green, bogs, church, communications, general appearance and scenery, gentlemen's seats, glebe house, habits of people and occupations, hills, lakes, locality, meeting-house, name, natural features, rivers, salary of minister, school-house, streets, table of schools, table of occupations, Waringstown, education. 24. Donaghmore. One detached leaf, written on both sides, containing only a few items of interest. 25. Down. Described in fifty pages, containing natural features, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, climate, modern topography, Downpatrick, locality, ancient buildings, fort (Rath Keltair), cathedral, ancient ecclesiastical institutions, clock-tower, miscellaneous, present state, buildings, &c.; court-house, gaol, Methodist meeting-house, parish church, Presbyterian meeting-house, market-house, Roman Catholic chapel, round tower, act for restoring cathedral, De Clifford hospital, endowed schools, barracks, infirmary, dispensary, fever hospital, present state, people, habits of people, library, news-room, return of crimes, &c.; newspapers, banks, savings' bank, fairs, &c.; timber, stone, and whence procured; conveyances, widows' houses, mendicity institution, clothing fund, schools, streets, houses, &c.; gentlemens' seats, Hollymount, Ballykilbeg house,

mills, communications, ancient history, Struell wells, old chapels, general appearances, local government, poor, religion, habits of people, emigration. 26. Dromara. Described in seventeen pages, containing name, locality, lakes, rivers, climate, names, Magherahamlet, glebes, seceding and meeting houses, Dunmore Roman Catholic chapel, with ground plan, and Presbyterian meeting-house (General Synod of Ulster), and ground plan, with monumental inscription; communications, roads, by-roads, cave, corn mill, Magherahamlet church, incumbent and curate, dispensary, schools, poor, emigration and migration, population and religion, fairs and markets, local government, constabulary, illicit distillation, Dromara, Roman Catholic chapel, with ground plan; incumbent, Dromara town, name, locality, general history, buildings, Dromara church, with ground plan; incumbent, Wesleyan Methodist chapel, with inscription; Dromara Bridge, streets of town, trades, glebe, corn-mill, education. 27. Dromore. Described in thirteen pages, containing natural features, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, climate, artificial state, towns, name, and locality, present state as to buildings, streets, &c.; as to the people and their occupations, public buildings, bleach-green, manufactories, mills, &c.; communications, antiquities, general appearance and scenery, social economy, local government, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, emigration. Another paper on this parish, in twenty pages, describing bell, bleach-green, bogs, bridges, Roman Catholic chapel, church, climate, communications, court-house, dispensary, fairs, general appearance, general history, gentlemen's seats, grazing, habits of people, hills, hotel, lakes, local government, locality of parish, do. of town, markets, meeting-houses, table of mills, table of monuments, name of town, poor, present state, provisions, river, salary of ministers, do. of Roman Catholic priest, schools, streets. 28. Drum-ballyroney. Described in thirteen pages, containing Ballyroney church, Ballyroney glebe, Ballyroney meeting-house, poor, lakes, bogs, river Bann, communications, chalybeate spring, old castle of Rathfryland, coins, mills, schools. 29. Drumbeg. One page, describing church, gentlemen's seats, and corn-mill. 30. Drumbo. Two pages, describing Covenanters' meeting-house, and state of education. 31. Drumgooleland. Described in fourteen pages, containing Ballyward church, Gargarry Roman Catholic chapel, Drumlee meeting-house, Leitrim Roman Catholic chapel, with ground plan; Ballyward Lodge, glebe, poor, stone cross at Drumgooleland old church, Cloghskelt meeting house, Deehommed Roman Catholic chapel, Drumadonnel bog, mills, roads, locality, rivers, schools. 32. Drumbo. Described in eight pages, containing school, mills, church, fort, meeting-house, gentlemen's seats, round tower of Drumbo. 33. Dundonald. Described in two pages, containing mills, church, gentlemen's seats, meeting-house, school, hills, scenery. 34. Garvaghy. Described in five pages, containing lakes, river, school house, church, glebe-house, meeting-house, salary of a minister, education, mills. Another paper on this parish, in two pages, containing Shenrod corn and flax mill and Kilkinnamurry meeting house. 35. Grey Abbey. Described in seven pages, containing schools, gentlemen's seats, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, towns, trades, fairs, antiquities, port, public buildings, church, meeting-house, Danish mills, communications, scenery, religion, habits of people. Another paper referring to the schools of this parish, in one page. 36.

Hillsborough. Described in forty-one pages, containing name, locality, natural features, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, climate, crops; town of Hillsborough, name, locality, general history, public buildings, parish church, with ground plan; monumental inscriptions, principal private residences, streets, fort, and copy of patent for erection; present state of people, occupations, charter, savings bank, markets, fairs, provisions, building materials, conveyances, fever hospital, dispensary, poor-house, and Hillsborough charitable institution, clothing society, improvements, title from the town, Presbyterian meeting-house, with ground plan; Reilly's French Roman Catholic chapel, Moravian chapel, school-houses, gentlemen's seats, communications, canal, general appearance and scenery, local government, dispensary, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people, emigration, remarkable events, productive economy, benevolence, education, mills. Another paper of three pages, containing a weather journal, and notes on public buildings. 37. Hollywood. Described in six pages, containing hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, towns, church, meeting-houses, schools, dispensary, communications, general appearance, gentlemen's seats. Another paper of two pages refers to the schools, gentlemen's seats, and geology of this parish. 38. Inch. Described in seven pages, containing mills, schools, church, gentlemen's seats, communications, flood-gates, hills, springs, woods, bog, chapel, bridges, habits of the people. 39. Inishargy. Described in eight pages, containing rivers, bogs, coast, zoology, towns, origin, employment, court-house, linen market, market-house, meeting-house, school, corn-mill, trades, habits of people, hills, church, mills, gentlemen's seats. 40. Kilbroney. Described in forty-eight pages, containing geography or natural state, name, locality, extent, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, climate, topography or artificial state, towns, public buildings, Killowen Roman Catholic chapel, gentlemen's seats, bleach-green, communications, bridges, bye-roads in the parish, ancient topography, antiquities, general appearance and scenery, social economy, obstructions to improvements, local government, constabulary, coast-guard station, insurance, dispensary, schools, poor, religion, and population, habits of the people, longevity, emigration, remarkable men, townlands. Rostrevor, with descriptions of public buildings, amusements, antiquities, education. This paper closes with beautiful sketches of the ground plan of Kilbroney old church, the north window inside, the doorway in southern wall (outside view), the doorway from inside (looking east), a drawing of Cloghmore, with another plan of upper surface, the Giant's Grave or Cairn (looking south). The latter cromleac is afterwards described, with pen and ink outlines of dimensions. 41. Kilclief. Two pages, describing church, old castle, mills, and schools of this parish. 42. Kilcoo. Described in five pages, containing Ballymoney Roman Catholic chapel, roads, Kilcoo old church, with ground plan; mills, Ballymoney national school, Muddock river. Another paper of twelve pages on this parish, containing natural features, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, climate, zoology, modern topography, towns, present state, buildings, people, public buildings, gentlemen's seats, mills, communications, general appearance, local government, schools, religion, habits of the people, chapel. 43. Kilkeel. Described in nine pages, containing roads, coast-guard station, Cranfield old light-house, Ballygowan corn-mill, streams, causeway, water

bridge, Green Castle (ruin), fairs, names, remarkable men. Another paper on this parish in fifteen pages, containing hills, bogs, woods, coast, climate and zoology, geology, towns, meeting-houses, gentlemen's seats, communications, antiquities, scenery, economy, local government, schools, poor, habits of people, markets and fairs, trades, post, fences, waterfall. This paper contains a beautiful pencil sketch of White Cairn of Ballyveaghbeg. 44. Killinchy. Described in three pages, containing Killinchy village, schools, church, Presbyterian meeting-house, and islands in Lough Strangford. Another paper of two pages, describing the Roman Catholic chapel, a corn-mill, and education of the parish. 45. Killyleagh. Described in nine pages, containing cotton factory, mill, school, church, meeting-house, chapel, religion, poor, markets and fairs, court, social economy, towns, antiquities, harbour, baths. 46. Kilnegan. Described in three pages, containing gentlemen's seats, Clonvavagan Roman Catholic chapel and ground plan, roads. Another paper of thirteen written pages, containing hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, climate, zoology, towns, trades and occupations, communications, public buildings, &c.; gentlemen's seats, bleach-green, antiquities, local government, dispensaries, schools, poor, religion, habits of the people; Dundrum, &c., ancient history. 47. Kilwood. Described in five pages, containing corn-mill and education. One detached leaf in addition on Drumhirk school. 48. Kilmore (Part of). Described in four pages, and contains Drumaghlish and Rade-man meeting-houses, mills and roads. 49. Knockbreda and part of Castlereagh. Described in four pages, containing Newtownbreda village, schools and sessions, gentlemen's seats, Castlereagh meeting-house, school-house, mills, hills. Another paper (one page) on the mills, meeting-house and school of Knockbreda. Another paper (one page) mills and hills of Knockbreda. 50. Lambeg. One page, descriptive of bleach-mill and school. 51. Loughgilly. Two pages, descriptive of mills. 52. Loughin-island. Described in seven pages, containing modern topography, towns, locality, meeting-house, new meeting-house, houses, trades; Seaford and buildings, habits of people, schools, Roman Catholic chapel, mills. Another paper of four pages, descriptive of the mills, roads, schools, and Roman Catholic chapel of Drumaroad, with ground plan, in this parish. 53. Magheradrool (Part of). Described in eight pages, containing Ballynahinch church, chapel, meeting-houses, bridge and mill, Montalto-house, glebe, roads, McAuley's lake. Another page, describing the bleach and flax mills of this parish. 54. Magheralin. Described in seven pages, containing bogs, bridge, church, climate and crops, communications, general appearance and scenery, glebe-house, hills, lake, locality, monuments, name, natural features, river, Roman Catholic chapel, school-houses, table of schools, table of mills. 55. Magherally. Described in six pages, containing locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, climate, crops, towns and public buildings, glebe-house, communications, education. 56. Moira. Described in ten pages, containing aqueduct, bogs, bridges, church, climate, crops, hills, lake, localities, market and meeting-house, river, Roman Catholic chapel, salary of minister, school house, table of schools, town, weather (journal of). 57. Newry. Described in seventy-seven pages, under a great number of headings, for the most part referring to the town of Newry, its public buildings, history, antiquities, &c. Another

paper of five pages, descriptive of locality, Kate M^cKay's bridge, corn and flax-mills, roads, schools and education, in this parish. 58. Newtownards. Described in twenty-eight pages, containing a great variety of statistical and local information under the usual heads, with the antiquities, history, public buildings, &c., of Newtownards town. Another paper on this parish, in four pages, describing geology, mills and schools. 59. Rathmullan. One page, descriptive of a windmill. 60. Rostrevor town. For a description we are referred to Kilbroney parish. 61. St. Andrew's, *alias* Ballyhalbert parish. Described in six pages, containing Presbyterian meeting-house, windmill, antiquities, school, court, towns, ruins of church, hills, coast, zoology, scenery, communications, habits of people, coast-guard. 62. Saintfield. Described in seven pages, containing mills, meeting-house, town of Saintfield and public buildings, bogs, education. 63. Saul. Described in eight pages, containing mill, antiquities, schools, chapel, hills, lakes, harbour, hamlets, gentlemen's seats, distillery, communications, social economy, church, religion, poor. 64. Seapatrick. Described in thirty-two pages, under the usual headings: most of this paper is devoted to the town of Banbridge, with its public buildings, history, &c. 65. Shankhill (Rest of). Described in three pages, containing bridges, public buildings, communications, hills, lakes, locality, mills, rivers, gentlemen's seats, towns. 66. Slanea. Two pages, descriptive of antiquities, appearance, bogs, coast, coast-guard, hills, habits of the people. 67. Tullynakill. One page, descriptive of church and islands; another page descriptive of school and limestone-quarry. 68. Tullylish. This parish is not named on the index; but there are four loose sheets of tables referring to it, under the headings of mills and education. Another paper of seven pages, descriptive of locality, hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, climate and crops, town of Gilford, public buildings and ground plans. 69. Parish and town of Warrenpoint. Described in twenty-nine pages, most of which refer to the town and its public buildings. Towards the close of this paper are inserted a beautiful pencil sketch of Narrow-water castle (from the gateway), and an ink drawing of doorway of Narrow-water castle (in western gable). 70. Witter. Described in five pages, containing hills, lakes, rivers, bogs, woods, coast, zoology, antiquities, habits of people, seaweed, Roman Catholic chapel and ground plan.¹

X. Sketches. 1. Corn-mill, near Hilltown. 2. The Liss, or ancient fort of Ballymaghery. 3. Donjon keep of Dundrum. 4. Dundrum castle gate. 5. Landscape near Rostrevor. 6. The church and cross of Kilbroney. 7. Rostrevor chapel. 8. Cromleac, near Hilltown. The foregoing are beautiful pencil sketches, about eight by ten inches. The next drawing is of the like size, but sketched in ink:—9. Narrow-water castle. The following are various drawings, for the most part in ink, and of different sizes:—10. Ground plan of an abbey, townland of Ardquin. 11. Arms on the bell of Strangford church. 12. Arms and inscriptions, parish of Ardglass (pencil sketch). 13. Old castle in Saul parish. 14. Castleskreen (pencil sketch), parish of Bright. 15. Ground plan of old

¹ The foregoing series of memoir papers is distinct from the series first described, although the subjects are in many instances of a similar character.

On some of the papers which have been described in the last instance, the dates of the period at which they were written are likewise found.

chapel of Struell, parish of Down. 16. Druid's altar, townland of Moyadam. 17. Ground plan of Dundrum castle. 18. Giant's Ring, townland of Ballyheaty, with a memoir paper in the portfolio. 19. Heraldic bearings on two stones, in old church, in parish of Inch. 20. Key-stone and Sheep's-Head stone, parish of Saul. 21. Ground-plan of Portaferry castle. 22. Ground-plan of Portaferry old church. In some few instances the artist's name is found affixed to these drawings.

The present paper presents a complete, and, I may venture to assert, a correct synopsis of the MS. materials bearing on the county of Down, as found in the Irish Ordnance Survey Office.

Mr. Edward Benn sent drawings of twenty-nine articles found in crannogs, or artificial islands formed in lakes, accompanied by a catalogue descriptive of the plate facing this page, on which are given reduced lithographs of the antiquities in question. It would be very desirable if similar records of all such discoveries could be placed on record: or, better still, that some competent persons should make a systematic examination of some untouched crannogs, and publish the result in a full and scientific manner. Mr. Benn's enumeration of the various antiquities was as follows:—

"Having some time since contributed to our 'Journal' (vol. iii., new series, p. 86) an account of some objects of antiquity found in Irish crannogs; and being aware that description alone does not convey an accurate idea of such objects, I now send drawings of some of the articles.

"DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

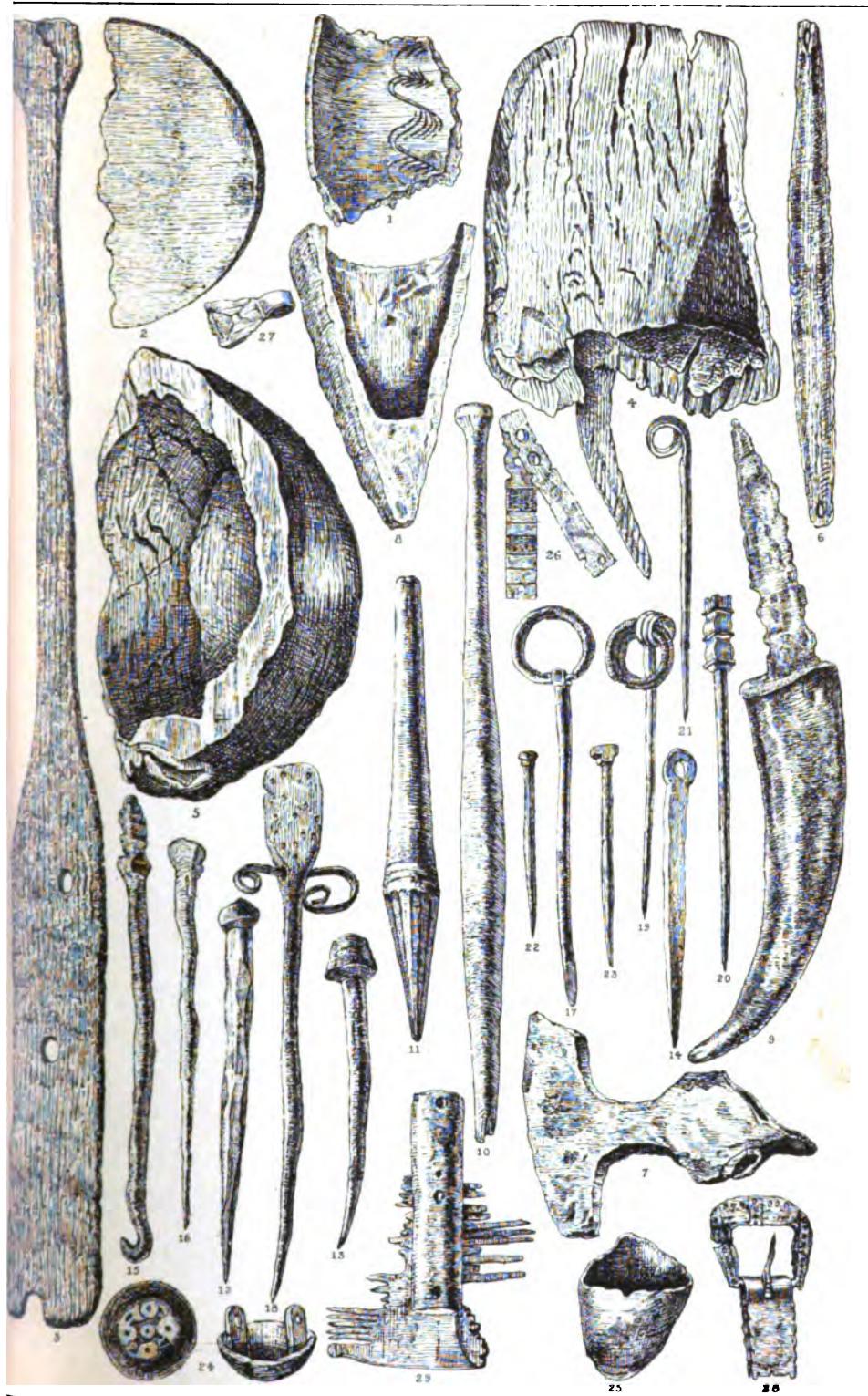
"1. A piece of pottery, quarter size. It seems to have been part of an earthen vessel for domestic purposes; it is coarse, but strong and well made, very graceful in design; the wavy pattern very much so. Other pieces of pottery were found; and, what is remarkable, judging from the appearance of fire on the outside of one, it seems to have been used for cooking, or other purposes connected with boiling.

"2. A remarkable object, half size. Two of these were found at Ballykinler Crannog. They appear to represent cakes of bread, made of stone, and broken in two. As before observed, they were probably tokens of hospitality or treaty, each party keeping one. This is made of granite, and greatly resembles oatmeal cake.

"3. A paddle, or oar, of a boat, made of oak, and neatly formed; length, three feet seven inches; breadth, four and a half inches.

"4. A wooden scoop: total length, twelve inches; the handle, four inches; thickness, one and a half inches. This is such an article as might have been used for throwing water on linen when in process of bleaching.

"5. A wooden vessel, found with the boat; diameter, seven inches; depth, three inches; thickness, one inch. It is very rudely made, but strong, and well adapted for baling out a boat. When I first saw the boat, it was not all exposed to view; from what I saw, I considered it to have been formed out of a solid log; I now find this is not the case. It is about twenty feet long; four wide at the stern, and three at the stem. For about two-thirds of its length from the stem, it is formed out of a



ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN CRANNOGES.

Moore Cork

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ASTOR, L. T.
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

R. L.

log; the remainder, or stern end, is made of thick short planks, well fastened with strong wooden pegs.

"6. Seems to be a netting needle, half size; it is made of iron.

"7. A battle-axe. This is a fine specimen; length, from face to end of projection at back, seven inches; length of face, five and a half inches; breadth of face, at one end, one and a half inches; the other end, one inch. It is singular how rare are iron articles in general, and battle-axes in particular, when it is considered how many must have been lost out of the great number in use. This is partly to be accounted for from the perishable nature of the metal; but more so from its small intrinsic value, and from the iron being greatly prized by country blacksmiths, owing to its very superior quality. When being worked, it has a smell like garlic, probably from containing arsenic.

"8. Sock of a plough of iron; length, seven and a half inches; breadth, four inches, running to a point.

"All the following objects are drawn half-size:—

"9. A knife. This is the only specimen I have met with having a handle; it is an interesting variety. The haft, or handle, is of goat's-horn, the blade like a pen-knife of large size. It might have been used for making pens, but I fear pens were not much required in crannogs; it was more probably used for bleeding or operating on animals; it does not seem applicable to any ordinary domestic purpose. For domestic use the thick-backed, narrow, sharp-pointed knife frequently found was well adapted.

"10. A wooden instrument; two were found. They might have been used for knitting coarse stuff; they are of soft, long-grained wood of the pine kind.

"11. A wooden instrument of similar wood. I cannot say to what use it was applied—only one found.

"12. Several of these were found. They are of similar wood, and might have been used by poor people as fastenings for mantles, or hair.

"13. An instrument of bone, neatly made, and polished. It might have been used as a pin; but I believe such things were used for pointing out letters to children when learning to spell; they were called pointers.

"14. A wooden pin. It is quite different from the other pins of wood. It is much larger in the head, and made of close-grained, hard, white wood, probably holly. It might have been used for pinning down linen to the grass while being bleached; it is well adapted to this purpose. Several were found.

"15. An article of iron. I cannot determine its use.

"16. A pin of iron. Several were found.

"17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Pins of brass. A great number were found, mostly varieties of No. 17, differing in the size in general, and ring in particular. Several of No. 19 were found. No. 23 is an interesting variety.

"24. A large button, or other fastening, of brass; the eyes are not fastened in, but cast.

"25. A crucible, never used; it seems to be foreign manufacture. Several were found greatly calcined.

" 26, 27, 28, seem to be fastenings for leather or other garments; they are of very thin brass.

" 29. A comb, neatly made of bone, and riveted with iron."

The following papers were contributed:—

**EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.**

COMMUNICATED¹ BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M.A., M.P.

[Continued from Vol. II., new series, p. 56.]

WATERFORD CITY is a port of considerable trade, an Episcopall See, built upon ye river Shure, second to none in this Kingdome but Dublin and Limerick, enjoying great privileges.

It was originally sayd to be built by some Norway Pyrates² upon a barren soyle, having an admirable Harbour for shipping to ride safe that sayle to it.

The Key is sayd also to be ye fairest of Ireland.

The two neighbouring rivers to this Shure are the Nore and Barrow, by which this city hath communication with severall Towns in the adjacent countreyes, as Kilkenny, Ross, Clonmell, Carrick, Carlo, &c.

These 3 last rivers are called the 3 Sisters, which not farr below this city empty themselves in one channell into the sea, St. George's Channell.

This is one of the neerest ports from this Kingdome to any parts of the West of England.

The COUNTY TOWN OF CATHERLAUGH,³ vulgarly called Carlow, with the places adjacent, A.^oD., 1680.

Catherlaugh, belonging to ye Rt. Hon^{ble}. Henry Earle of Tho-

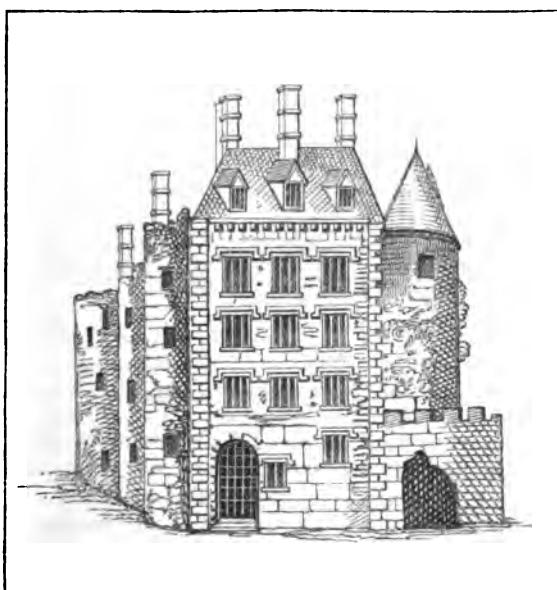
¹ The admirable fac-similes of the pen-and-ink sketches to be found in the original MS., which illustrate this portion of Dineley's Tour, have been engraved in wood by Mr. Cleghorn, and are presented to the Society by Mr. Shirley, in aid of the Illustration Fund. The notes have been contributed by Herbert F. Hore, Esq., R. Malcomson, Esq., of Carlow, and the Editor of this "Journal."

² This is, perhaps, an accurate description enough of the founders of Waterford. Yet these Scandinavian sea-rovers probably added the pursuits

of a primitive commerce (which seems to have consisted principally of hides and dried fish) to their calling as pirates. The term by which such Norsemen are designated by our Gaelic annalists, namely, *Fomhireach*, i.e., robbers from the sea, distinguishes their avocation from that of modern pirates, who are robbers on the sea. Worsaae, in his chapter which treats of the Danes in Ireland, refers, in his appendix, to a charter from the crown to the McGoilla-mures, who were a remnant of the East-terlings, or Ostmen, of this city.

³ Cathair-lough, the castle lake.

mond,¹ is a fair, thriving, flourishing Town, comanded by the following Castle, engarrisoned by a very ancient experienced Souldier, Sir John Davallier, as Captain ; Richard Powell, gent., as Lieutenant, and [] as Ensigne.



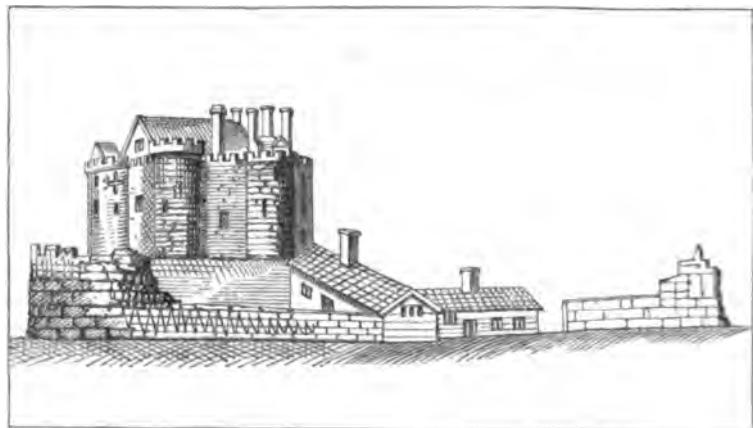
The Castle is built of free stone, belonging also to y^e s^d Earle of Thomond, a great sanctuary to y^e English and Protestants, wherto out of all the adjacent countrey they fled with their goods and sub-

¹ The printed Calendar of Patent Rolls, *regnante* James I., contains a summary of the grant of Carlow castle to Donald, Earl of Thomond. The grant is remarkable for its specification of the various services rendered by the tenants of the castle estate. Among these is the curious rent paid by cottagers of a certain quantity of rushes, which were anciently used to make beds during summer, and to spread over stone and other cold floors. This castle was coeval with the Anglo-Norman conquest, and continued in very good preservation until a late period. The Court of Exchequer was held in Carlow during the reigns of the three first Edwards,

in consequence of the danger of the roads to suitors.

The castle of Carlow is thus described by Mr. and Mrs. Hall in 1841 :—“ It was built after the Anglo-Norman style of architecture; a square area surrounded by thick walls, fortified and strengthened at each corner by a large round tower. Until the year 1814, it had bravely withstood the attacks of time and war; but its ruin was effected by the carelessness of a medical doctor into whose hands it came, and who designed to put it ‘ in order’ for the ‘ accommodation’ of insane patients. In the progress of his work he applied gunpowder, with some unexplained object, to the founda-

stance during the late Irish bloody Massacre, at which time it was very much demolished.



The Castle and the Garrison of Catherlaugh.

The Town is scituate upon and hath the benefit of two Rivers, viz., the Barrow and the Burren, between w^{ch} it is. It hath two fair Bridges, is upon a riseing ground, so healthfull (for Ireland) that by severall I have heard it called y^e Irish Montpelier.

The river Barrow is very clear and pleasant, navigable by flatt bottom'd boats hither from Ross.

The Church is fair also in its kind. It is served by a Reverend worthy Gentleman, Mr. [Thomas¹] Weston, heretofore a student of the Middle Temple, London.

tion, and in a moment completed its destruction, leaving but two of its towers and the wall between them. Their present height is 65 feet, and the length from one tower to the other is 105 feet. As the ruin is but one side of a square, it affords a correct idea of the large space the castle formerly occupied."—"Ireland, its Scenery, Character," &c., vol. i., p. 402. The two representations given by Dineley bear evidence of being very correct, and give us a good idea of the aspect of this ancient Anglo-Norman fortress as it stood in the reign of the second Charles.

¹ We supply the Christian name of this "Reverend worthy Gentleman," from his signature as minister to the proceedings of a vestry "held in the parish church of Catherlogh on Monday the 13th day of April, 1680, for the parishes

of Catherlogh, Killeshin, Cloydagh and Slatv," in a MS. copy or transcript of "The Vestry Book of the united Parishes of Carlow and Killeshin," which is preserved amongst the MSS. in the "Jackson Museum," now deposited in the Mechanics' Institute, Carlow. Mr. Weston's predecessor appears, from the same source, to have been Richard Jones, who attested the proceedings of the vestry held the 5th May, 1679, as "minister." The last signature of "Thomas Weston" is that of the 11th January, 1685, after which date we find his place supplied by "Jo. Pinsent, Rector." The church of Dineley's time has disappeared. The present structure, a plain building in the Grecian style, of thick rubble masonry, plastered within and "dashed" outside, was erected in 1731-2, the former tower and vane of

The Manufacture here is very good Sheeps Grey Frize, not at all inferior to that of Kilkenny City, for that his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and his son y^e Earle of Arran, are sayd to buy here of it of one Mrs. Quiglet, yeerly, though Kilkenny by [be] their own City.

The Market here is good, twice a Week.

The Buildings of this are not unlike those of an ordinary English market Town, encrease in number and beauty daily by the expence, Industry, and Diligence of Thomas Spaight and William Crutchley, Esqrs., the former whereof hath lately built the fairest Inn of the Town, of the best accomoda^con, and adjoining to four of the principall roads.

Mr. Crutchley, formerly but a miller and small Tennant (to the sayd Earle of Thomond, one of the best landlords of this Kingdom), and since High Sheriff of this County, a notable projector, and whose projects for the most part are attended with profit, hath agreed with the Town and County for the building of a large stone Bridge to carry houses thereon on each side, over the river Burren.¹

Among the remardeables here is a Woman who professeth (besides Perruque making, poleing) cutting of hair, trimming and shav^ging of men, at which she hath a delicate hand, and is much resorted to by the Garrison and Country Gentlemen.

Two English miles from this Town, and neer Cloghrenane Castle, following on the neer side the river Barrow, is a neat House, with an Estate,² of Captain Bradstone, one of the Captaines in his Ma^{ies} Regiment of Foot Guards in Dublin, who beareth for Coat Armor thus:—Argent on a Canton Gules a Rose or barbed proper.³ By the name of Bradston, of the family of Bradstons, of Winterborne, in the county of Gloucester, in England.

Within a mile and a half of Carlow, upon the River Barrow, is seen a castle built of brick and stone, belonging to the Earle of Arran, called—

which were taken down in 1833, and the present graceful and lofty spire, of native granite, raised in its stead, from designs of Mr. Cobden. The above extract from the Carlow vestry-book enables us to fix the date of Dineley's visit to Carlow between 1679 and 1685.

¹ The "stone bridge" over the Burren was taken down in the year 1827, and the present structure, which is of metal, erected in its stead.

The present bridge over the Barrow, uniting Carlow with the Queen's County, is called Wellington-bridge, and was erected in 1815.

² This "estate" would seem to be the lands of Mortarstown Lower (adjoining

Cloghna) in the parish and barony of Carlow. The family of Bradston, here at least, is extinct; and the "neat house," described in the text, has disappeared, save some traces of its site, which are seen at Cloghna. "Francis Bradstown, of Mortarstown, gent." was amongst the list of those (illegally) attainted of high treason by the parliament convened by James II., at Dublin, on the 7th May, 1689. Mortarstown Lower is now the estate of Col. Kane Bunbury, of Moyle.

³ The MS. has a drawing of this coat set forth without the colours, but it is not necessary to engrave the shield, as the blazon is given.

CLOGHRENNAN,¹ als Cloughgrenane (settled upon him [i. e. Lord Arran, see p. 41], by his father, the Duke of Ormond. The present

Tenant is S^r John Davalliere²) remarkeable for little but that in the year 1649, after the murther of our late King, the Lord Lieutenant Ormond began a campaign in May, with his own creditt and propper moneys, with 8000 foot and 2000 horse, and appointed this Cloghgrennan for a generall Rendesvous and Parade for the whole Army, which altogether, as well Protestant as Irish, made up a Body of three Thousand Seven Hun-



dred Horse and 14,500 Foot, and a Train of 4 pieces of Cannon.
A mile and half distant from Carlow is STAPLES TOWN, hereto-

¹ *Clough-grianan*, i. e., the stone *grianan*, or pleasant place. Anciently this townland was part of the territory called the Dullogue, which was stated by Sir Peter Carew to have been included in Idrone, the fine baronial estate claimed by this renowned knight. It appears by a MS. record in Lambeth that one of the Earls of Ormond obtained possession of the Carew estate, by purchase, from the clan Kavanagh. In course of time it devolved on the rash and rebellious Sir Edmond Butler, and became the cause of "Carew's, or the Butlers' War." It would be interesting to publish the correspondence relative to the insurrection which resulted from the claim made by Carew to this property, some particulars of which have appeared

in "the Ulster Journal of Archaeology," vol. iii., p. 98, &c. Cloghrennan Castle was surprised by Sir Peter Carew, and its garrison put to the sword. See Maclean's "Life, &c., of Sir Peter Carew," p. 93. This castle, now a picturesque and ivy-clad ruin, forms the entrance to the demesne of Clogrenane, the estate of Horace Rochfort, Esq., D.L., a descendant of Robert Rochfort, who was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1695. A portion of the ancient edifice is still tenanted, and forms the residence of Mr. Rochfort's gate-keeper.

² Sir John Davallier was one of the gentlemen named in the charter granted by King Charles II. to the borough of Catherlough on the 24th December, 1675, "to bee first and modern twelve

fore belonging to S^r. John Temple,¹ Master of the Rolls in Ireland, purchased by John Tench, Esq^r,² once of Lincolnes Inne in the county of Middx., now one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the county of Carlow, and sett by him to Capt^r. Edward Brabazon, one of his Ma^{t_{ie}}. most Hon^{b_{ie}}. Privy Councill in the Kingdome of Ireland, brother to the R^t. Hon^{b_{ie}} the Earle of Meath.

BURREN.—This river³ aboundes with Pike, and a Silver Ele, second to none in the three Kingdomes.

I cannot forgett the saying of Ingenious Mr. James More, heretofore captain to S^r. John Temple:—

That Rivers and the Inhabitants of the watry Element were made for wise men to contemplate, and Fools to pass by without consideration. As I shall not be so immodest as to range myself with the first, so I shall endeavour to throw off the scandall of the last, by some small account as I go along.

Mr. Moor observed to me that the Burren in its course differs from all the Rivers in this Kingdome, for, that it naturally runs from the sea, when all the others run to it.⁴

free burgesses of the said burrough." The worthy knight was chosen, with Sir Thomas Butler, Bart., Philip Isaac, and Robert Newton, as churchwarden for the (united) parishes of Catherlogh, Killeshin, Cloydagh, and Slaty, at the vestry held on the 13th April, 1680, to which reference has been made in a former note,—Clogrennan being then, as now, situate in the parish of Cloydagh. The "union" of parishes, however, does not now exist.

¹ Sir John Temple was the author of "The Irish Rebellion, or, an History of the Attempts of the Irish Papists to extirpate the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland; together with the barbarous Cruelties and bloody Massacres which ensued thereupon," published in the year 1646, by direction of the parliamentary party to which he was warmly attached. This book contains such gross exaggerations and numerous falsehoods, that, in 1675, he denied the authorship of it, and said that the work had been printed without his knowledge. — Essex's "Letters," Dublin Ed., p. 2.

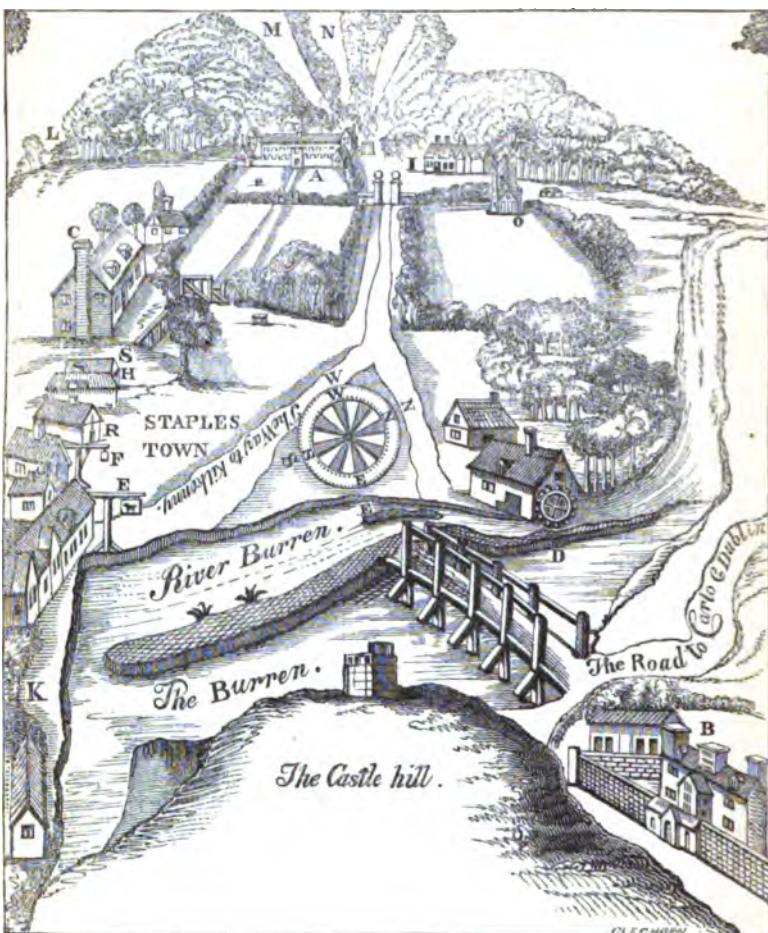
² This gentleman was nominated a free burgess of Carlow in the charter of King Charles II. already mentioned; and he was one of those who were subsequently included, with Francis Bradstow, and several others connected with the district, in the Act of Attainder passed by James the Second's parliament

before alluded to. In the reign of William III. we find Mr. Tench returned with Sir Thomas Butler, "knight and baronet," as member for the county of Carlow in the parliament which met at Dublin the 5th of October, 1692.

³ "The river Burren flows through the centre of the county of Carlow. It rises in the townlands of Raheenleigh and Coolasnaghta, in the parish of Fennagh, and near the borders of Wexford, and runs from south to north, dividing for a portion of its length the baronies of Forth and Idrone [East]. It discharges into the river Barrow immediately below the town of Carlow. There are three main outlets to the drainage waters of Carlow county—the Barrow on its western border, the Slaney on the east, and the Burren passing almost in a central line between the two; the rain basin of this river is very extensive, its own course being twenty-two miles in length, and its tributaries long and numerous,"—"Report to the Drainage Commissioners," by Charles S. Ottley, Esq., A. M., Civil Engineer, 1847.

⁴ Mr. Moor's observation is not profound. The course of an inland stream may quite unmarvellously point from the sea, if the land levels give it this direction. Mr. Moor seems to have studied exceptions in the same school that taught Fluellen to ruminante upon similarities.

In this river are found some small stones clearer and harder than Christall.



The Castle Hill,¹ whence this Prospect was taken of Staple's Town.²

B. Bennekerry, belonging to William Ewers, Esq. A. The Turrets belonging to John Tench, Esq^r. C. Worthy Mr. James Moor, y^r Minister. D. Rob^t. Lackey, Miller. E. Thomas Harris, at the Crown^e, Saddler and Inkeeper. F. Thomas Glaseby, Taylor and Victualler. G. Tho. Gould, Farrier. H. Joseph Davis, Gardiner. R. Hugh Brookshaw, Mason. K. Nicholas Langford, Carpenter. S. [], Shoemaker; all protestants. L. The Mount. M N. Glades in the wood. L Y^r Stable of y^r Turrets. O. The Barnes.

¹ "The Castle Hill," now called "the Pigeon Hill," was well laid out with walks, and planted, some years ago, by

the late Philip Bagenal, Esq., of Bennekerry.

² Staplestow at the present day is a

On an hill also belonging to Staples Town,¹ are plow'd up severall clearer and harder than Cristall, squared and pointed, one whereof, almost two Inches long, was presented to me by Walter Weldon, Esq^r, found upon those Lands.

"deserted village," compared with the thriving hamlet which Mr. Dineley's singular sketch represents it to have been. "The busy mill," so conspicuously shown in his vignette, is silent—the mill-power having been "done away with" under Mr. Ottley's report to the Drainage Commissioners in 1847, and the last erection of its sort upon this spot dismantled. A maimed and broken arch is all that remains of the "turrets" the once fair mansion of Sir William Temple, and his successor in the estate, "John Tench, Esq., once of Lincolnes Inn, in the county of Middlesex, and one of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the county of Carlow." How vividly a glance from Mr. Dineley's quaint little picture to the present aspect of the place reminds us of Goldsmith's beautiful poem! "Worthy Mr. James Moor, y' minister," is long since forgotten, and the plough passes over the site of his dwelling-house; nothing remains to tell where once—

"The village preacher's modest mansion rose."

"Thomas Harris, at the Crowne, saddler and innkeeper," is long since mingled with the dust, and his humble hostelry has disappeared for ever:—

"Where once the sign-post caught the passing eye.
Low lies that house where nut-brown draughts
inspired,
Where greybeard mirth and smiling toll
retired,
Where village statesmen talk'd with looks pro-
found,
And news much older than their ale went
round."

In vain we look for "Tho Gould the farrier":—

"No more the smith his dusky brow shall clear,
Relax his ponderous strength, and lean to hear."

Et sic de ceteris.

And yet the distinctive features and character of the scene are still unchanged. The prospect is one of great natural beauty, pastoral charms, and picturesqueness. "The decent church that tops the neighbouring hill" is now conspicuous in the landscape, though in a different position from its ancient site.

"The Turrets" and their quondam owner are now succeeded by the less lofty mansion of Henry Watters, Esq., J.P., (once, too, of Lincoln's Inn), Staplestown Lodge, a neat and comfortable residence, in the Elizabethan style, and built of the granite of the district. "Mr. Moor y' minister," is represented by a worthy successor in the person of the Rev. Henry Scott, incumbent of Staplestown; and Bennekerry "belonging to Wm. Ewers, Esq." (brother of the young ladies "who bore the bell away this Anno 1681," as detailed in the Tour, p. 46, *infra*), was until very recently tenanted by Richard Pierce Butler, Esq., now Sir R. P. Butler, Bart.

The ruins of Staplestown House will always command great interest as the remains of the residence of Sir. William Temple. It is pleasing to fancy that here this eminent personage first cultivated that taste for horticulture which enters so delightfully into his writings. "Ireland," observed Macaulay, in his critique on the biography of Sir W. Temple, "was probably then a more agreeable residence for the higher classes, as compared with England, than it has ever been before or since." Temple represented the county of Carlow in the first parliament, held after the Restoration. He quitted Ireland for other scenes, in 1663.

It was during the first years of his married life with that most amiable and intelligent woman, Dorothy Osborne, that Temple resided at Staplestown. His latest biographer tells us: "It has been found impossible to ascertain the date of the marriage, which was probably performed by a justice of the peace. It may be presumed to have occurred at the end of the year 1654. They passed the first year at the house of a friend in the country, where his eldest son was born, and then went to reside with his father in Ireland. Sir John Temple now resided partly in Dublin and partly in the county of Carlow, and between these two, Temple and his wife 'passed five years with great satisfaction,' as he always expressed, almost wholly in the conversation of his family and friends, where

Linnen Manufacture is sett on foot in this county of Carlow : for encouragement whereof once a year a Jury is sworne of understanding men in that affaire, to view the clothes, and give in who hath made the best, for which they receive of this county so much, viz., [], the next best hath a lower, and the 3d. a lower rate than that, in which degree stand all that are brought finish'd and whité'd, that none should loose, and this work goes by the name of the County-Cloth ; putting y^e young women and maydens of this county to employ all their skill, Industry, and Endeavours to exceed each other in Spinning, Weaving, Whitening, &c., for y^e Triumph of that day which they are not a little proud of.

They who bore the bell away this Anno 1681, were the daughters of Captain Ewers, and sisters to William Ewers, Esq^r., att Benekerry Castle, within two miles of Carlow.¹

BALLYNUNNERY—Is situate upon a riseing Hill among good Gardens, Orchard, Meadows, and other profitable Lands. At the foot of this hill, by the side of Gardenage, neer the Castle, runneth a pleasant River abounding with Trout^s.

There are also found quantity of good Pearle, not unlike Scotch Pearle, which y^e Lady of the Castle hath to shew.²

Ballynunnery Castle, part of the Estate of the Earle of Arran, held for lives lately by Oliver Keating, Esq^r., Lieuten^t. to Captain Chambers Brabazon's Troop of Horse. Now in the hands, and held

there was always a perfect agreement, kindness, and confidence, in all which Mr. Temple participated, and became one of the family." When in Carlow, where he appears to have built a house, Temple took part in all country affairs ; but neither the conversation of an agreeable family, nor his public duties, prevented him from pursuing the studies of his closet, and he traced to the five years thus passed quietly in Ireland much of what he knew of philosophy. But the domestic joys of Temple and his wife were clouded by the loss of five children successively ; and this misfortune perhaps rendered him less unwilling to obey the call which was now made upon him "to leave the cares of his sheep and game," and enter upon political life.—"Memoirs of Sir W. Temple, Bart.," by the Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtney, vol. i., p. 22, (1836).

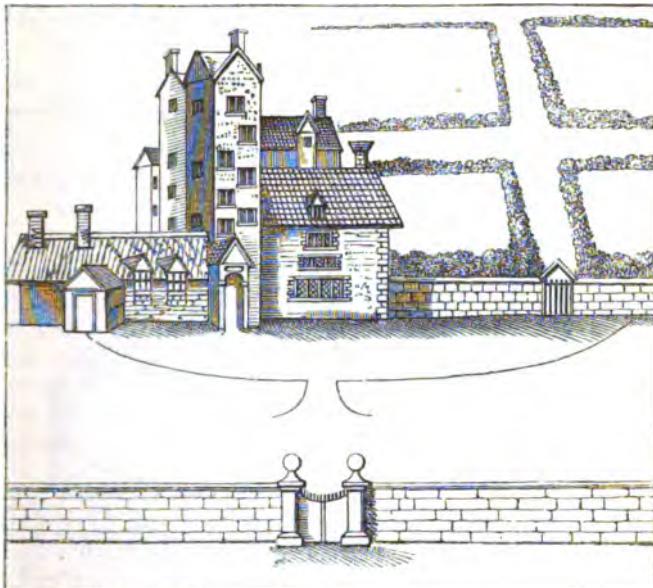
¹ From the encouragement thus given to "linnen" manufacture may probably have arisen the high character and standard which fabrics of this description manufactured at Carlow maintained during the succeeding century. The damask or diaper table-cloths of Carlow

were noted throughout the kingdom as the finest in texture, and most elaborate in design. We have lately seen a specimen which has been carefully preserved by a gentleman of our acquaintance, bearing in the centre a representation of the ancient seal of the borough of Carlow, and the following inscription : "THE GIFT OF JAMES HAMBLETON, Esq., TO BE RUN FOR AT CARLOW, 1730." This employment, as well as the manufacture of "very good Sheep's Grey Frize," mentioned by our tourist, has completely disappeared as a branch of trade in Carlow.

² Ballynunnery "pool" on the river Burren, "abounding with trout," is to this day a favourite haunt of the disciples of Isaac Walton. The castle (in ruins), is noted in the Ordnance map, on the townland of Ballynunnery, in the parish of Gilbertstown, and barony of Forth. It is now the estate of Godwin Meade Swift, of Swift's Heath, in the county of Kilkenny, Esq., who has assumed the title of Viscount Carlingford.

³ It would be interesting to ascertain if pearls are now found in the Burren at this spot, or elsewhere.

onely for the life of Mrs. Anne Keating, widow of the sayd Oliver. This is distant from Staplestowne two miles and half; from Cather-



lough, 4 miles, and from Tullagh, two and an half.

A JOURNEY FROM CATHERLAUGH TO WICKLOW.—From Catherlaugh to Tullagh is 5 miles.¹

Tullagh is a fair Town in the County of Catherlaugh, with a Good Castle, part of the Estate of the Earle of Arran. The Tenant to the Castle is William Cruchley, Esqr., one of his Ma^{ties} Justices of the Peace for this county, who hath lately beautified it, repair'd the Town Bridge,² which is of stone, wth arches, built severall mills here and at Catherlaugh, where he is also Tenant to the R^t. Hon^{ble}. Henry Earle of Thomond, repaired also a fair stone bridge over the River Barrow there, half whereof is in the Queen's County, being a money'd man, and a great undertaker.

This Town is called Tullagh Phelim to distinguish between another Tullagh in the Queen's [recte Kilkenny] County.

¹ The distance is about 8 miles.

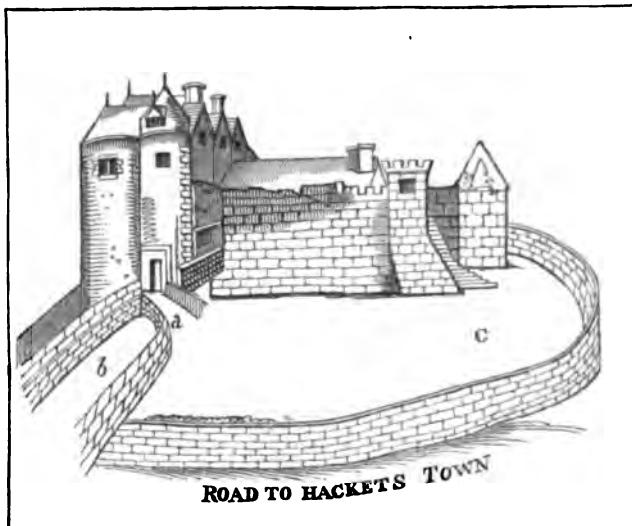
² The bridge of Tullow has been twice rebuilt since Mr. Crutchley's time—firstly, nearly a century ago, with the following inscription:—"This bridgewas built by Mr. Thomas Nowlan, of Rathvaran, farmer, in the year 1747; Sir Richard Butler, Bart., Thomas Bun-

bury, Robert Eustace, Esq., Messrs. Robert Leckey, and John Brewster, overseers." The structure thus erected was removed in 1840, and the present bridge constructed on its site by grand jury presentment, from designs of the late Charles G. Forth, Esq., county surveyor, at a cost of £487 10s.

To be considered here by the Traveller, are the Ruines of an Abbey by the river side, heretofore of Augustine Friars, here are the remaines of some monuments.¹

Tullagh hath one parochial Church² dedicated to S^t. Columb,

TULLAGH CASTLE.



a Drawbridge. b Gardenage. C Nursery.

which saint is sayd to be buried in Down Patrick, in the North of Ireland, in the County of Down, with two other capitall S^ts. Saint Bridget and S^t. Patrick, with this Inscriptiōn,

“ *Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida Patricius atque Columba pius.* ”

¹ “The only remains, or rather appendage, of the abbey of St. Austin now observable, is the upper part of a stone-cross of large dimensions. It is broken from its shaft, and lies on the site of the former abbey, near the bridge, and south of the river. A burial-ground is to be found in the same place, but no inscription of the least interest. There is a well here inclosed by mason-work, and a gothic window lately erected, and intended to represent part of the ancient abbey. This latter was in bad taste, and less propriety; for whatever might

be said in palliation of the erection of counterfeit ruins on new sites, nothing can be advanced in apology for the constructing of a spurious, illegitimate piece of imitation, on ground where it looks like profane intrusion, and might possibly mislead or deceive future inquirers. Full sure we are, that were St. Austin himself in the flesh, he would not sanction such doings.”—Ryan’s “History and Antiquities of the County of Carlow,” (1833), p. 354.

² This church was rebuilt in 1740, and again in 1830.

St. Columb Church is also made use of for a schoole house. In the Church yard is seen the Fantasticall monument on the other side, which I touched off for want of a better remark upon the place.¹

BYRNE'S MONUMENT IN TULLAGH CHURCH YARD.

[The sketch, which is not engraved, represents a plain altar-tomb, with the emblems of the Passion, thus inscribed]:—

Hic jacet Edmondus Caroli Byrne qui obiit decimo die Aprilis A^o Dom. MDCXXV. et ejus uxor Margareta Masterson^a quæ obiit an Dom. +

*Terra fui quondam, rursus sum terra, nihil sum
Terra caduca vale, vermes salvete, recumbo.
Mortagh Mury, Mason."*

The next thing to be seen by the Traveller is the Castle,² which I have penn'd on the back side this leafe.

This is thought a good Quarter for Horse.⁴ Here is quarter'd the Troop of the Hon^{b1e} Edward Brabazon, Esq.

Here are Good Inns; the Rose and Crown, and Royall Oake, are the chiefest.⁵

¹ The monument and inscription alluded to in the text no longer exist, but a memorial of a century later in date is to be found in the following words (copied in Ryan's "History"), "inscribed in raised letters on an old stone in the church-yard of Tullow:—

"HIC JACET WALTERUS MOTTLY ET UXOR EJUS JOANNA WYSE. TERRA FUI QUONDAM: RURSUS SUM TERRA : NIL SUM TERRA.—VALE. 1626."

² Masterson is the surname of a Cheshire family, one of whom, Sir Thomas Masterson, was constable of Ferns Castle, where he commanded an English garrison during the reign of Elizabeth. His descendants, by alliance with natives, became Roman Catholic, a change of religion which was frequent with the Elizabethan settlers.

³ "There are no remains of the castle [of Tullow] extant. It stood, we believe, near the site of the present church." —Ryan's "History of Carlow." The graphic sketch preserved by Dineley is the more interesting on this account, being the only record now remaining of this ancient castle.

⁴ "A barrack formerly stood on the ground now occupied by the court-house. It was erected, we understand, in the reign of Queen Anne," (?) "the materials of the building being composed of the walls of the old abbey, which

were pulled down for the purpose." —Ryan's "History of Carlow."

⁵ The principal merit of Mr. Dineley's MS. consists, of course, in the very curious and valuable vignettes with which he so interestingly illustrated his memoranda. These latter are somewhat meagre. It is not to be expected that he would have noticed two or three places in the shire of Carlow, which, on account of their high historic associations, demand some allusions from us in our capacity of topographers. The first is "Balligawran," (now Garryhill), so named in Addit. MS. 4791, Brit. Mus., as the scene of the encampment, in 1394, of Richard II., at the head of the stately army with which he in that year invaded this country. We are inquisitive as to the present denomination of this place, because it must have been either here, or in the vicinity, at the entrance then cut into the Kavanagh's woods, that the king knighted young Henry of Monmouth, on the occasion of his *début* in war. The encampment is named "Ballygory" in a contemporary archive, which sets forth how, on the 16th day of February, 1395, Art Mac Morrough, who was styled King of Leinster, here made his formal submission before the Earl Marshal of England.

Then there is "Calleston," now Kelystown, where the petty skirmish was

From Tullagh Phelim to Hackets-Town is five miles, in which, two miles off from Tullagh, you are to pass a River called Dender, but most commonly Derrin, upon which is a mill and Bridge of Timber.

Hackets-Town¹ hath nothing of note neither within nor neere it. The Inne at the George, kept by William Carroll, is tolerable.

From hence to Ballenderry town, belonging to Henry Temple, Esq., are ten tedious miles over stupendious mountaines, called the mountaines of Wicklow, mostly the Estate of the Lord Strafford.

Having passed over mountaines seven miles of your way towards Ballenderry, you leave on the left hand a fortification built by the Lord Falkland,² and called Macredden,³ as a security of that part of the Countrey against the Wood Kernes⁴ and Rebels.

Within a little more than a mile towards Ballenderry, you cross a River descending from Glandmelurr, neer which, somewhat above half a mile out of the way, is a Spring Well, or Spaw water, called Drumkitt.

This Spaw is much frequented by people of quality and others during the season. It spouts out of a rock, which it stains of an Orrenge tawney colour, and the Poole that receives it is rarely without a blew scum.

Besides y^e St. Patrick's Wells, which are very plentifull in this countrey, and others that the superstitious Irish cry up, here are severall famous Spaw Waters, Wells, and Springs that are medicinall in Ireland, miraculous and Wonder-working, in the Provinces of Munster and Ulster, particularly two very remarkable ones which Mr. Thomas May takes notice of in his History of the Raign of King Henry the Second, and which he relates from Gricaldus [sic] Caubrensis in these words:—

“A Well there is in Munster to be seen,
Within whose waters, whoso're hath been
Once drench't, His Hair straight takes an hoary die.
Another Fountaine of quite contrary
Effect to that in Ulster springs; for there
Those have washed once, how old so 'ere
Shall never after have an hoary hair.”

fought in which Lord Lieutenant Mortimer, Earl of March, and heir presumptive to the crown, was slain in the disguise of a kern, by O'Nolan, the chieftain of the district.

Again, there is “Herpelenin,” as Froissart names the residence of Bryan Costoret (which probably was in this country), whither this Gaelic horseman carried his prisoner, Henry Cristell, the English squire, who gave the French chronicler his curious and apparently faithful account of the contemporary wars in our country.

¹ Named from the family, settled here in Strongbow's time, called Hackett.

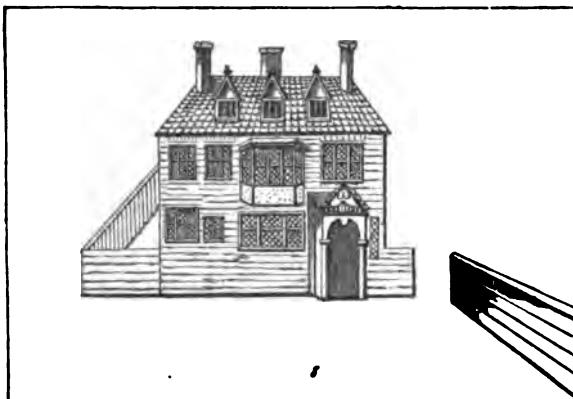
² Lord Deputy of Ireland, and father of the celebrated Falkland.

³ Macredden, alias Muycreddin, and now Carysfort, an extinct borough in the parish of Rathdrum, barony of Ballinacor, and county of Wicklow, which gives the title of earl and baron to the family of Proby.

⁴ “Wood-kernes,” the translation of *Coille-ceitherne*, or caterans of the woods. Shillelagh Forest was a favourite haunt of these houseless marauders.

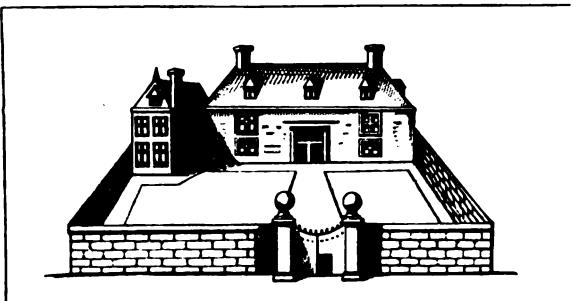
They report also of a Lake in the Archbischprick of and neer the Town of Armagh, into w^{ch} if a peece of Timber or Pole be putt sticking, That that part of it which remaineth in the mud is turn'd into Iron, and that which lyeth in the Water is turned to a sort of Hone for razors, or a Whetstone.

From Ballenderry to Rathdrum, and a market Town, is a mile; from thence to Wicklow is six miles more.¹



WICKLOW² is a seaport, with a King's Castle, with a Constable therein, whose greatest profit, besides the honour of his charge, is that he hath his residence there Rent free.

BALLENDERRY.



The scituacion of the Castle is of very difficult access, very high upon a promontory of a Rock, encompassed with the sea at spring tides. The present Constable is John Hammond, Esq.

¹ The drawing which follows it is impossible to identify, no name having been affixed by Mr. Dineley. It may be

a front view of the two storey building in the next cut.

² i.e. Vik-ing-lough, or the lake of vik-

Its harbour is safe;¹ hither come ships and vessels of 45 and 50 tuns. The Manufacture of the Town is nothing but ale.

Not onely from Wicklow, but from Ballenderry itself, an house belonging to Mr. Henry Temple,² in the loft thereof, in a clear day, are said to be discernible the Mountaines of Caernarvon, in Wales, and above all, the Hill of Prince Griffith.

WEXFORD, or Weishford,³ was the first Town in this Kingdome which receiv'd a Colony of English. Its trade is much with the city of Bristol.

Its scituacion is upon the river Slane, navigable by flatt boats to Innish Corsey [Enniscorthy], 2 leagues above this Town, where are Iron Works, which are supplied with Iron stone, y^e mineral from y^e Forrest of Dean,⁴ and some Coale. This river distributes y^e Iron in y^e countrey when made. On this side a Barr of Sand, to y^e main seaward, is a large Poole capable of Ships of Burthen, wherein are yearly taken good draughts of large Herrings, which, transported, are no small advantage to this place.

Ross.—An Episcopal see⁵ and Town of Traffick, founded by Isabel, daughter of Richardus de Clare, Earle of Pembroke and Strigil, Earle Marshall of England, Vicegerent of Normandy, Prince of this whole Province of Leinster, in the right of Eva, his wife, sole daughter and heiress of Dermot Mac Morogh, King of Leinster, which s^d Richard de Clare was surnamed Strongbow, first invader with success of this Kingdom of Ireland for Henry y^e second, whose monument and Inscriptcon I have design'd and wrote in Christ Church, Dublin.

Its scituacion is upon the river [Barrow], navigable for ships of burthen, and where can ride those of four hundred tuns and upwards before the very Key.

ings, men of viks, wicks, or inlets. "The Book of Howth" allocates *Dubh-gall* in Wicklow. The adoption of the Scandinavian name by the Strongbonians, in lieu of the Gaelic name, Kilmantan, in this and other instances, such as Waterford, Wexford, Carlingford, &c., indicates that these seaports were enjoyed by the Gothic race at the time of the conquest.

¹ Wicklow harbour is now the reverse, being considered unsafe except for very small vessels.

² Probably the younger brother of Sir William Temple, who, in 1668, brought over from the Hague the treaty known as the Triple Alliance, of which his distinguished brother was the negotiator, and who died between the years 1695 and 1698, as appears from the will and codicil of Sir William Temple, of record in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Another Henry Temple, the

eldest son of Sir John, and the nephew of Sir William, was created, in 1722, Baron Temple and Viscount Palmerston, and was the direct lineal ancestor of the present Premier.

³ The stymon of the name is to be sought for in some Scandinavian word, as a prejunct to "fiord."

⁴ These iron-works caused the destruction of the ancient forest called Coilloughram, and also of other woods in the vicinity.

⁵ Mr. Dineley confounds New Ross with the Episcopal See of Ross, now united to Cork and Cloyne. A writ by King John, when Lord of Ireland, is tested "apud villam novi pontis Wil-lielmi Marescalli," showing that William Earl Marescall built the bridge which gave name to the town. For a notice of some remains of the timber of this bridge, see Vol. ii., new series, p. 204.

**AN ACCOUNT OF THE BARONY OF FORTH, IN THE COUNTY
OF WEXFORD, WRITTEN AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVEN-
TEENTH CENTURY.**

EDITED BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

THE original MS. of this tract is in the possession of Sir T. Phillips, Bart., Middlehill, Worcestershire, with other contemporary accounts of Irish counties and districts, which were written for Sir William Petty, at the time he intended to accompany his *Atlas of Ireland* with a volume of such treatises. It is entitled:—" Briefe Description of the Barony of Fort, in the County of Wexford, together with a Relation of the Disposition and some peculiar Customs of the Ancient and Present Native Inhabitants thereof." The date appears to be about 1680. Who the author was is not known: but, from the frequent reference to religious matters, the thorough acquaintance displayed with them, the quotations from classic writers, and the circumstance that the citations from the Old and New Testaments are in the Latin language, I conjecture that he was a Roman Catholic priest; and, further, that his name was Synnott, because he shows intimate knowledge of this family. Whoever he was, he evidently was chosen as capable of drawing up a complete account of the old colonists of the barony of Forth. His statements respecting these descendants of the first English settlers in Ireland have the lively interest resulting from the close acquaintance of the writer with his subject, and the apparent faithfulness of his delineations.

Besides the local value attaching to this representation, there is a relative one, since the characteristics of the colony under consideration were shared by whatever *Fer-Sassony*, or Saxon men, were descended from settlers in other parts of the kingdom at the epoch of Strongbow's invasion, such as the dwellers in the plains of Downshire, whose forefathers had been planted there by De Courcy, and their congeners who inhabited the fertile district north of our metropolis, still called Fingal, from having been the seat, at an earlier period, of a Scandinavian primitive *Finé-gall*, or tribe of foreigners. The true reason why these rich champaigns were taken by the English race, and successfully held against the Irish, is, no doubt, to be found in the difference between feudal and clan tenure of land—the former giving, by its individuality and security of possession and inheritance, great advantage over the latter.

Many passages in our old works and archives could be brought to bear on the peculiarities of the district in question, among which

is the origin ascribed in the Four Masters to the foremost invaders, who, in 1169, landed, under Robert Fitz-Stephen, at the mouth of the Banna, in this county. This puny band of adventurers is designated as "seventy Flemings, clothed in coats of mail," showing the special extraction assigned by the Irish to the first enterprisers; and it appears that, besides these, very many settlers of the twelfth century came from the Flemish colony in South Wales, and imprinted their characteristics in Ireland. Of this fact, several surnames are evidence—as Fleming, Baron of Slane; Prendergast, whose original name has a Flemish appearance, and was to be found in the colonies from Flanders which established themselves in Pembrokeshire and on the Scottish border; Chievres, now Cheevers; Synad, now Synot; Cullen, Wadding, Whythay, now Whittey; Cusac, Sigin, Wilkin, and Boscher. Indeed, were we to run through the roll of old county Wexford names, we should find fewest of Saxon origin; so that we have to seek a sound reason why the Saxon language was the birth-tongue of the barony Forth dialect. Thus, the Norman prefix *Fitz*, was frequent, there being Fitz-Henry, or Fitz-Harris; Fitz-Reymond, now Redmond; Fitz-Elie, and Fitz-Nicol. Other Norman names were Talbot, from the barony of this name near Rouen, with Devereux, Rochfort, Neville, Browne, and Poer. To Pembrokeshire, the adjacent hive across the sea whence the largest immigrant swarm issued, may be traced the families of Barrett, Barry, Bryan, Carew, Caunteton (now Condon), Hay, Keating, Meyler, Roche, Russell, Stackpole, Scurlock, and Walsh. To Devonshire, Furlong of that ilk, Bellew, Codde, Cruys, Hore. Of uncertain locality are Harper (said to be descended from Strongbow's harper), Sutton, Stafford, Ros-siter, Loundres, Esmonde, French, Lampart, Peppard, St. John, and Turner. These names are only part of those of the first colonist families, yet suffice to show that the Teutonic character was strongly impressed, by means of these families, on this part of Ireland. An old barony Forth alliterative rhyme, still in men's mouths, conveys the hereditary characteristics of some of these races:—

Stiff Staffort,	Stiff Stafford.
Dugged Lamport,	Dogged Lambert.
Gay Rochfort,	Gay Rochfort.
Proud Deweros,	Proud Devereux.
Lacheny Cheevers,	Laughing Cheevers.
Currachy Hore,	Obstinate Hore.
Criss Colfer,	Cross Colfer.
Valse Vurlong,	False Furlong.
Shimereen Synnott,	Showy Synnott.
Gentleman Brune,	Gentle Browne.

On the question as to the proportion of Flemings among these settlers, the Very Rev. Dr. Russell has, in an interesting paper,

read in August, 1857, before the British Association of Science, at its meeting in Dublin, on the ethnography of this district, shown that Henry I. sent English colonists among the Flemings in South Wales, to teach them the Saxon tongue. These instructors were, doubtless, of the fair sex, which is ever wanting in a young settlement ; and it seems, by old Higden, the teachers in point were so diligent that, in this chronicler's time, the descendants of these Flemings spoke a barbarous Saxon dialect. There is also the testimony of Camden that the Pembrokeshire plantation was called " Little England beyond Wales;" and further might be quoted a curious letter in Ellis's collection,¹ expatiating on the affinity between the people of Pembroke and Wexford counties. The one was parent of the other, and the connexion could be proved, by many records, to have been kept up. The Earls of Pembroke, of whatever house, retained the lordship of Wexford until the middle of the fifteenth century ; and several deeds extant of the Roches, Barrys, Carews, Waddings, and others, prove the relationship between lords of property on both sides of St. David's Strait. The fact that the Irish, or Celtic people, of most districts in this island were originally emigrants from Britain, being now generally acknowledged, I would remark, first, on the dislocations caused among them in the south-east by Strongbow's invasion ; and, secondly, on that difference in their policy, or social customs, which enabled them, for five hundred years, to keep the English at bay. On the former point, it seems, from the " Book of Rights," that the district of Forth was, in the beginning of the ninth century, the territory of a foreign people, who were, no doubt, the Easterlings, or Ostmen, of whom we shall find mention in the ensuing pages, under the head of the Lord of Wexford's manors of Roslare and Ballymore, to which the residue of this people were confined by their subjugators. The native inhabitants of Bargy may have been swept, by the wave of invasion, to Sliav-Margy, and have subsequently been known as the O'Mores, and the seven septs of Leix. Shelmalier was the seat of the *Siol-Maleor*, i. e., the seed or race of Malaor, who moved up to Glenmalier in Wicklow, and to Clanmalier in Offaly. Shelburne was possibly the region of the *Siol-Brannach*, or race of Britons, perhaps progenitors of the O'Byrnes, Kavanaghs, &c., who moved northward. These indigenous clans kept the countries to which they emigrated against the English, because the land was comparatively unfertile, either as forest or mountain ; and this quality enabled the possessors to hold their own down to the close of the sixteenth century. Of this there is

¹ "Original Letters," first series, vol. i., p. 191. See also a paper on the "Englishry of Pembrokeshire, and its

Dialect," by Thomas Purnell, Esq., in the "Cambrian Journal" for the month of December, 1859.

a vivid explanation in a letter from Sir Henry Wallop, of Enniscorthy, dated 8th June, 1581, at Wexford, and addressed to Secretary Walsingham. The period was one when it was of political importance to master the Irish clans ; and the writer insists that the countries of the Kavanaghs, O'Toole's, and O'Byrnes are the first which ought to be reduced to obedience. The people inhabiting them have, he remarks, ever been enemies, lying in the bosom of the English ; and he observes that they cannot be other than despoilers, living, as they do, idly and licentiously. Why they lived so was because of their vicious system of land tenure. Their strongholds, he says, consist in woods growing in rocky valleys, which woods they plash in many places, and then they lie therein for safety. This mode of fortifying and living is no other than that of the most antique forest tribes, as described by Hesiod, Strabo, and other old writers. Sir Henry Wallop had also observed the ruins of many castles of the ancient English on the marches of these countries, which had been almost razed to the ground by the Irishry, who, observes he, will have none such, but wish all the land to lie open, without such places of strength. In effect, secure only in their forest-forts, and in the wilderness state of their region, they were naturally jealous of the stone towers which enabled the Englishry to keep the rich lands they had gained. This remarkable letter concludes by observing that :—“The countye of Wexford was the fyrst place our nation landed and inhabited in ; to this day they generally speake oulde English,¹ and are best affected to our nation, and easiest to be governed.”

¹ For notices of the peculiar language of this district, see Stanhurst, *apud Hollinshed's "Chronicle;"* Fraser's "Statistical Survey of the County of Wexford," published under the auspices of the Dublin Society, Dublin, 1807, p. 70, and the Appendix, where a specimen and vocabulary of the language are given; Mason's "Parochial Survey," vol. iii., p. 411, &c. The last instance of the use of this peculiar dialect occurred during the visit of Lord Mulgrave, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Wexford, A. D. 1836. The document is taken from the "Wexford Independent" of Feb. 15, 1860, where an interesting account of the circumstances under which the address was drawn up is given by the editor of that paper, Mr. Edmund Hore, who was the composer, and also the reader of the document before the Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Hore's observations are as follows :—

“ As the Barony Forth address to Earl Mulgrave has given rise to far

more discussion about the Barony Forth and its old dialect than was dreamed of at the time, it may not be amiss to state simply its origin and the manner of it. The first to notice it was a writer in the 'Dublin University Magazine.' It then found a place in Mr. and Mrs. Hall's 'Ireland.' The late erudite Dr. G. E. Latham took particular notice of it in his learned work on the English language; and the Very Rev. Dr. Russell, President of the Royal College, Maynooth, made it the subject of an interesting and learned paper, read at the last meeting of the British Association held in Dublin. The origin was thus :—Mr. John H. Talbot, then M. P. for New Ross, whose character for hospitality has ever been unquestionable, had the neighbouring clergymen and several lay friends to dinner with him about the 1st of August [1836], at Ballytrent. The visit of the Lord Lieutenant was a particular subject of conversation; and the patriotic host suggested that an address in

A BRIEFE DESCRIPTION OF THE BARONY OF FORT, IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD, TOGETHER WITH A RELATION OF THE DISPOSITION AND SOME PECULIAR CUSTOMS OF THE ANTIENT AND PRESENT NATIVE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

The deficiencys in any respect of what pertinentlie merits to have been inserted in the ensuing rude Essay of Description will, it is

the old Barony Forth dialect would be a novelty not quite out of the way. The idea was approved of generally, but the Rev. P. Walsh, P.P., Lady's Island, met it with the greatest warmth. A rough copy having been prepared, the Rev. Mr. Walsh called to his aid two or three of his parishioners considered the most proficient in the old tongue. He explained to them his wishes, and for some time all went on well; but, finally, difficulties began. Though quite fluent in their ordinary conversation, as translators they became timid, confused, and incompetent. It being an object of special desire to compliment Earl Mulgrave on the emancipation of the slaves—the blacks—when he was Governor in Jamaica, the phrase became an insurmountable stumbling block. *Emancipator*, having no synomine in the Barony Forth, and other similar words—pronounce them as long and as broad as you may, on the paper was the same identical word still. Difficulties increased, and the session was broken up. Disappointed, but not totally downcast, the Rev. Mr. Walsh, having business into Wexford the next day, did me the honour of calling on me, told me of Mr. Talbot's wish and his own approval of it, explained what he had done and the difficulties he had met, warmly requesting my co-operation. Having a strong attachment to my native barony, and as the spot for the delivery of the Address was almost that of my childhood, I felt anxious, but timid, in undertaking the task. Aware of the trammels of a translation, I stipulated that taking special care of the "Emancipator of the Slaves," and some other minor details, I was to be perfectly free in everything else. Little thinking of the matter ever having anything beyond a mere ephemeral life, it was sketched and engrossed, and ready for presentation when the interesting day arrived. For the accuracy of this account of the origin and progress of the Barony Forth Address, I can respect-

fully appeal to the Rev. P. Walsh, who took the greatest interest in it all through. The most remarkable fact, in reality, in connexion with the Address is this:—In all probability it was the first time regal or vice-regal ears were required to listen to words of such a dialect; and it is even still more probable that a like event will never happen again; for if the use of this old tongue dies out as fast for the next five-and-twenty years as it has for the same by-gone period, it will be utterly extinct and forgotten before the present century shall have closed.

"In order for a person not acquainted with the pronunciation of the dialect to form anything like an idea of it, it is first necessary to speak slowly, and remember that the letter *a* has invariably the same sound, like *a* in 'father.' Double *ee* sounds as *e* in 'me,' and in most words of two syllables the long accent is placed on the last. To follow the English pronunciation completely deprives the dialect of its peculiarities.

"A sign having been given to the writer of this paper, he advanced, and had the honour of reading the following Address:—

" 'To's Eccellenсie, Constantine Harris Phipps, y' Earle Mulgrave, "Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland." Ye soumissive Spakeen o'us Dwelleres o' Baronie Forthe, Weisforthe.

" ' MAI'T BE PLESANT TO TH' ECCELLENСIE,—Wee, Vassales o' "His Most Gracious Majesty," Wilyame ee Vourthe, an az wee verilie chote na coshe an loyale Dwelleres na Baronie Forthe, crave na dicke luckie acte t'uck neicher th' Ecclencie, an na plaine garbe o' ure yola talke, wi vengem o' core t'gie ure zense o' ye grades whilke be ee dighte wi yer name, an whilke we canna zei, albeit o' "Governere," "Statesman," an alike. Ynercha an al o' while yt beeth wi gleezom o' core th' ure eyen dwytheth apan ye Vigere o'dicke Zouvereine, Wilyame

hoped, excite some more perspicaciously solid and discreet person, more politelie exact, to supplie ; who may add or abbreviate, correct, alter, or expunge what is either imperfectlie or improperly expressed, relating to place, matter, or person ; nothing intention-

ee Vourthe, unnere fose fatherlie zwaes
oure daies be ee spant, az avar ye trad
dicke londe yer name war ee kent var
*ee Friene o' Livertie, an He fo brake ye
neckares o' Zlaves.* Mang ourzels—var
wee dwytheth an Irelande az oure gene-
rale haime—y'ast bie ractrom o'honde
ee delt t'ouz ye laas ee mate var ercha
vassale, ne'er dwythen na dicke waie
nar dicka. Wee dwyth ye ane fose
dais be gien var ee gudevar e'ye londe
ye zwaes,—t'avance pace an livertie,
an wi'oute vlynch, ee garde o' generale
reights an popiare virtue. Ye pace—yea
we mai zei, ye vaste pace whilke bee ee
stent owr ye londe zince th'ast ee cam,
proo'th, y'at wee alane needeth ye giftes
o'generale rights, az be displayte bie ee
factes o'this goveremente. Ye state na
dicke daie o'ye londe, na whilke be nar
fash nar moile, albiet " Constitutional
Agitation," ye wake o'hopen ee bligthe,
stampe na yer zwaes be rare an lightzom.
Yer name var zetch avancet avar'e ye,
e'en a dicke var bye, arent whilke ye
brine o'zea an ye cragges o'noghanes
cazed nae balke. Na oure glades ana
whilke we delti wi' mattoke an zing
t'oure caules wi plou, wee hert ee sough
o'ye colure o' pace na name o' *Mulyrate*.
Wi Irishmen owe generale hopes be ee
bond—az Irishmen, an az Dwelleres na
cosh an royale o' Baronie Forthe, w'oul
daie an ercha daie, oure meines an oure
gurles, priae var long an happy zins,
shorne o'lournagh an ee vilt wi beni-
sons, an yerset an oure gude Zovereine,
till ee zin o'oure daies be var aye be ee
go t'glade.'

" To His Excellency, Constantino Henry
Phipps, Earl Mulgrave, Lord Lieute-
nant-General and General Governor of
Ireland. The humble Address of the
Inhabitants of the Barony Forth, Wex-
ford.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY
—We, the subjects of his Most Gracious
Majesty, William IV., and as we truly
believe both faithful and loyal inhabi-
tants of the Barony Forth, beg leave at
this favourable opportunity to approach
your Excellency, and in the simple dress
of our old dialect to pour forth from the
strength (or fulness) of our hearts, our

sense (or admiration) of the qualities
which characterise your name, and for
which we have no words but of "Govern-
or," "Statesman," &c. In each and
every condition, it is with joy of heart
that our eyes rest upon the representa-
tive of that Sovereign, William IV., under
whose paternal rule our days are
spent; for before your foot pressed the
soil, your name was known to us as *the Friend of Liberty, and he who broke the fetters of the Slave*. Unto ourselves—for we look on Ireland to be our common
country—you have with impartial hand
ministered the laws made for every subject, without regard to this party or that.
We behold in you one whose days are de-
voted to the welfare of the land you govern, to promote peace and liberty—the uncompromising guardian of common
rights and public virtue. The peace—yes,
we may say the profound peace—which
overspreads the land since your arrival, proves that we stood alone in need of
the enjoyment of common privileges, as
is demonstrated by the results of your
government. The condition, this day, of
the country, in which is neither tumult
nor disorder, but that constitutional agi-
tation the consequence of disappointed
hopes, confirms your rule to be rare and
enlightened. Your fame for such came
before you even into this retired spot,
to which neither the waters of the sea
below nor the mountains above caused
any impediment. In our valleys, where
we were digging with the spade, or as
we whistled to our horses in the plough,
we heard the distant sound of the wings
of the dove of peace, in the word *Mul-
grave*. With Irishmen our common hopes
are inseparably bound up—as Irishmen,
and as inhabitants, faithful and loyal, of
the Barony Forth, we will daily and every
day, our wives and our children, implore
long and happy days, free from mel-
ancholy and full of blessings, for yourself
and our good Sovereign, until the sun of
our lives be gone down the dark valley
(of death)."

Although this Address was not the
genuine production of the peasantry of
Forth, yet it is worth preserving.—
ED. OF JOURNAL.

ally herein designed to calumniate any whosoever mencioned or concerned.

Qui veritatem celat et qui mendacium prodit uterque reus, ille quia prodesse non vult iste quia nocere desiderat.—St. Augustin.

Suum cuique decus posteritas rependet.—Tacitus.

Description of any region conduceth to the illustration of more exact and ample history. And—

Historia est testis temporum, Lux veritatis, Vita Memoriæ, Magistra Vitæ, Nuncia Vetustatis.—Cicero.

As the County of Wexford, immediatlie after the Conquest of the Kingdome of Ireland by Henry II., King of England, was honoured by the primier English Colony introduced and planted at Bannoe,¹ [which was] then made a corporate towne, favoured and adorned with extraordinary priviledges and immunitiees comprised in its Charter,—soe the said County's Inhabitants (*cæteris paribus*) ever since in all publique assemblies, civil conventions, and military expeditions had indisputable allowed them precedency in nomination and order throughout all parts of the Kingdome of Ireland.²

The said County comprehends and is subdevided into eight Baronyes, vitz.:—

Fort, Bargye, Shilbirne, Shilmalier, Bantry, Scarawailsh, Ballaghgeene, Gowry,	} Called English baronyes. } Irish. ³
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The Barony of Fort, on all emergencyes of publique concerne in the said county, precedeth and hath pre-eminenſe.⁴ The Gentry and Inhabitants thereof first in all courts called, and in time of

¹ Probably Bannow was the oldest corporate town in Ireland. Its charter is referred to in that of Ross—"Chartæ, Privilegia et Immunitates," printed to p. 92 by the Irish Record Commission.

² I have not found this statement borne out. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, the county of Wexford was so isolated, or cut off from the other English parts of Ireland, that during disturbed times even mere communication was difficult, and the shire was not reck-

oned as a portion of the pale, partly because, as a "liberty" or palatinate, its government was unmixed with that of the rest of "English" Ireland.

³ These "Irish" baronies were not created into baronies till the reign of James I.

⁴ This statement is borne out by a summons, enrolled in Birmingham Tower, to the Wexford gentry, in 1345, in which the men of the barony Forth are named next after the knights.

Warre, Expeditions, Rising in Arms (in order to the opposing and suppressing turbulent seditions, factious, or knownen declared rebels), some one prime Gentleman thereof had the conduct and command of forces raised in the said County.

The said Barony in longitude extends from the north-west part of the Commons¹ of Wexford, inclusive, unto the extreamest point of Carne, Kemp's Cross,² about tenn miles. Its breadth, dilated from the west side of the Mountain of Fort, six miles, comprehending, by ancient computacion, 20,000 acres of arable land, naturally not fertile, but by the sollicitously ingenious industry and indefatigable labour of the Inhabitants, soe improved and reduced to that fecundious perfection, that it abounds with all sorts of excellent Bread-corne, and Graine, Gardens, orchards, fruits, Sweet Hearbs, Meadows, pasture for all sorts of cattle (wherewithall it's plentifullly furnished), not much inferior, if not equivalent, to the best in Ireland, though not generally soe great in body or stature.

The inhabitants commonly use pacing Naggs, singularly per-formant in travaille, and easily kept in good case.

Theyre Farms are soe diligentlie and exactlie hedged and fenced, that Neighbours very seldom tresspass one another; they greatlie sowe Fyrse seeds, or plant the same in Rowes some few Ridges distant, which ordinarily in few yeares grow 8 or 10 foot in height, and to that bigness and strength, that (better timber being there deficient) dwelling howses are therewithall roofed; it alsoe, in the extreameest violence of winter tempests, affords their horses, sheepe, and goates both food and shelter; being planted in the hedges, it becomes singular fence for theyre corne fields, and afterwards theyre onely fuell on all occasions; being cutt or grubbed in March, makes the clearest flame, the most lasting, hardest, and hoatest coale of any firewood (except juniper), with least quantity of Ashes.

The whole Barony, at a distance viewed in Time of Harvest, represents a well cultivated garden, with diversifyed plotts.

There are therein very many incomparablie cleare and wholesome Springs and Fountains, dedicated to some Saints, which frequentlie have been experienced medicinall, Infirme persons drinking thereof, or being therein bathed.

There are small Rivers at Killaloke, Athsaly, Ballibrenan, and Loyne,⁴ into which the Ocean flowes from a spacious Bay or Indraught, entering at the ostium or Haven's mouth and Barre of Wexford, replenished with variety and abundance of Base, Mullet, Flookes, Eeles, Hakes, Herrings, Oysters, Cockles, Muskles, &c., soe

¹ This is the common land on the mountain of Forth.

² This cross was on the point of Carn-sore. It is now defaced and levelled.

³ Furze wood was used for the *watlin*

(little wood) or wicker-work to which the thatch was fastened. Until the close of the last century, almost every dwelling-house was so roofed.

⁴ Now Kerlogue, and Ford of Lyng.

as Herrings have been sold at 3d. per Meise, consisting of 612. It is innumerablie supplied with divers kinds of wilde fowle, Widgeon, Shildrake, Kearling, Ducke, Teale, pluvier, &c. ; with Barnacles becoming in the month of May so ponderously fatt, that not having activity nor strength to flie, are by the adjacent inhabitants in small boats pursued and taken. They are not produced nor breed in their parts, are never hardly from thence three months absent, yet returning are found to be of the ordinary proportion of equal corpulency. It is the received opinion (as in the Irish History and Scottish description of blacke Geese) that they have their originall and naturall production from pieces of Timber longe remaining in the ocean, and cannot but impropriele be esteemed flesh.

The Bay hath severall ample and navigable channells, not in other parts overflowed by the sea (excepting on spring tides) above the depth of five foote; it extends from south to north four or five miles, in breadth not so large: on the east side hath an Isthmus or peninsula called Roslare; with sandy bankes extended northward about four miles. At the end thereof was a forte,¹ by the citizens of Wexford erected for defence of Entrance at the Barre, but demolished by Cromwell. There the noble faire River Slane, having its original in Wickloe Mountains, into which fall the rapid Rivers Banna, Claddagh, Bealaborow, with many less remarkable saluting Wexford, payes its incessantlie abounding Tribute to the ocean ; from thense navigable to a compleetely builded and pleasantlie situated corporat Towne, Iniscurthy, adorned and fortifyed with a spacious Castle and sumptuous Howse, with adjoining Territoryes worth per annum £1,700, anciently appertaining to the Wallops, in England, untill diabolicall Instigacion prompted its proprietor to imbrue his impious hands in his soveraign's sacred Blood, and become Regicide.

This River derives its denomination from its experimentally noted signall Effects, Slane signifying in the Irish dialect Health, being, in the quantity of a quart by many ounces known less ponderous or earthy then any spring water in Ireland.

There is opposite to Wexford, on the East side, a petty Island called Beggerin, in English signifying little Ireland, in which is a Chapel dedicated to St. Ibarius, or Ivorus, celebrated and much frequented by infirm pilgrims, departing, after performance of accustomed pious devotion, with consolatory Ease to theyre Maladyes, at which place hath been of late dayes shewen stupendous Miracles. D. Usher mentioned this saint.—(L[iber] de primord. Eccles.) There is another Island a little Eastward from Beggerin—Great Island ; also the Island of Roslare, South-east thereof.

¹ This implies that the fort was built during "the troubles" of 1642-9, when Wexford ships were notoriously active in the narrow seas.

It was observed, in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, that when the sea ebbs at Bristol, it ebbs at Dublin, and flowes at Wexford and Milfoord, and that it is in its Reflux at Wicklowe when in all them severall parts it flowes.—(Cam. L. i., Top. dist. 2, num. 3-4.)

It was observed, when the above-mentioned Forte at the Barre of Wexford was builded, there was no fresh water near to be found, untill the sandy banke, neere adjacent, was a great depth digged, whence issued abundantlie very pure, sweet water to a great height, decreasing when the sea does flow at the said Barres, and during the ebbing space did augment, and was replenished to its accustomed height, retaining always its first purity and taste. An East Moon makes full sea at the aforesaid Barre.

There is in the south part¹ of that Barony a Lake called Logh Togher,¹ neere three miles in length, halfe neere as broad, into which is extended an Ismus or Tongue of Land named Our Lady's Ile, at the Entrance whereof is a longe causey, or rather Bridge (from whence the Logh hath its denomination), having at its end a small turret erected before the Castle Gate, in the middest of a strong stone wall with Battlement, extending from the East side into the water.

Within this Ismus (containing twelve acres) is a Church, builded and dedicated to the glorious and immaculate virgin Mother; by impotent and infirme pilgrims, and a Multitude of persons of all Qualityes from all provinces and parts of Ireland, daily frequented, and with fervent devotion visited, who, praying and making some oblacions, or extending charitable Benevolence to Indigents there residing, have been miraculously cured of grievous Maladyes, and helped to the perfect use of naturally defective Limmes, or accidentally enfeebled or impaired Sences.

This Logh was observed, about the time his sacred Majesty Charles I. was murthered, during twenty-four hours to have appeared of a crimson, sanguine Coloure.

It is once in four or five years opened, evacuating it selfe into the sea, a passage being cut by command of Squire Cod, of Castletowne,²

¹ Now Lough Tay. Togher is Gaelic for causeway.

² It would seem that this "Squire Cod" was by name John, and a Protestant, mentioned in the parish registries of Wexford, in which we find that Anne Cod, of Castletown, married, in 1668, the Rev. Thos. Bunbury, of Balesker, and that Jane Cod married Thomas Richards, Esq., of the Park, and afterwards of Rathaspic. There was also Loftus Cod, of Castletown, gent., whose will, dated 1696, is at Enniscorthy. This family came over at an early date from Cornwall, where they owned Morwell, *temp. Ric. II.*

Traditionally, Sir Osborne Codde is said to have been one of the knights who accompanied Fitz-Stephen, and to have built the towers of Cloeast and Castletown. In 1478, Nicholas and Martin Codde were required to appear before parliament, or lose their title in three ploughlands in Rathaspic. This latter was "Martin Codde of Castleton," the first-mentioned in the heraldic visitation: his son, Osborne, m. a sister of Comyn, bishop of Waterford; their son, Nicholas, d. in 1571, leaving Martin, of Castletown and of Rathaspic, who mar. Margaret, da. of Alexander Roche, lord of Rothes-

which during a few months continuing open, flowes and ebbs, whereat enters abundance of fry or small fish, untill by violence of Tempest the Gappe is by running sand obstructed, wherein that yong Fish detained becomes extraordinary great and fatt, especially Base and Mullet, Whitings, Herrings, incomparable large, solid, and thicke, Flounders, extraordinary great fatt Eeles, &c. There is in the midst of that Logh a small Island, wherein wilde fowle laye abundance of Egges yearlie; many Rabbets breide therein alsoe.

Loghsale is situate on the west of the said Logh, not soe long nor large, about a mile distant; sometimes by violence of Tempest and small Rivers falling thereinto it breaks its sandy cloyster, running into the next adjacent Sea, the passadg remaining open, and the sea there flowing and ebbing, gives admittance to such fishes as the forsaid Logh is replenished withall, besides faire Oysters and other shell fishes.

Both these Loghes have abundant variety of wilde fowle as the Bay neere Wexford, and tame and wild swannes frequent.

There have been by the Danes,¹ upon their first invasion of that Barony, many places with high Rampires fortyfied, commonlie a mile distant one from another, of an orbicular forme, in which they did encamp, called Rathes, amongst which the most remarkable ample and terrible was the Rath of Ballitrent,² on the sea Banke erected on theyre first Arrivall, raised and strengthened with two Rampires, each forty foot thicke and neere sixty feet distant, circularie the diameter of the inmost being towards one hundred geometrical paces, situated on the east side of that Barony, from which (conspicuous many miles distant) the said Barony is said to have had its originall denomination.

Another notable fortification, about the same time and occasion raised neere Wexford (on which afterwards King John³ built

land, and begot Nicholas, marshal of Wexford Liberty in 1599, and slain the year following, during his father's lifetime, leaving Martin Codde, who, agreeably with a printed inquisition, was seised of the manor of Codde, *alias* Mulderick (red moor) and other lands, with suit of court of the barony of the manor, as appears by an ancient writing made by Osbert Fitz John Codde. He died in 1627, a Protestant, leaving Nicholas, who succeeded him, and several other children. The estate is understood to have been divided among three heiresses, one of whom was Mrs. Richards, of Rathaspic. The mother of the post Moore was of this family, and lived in the Corn-market, Wexford.

¹ Tradition erroneously attributes all such earth-works to the Danes. They

seem to be nothing but defensible cattle-folds. I have shown, in prefatory passage, that the Irish, like the Britons, fortified themselves by "plashing" the woods.

² This rath forms the beautiful and singular garden of the residence of John H. Talbot, Esq. Its rampiers, by forming a shelter from the sea-breezes, render it an oasis on that exposed coast.

³ This king does not appear, by Hardy's account of his progress, to have been at Wexford. The castle was probably built by Geoffrey, son of Robert Fitz-Stephen, at the time he constituted the town a borough. It was afterwards the principal fortress of the Lords of the Liberty.

M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, the French traveller, who visited this place in May, 1644, says:—"This town is very popu-

a sumptuous and impregnable Castle, yet extant), on the west side of that Barony, from the situation whereof the contiguous towne (as by tradition related) is denominated, first called West Fort, in tract of time by the vulgar corruptlie intituled Weisfort,¹ and finally (as now) called Wexford.

The ancient Gentry and Inhabitants of that Barony deryve their original Extraction lineally from England, theyre predecessors having beeene officers² in the Army under the conduct of Fitz-Stephens,³ who first invaded Ireland. Suddenly after the conquest thereof, distinct Allotments of land according to theyre respective qualityes and merits were assigned them, which, untill the Cromwellian usurpcion and Government, they did, during the 500 years, almost compleat, without any diminution, or addition, peacable and contentedlie possess; never attainted nor convicted of any crime meriting forfeiture; soe frugally prudent in theire expences, and sollicitous to improve and preserve hereditary peculiar interest, that noe Revolution of Time, disastrous accidents, Government, nor advantagious proposed motives whatsoever could induce, nor force them to

lous, owing to its great commerce. The fortress is a small square, regularly enough fortifid, and washed by the sea. At the foot of this castle are many ruins of old churches, amongst others that of the Holy Trinity, for which the women have great reverence, and come there in solemn procession. The oldest walk first, and the others follow; then take three turns round the ruins, make a reverence to the remains, kneel, and recommence this ceremony many times. I have noticed them at this devotion three and four hours."

¹ The spelling in old records is usually Weysford and Weisford. Probably the word is Scandinavian, viz., Wash-ford, signifying a fiord, or sea-lake, the slob-land of which is washed by every tide, like the Wash in Lincolnshire. M. le Gouz says that "Wachefort" is, in French, "the washed fort."

² The feudal, or subordinate military policy, was so thoroughly adopted in the Wexford land tenures, as to warrant this idea that each original officer of the invading force obtained a fee of land as his pay, and for future services.

³ Robert Fitz-Stephen, the first Anglo-Norman adventurer in Ireland, was illegitimate son of Stephen de Marisco, constable of Cardigan, and was nephew to Herve de Marisco. Marisco, or De Monte Marisco, was his surname, and this circumstance connects him with Herve, the founder of Dunbrody, with the Maris-

cos, a line of early English barons, and according to the Morres family, with the French Montmorencys. The hold he and Herve obtained in this county is obscure. It seems that he received Wexford and some adjacent districts from Dermot Mac Murrough; and he is said to have surrendered his grant to Henry II, who conferred it on Strongbow. Subsequently, King Henry enfeoffed Robert Fitz-Stephen and Miles de Cogan of the lordship of Desmond, excepting the city of Cork and the lands of the Ostmen there, to hold each by thirty knights' fees. Robert being a bastard, and dying without heirs of his body, had no legitimate heirs; yet appears to have left natural sons, for "Y-fee-Stephens" is mentioned in an old record as one of the magnates of Munster. Yet, although this eminent adventurer made an enterprise into the south-west, he appears to have retained his lordship of Wexford, probably as feudatory to Strongbow, who became lord of Leinster. His son, Geoffrey, constituted Wexford a borough, was baron of Kells, in the county of Kilkenny, and died a. p. in 1211. Two of Geoffrey's sons, William and John, are mentioned in a charter to Kells, temp. John. About 1247, Juliana de Marisco married Henry le Butler. (Archdall's "Monasticon.") Some information, showing how his family lost Wexford, is a desideratum.

quit theire possessions, or alienat them, narrow in extent, and inconsiderable in Revenue (but some elsewhere acquired valuable additional Estates);¹ many Gentlemen and freeholders being there interested, who, to perpetuate the memory of theyre progenitors and familys, alwayes conferred theyre reall Estates on theyre masle progeny or next heire masle,² descending lineally in consanguinity; soe that there are, untill this day, many gentlemen's habitacions and villages retaining the names of theyre first conquering possessors, as, Sinnottowne, Hayestowne, Sigginstowne, &c., but by the late proprietors were ejected, and remaine exiled.

They retain theire first Language³ (old Saxon English), and almost onely understand the same, unless elsewhere educated; and untill some few years past, observed the same form of Apparell theyre predecessors first theyre used.⁴

The Natives (descended as aforesaid), inviolablie profess and maintaine the same Faith and forme of Religious divine worshipe

¹ This statement is borne out by these instances. The Synotts obtained large additional properties throughout the shire. Sir Nicholas Chevers, of Ballyhalvy, ancestor of Lord Mountleinstear, acquired a large estate in Meath; and Chevers, of Killiane, obtained a property in the north of the shire. The Hays, of the Hill, had Castlehaystown, in the fassagh or waste of Bantry. The Brownes, of Mulranken, built a castle near Taghmon, and another near Enniscorthy (still known by their surname), and thereby rescued the adjacent land from the Irish. The Meylers, of Duncormack, owned Priestshaggard, and a considerable property there, and had much difficulty in defending it from the Irish, *temp. Elizabeth.*

² In opposition to the Celtic custom of tanistry and male gavel, but on the salique law of excluding females. This custom of descent was peculiar to Anglo-Irish baronial honours, which almost invariably follow the male line. The cause is to be found in the dangerous state of the colonists, which rendered it necessary to bar women from inheritance.

³ See prefatory remarks and note, p. 56, *supra*. As to the origin of the barony of Forth people, *vide* Vallancey's "Collectanea," Stanyhurst's "Description of Ireland," Wakefield's "Statistics," and a letter of the gentry of the county Wexford to Sir Henry Wallop, printed in Collins' "Peerage."

⁴ It is regretful that our author did not describe the old costume, or custo-

mary garb, of these colonists. Accordinging to the *Irish Hudibras*, a doggrel satire printed in May, 1689, "the dress of a Fingallian woman" was "a gown of finest scarlet friese," above which she wore certain "coats," looped up in a jaunty fashion; but the rest of the portraite is a cruel caricature:—

"Her waist as slender as her cows;
With a white curchef on her brows;
About her ears, her golden mane
Hung down like packthread dyed in grain."

The barony of Forth women wore, within the memory of man, a peaked beaver hat, like that worn in Wales, and by Mother Bunch on the stage; and a laced dark cloth boddice, with skirts of brown stuff, trimmed with rows of red galloon. M. le Gouz, who was in Wexford in 1644, noticed the napkin worn as a coif "in the manner of the Egyptians." This resembled the eastern turban, or roll of linen, more than the curchef of the Italian women in Raphael's paintings. Maidens were distinguished by having their tresses bound up by a simple riband. The French traveller observed the short boddices, and the gathered-up petticoats, which thrifty women, when at work, girded up with their sashes. He also mentions the women's hats, and says their mantles were very large, of a brown colour, and "of which," says he, "the cape is of coarse woollen frize, in the fashion of the women of Lower Normandy." "The people of Wachefort," he asserts, "came principally from France."

theire first Ancestors in Ireland believed and exercised,¹ which the violent and severe Tempests of persecutions wherewithall they were frequentlie afflicted, Imprisonment, Loss of Goods, threatened forfeiture of Lands, nor any penal Laws were prevalent to alter: though their conformity would have been a meane and steppe to beneficall advancement, Ecclesiastical and Civil. They are generally zealous in their Religious profession, having very many remarkable Monuments extant of the pious zeal and devotion of their progenitors, in the aforesaid narrow extent of that Barony; wherein ancientlie were erected, and the precincts and walls yet extant visiblie, of Churches and Chappells, first firmelie builded and richlie adorned for divine service, in the several peeces or parishes, Catalogue² of some of which are hereafter expressed:—

In Rathaspocke³, a Church dedicated to St. Bridget, patroness of Ireland.

A Church dedicated to St. Peter, Apostle, near Wexford, latelie demolished;⁴ a Church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene,⁵ latelie become ruinous, having been profanely, as a Dwelling House, inhabited.

An Hospital for Leapers⁶ adjoining, now ruinous; the houses and lands thereunto ancientlie appertaining, and the revenue given the Soldiery.

A Chapel dedicated to St. Michael Arch.,⁷ neere Wexford. A Chapel dedicated to the B. Trinity, on Castle Hills, both which last were demolished, and their unmaterials converted to the fortification of the Castle, neere Wexford, by the usurper.⁸

A Church and Steeple dedicated to St. John Evang., neere Wexford; demolished, and its stones and materials converted to profane uses as aforesaid.

¹ On the point of religion, the inquiring reader may refer to a letter written at Wexford by Justice Cressy, printed in Strafford's letters; and to Bishop Ram's statement as to the spiritual condition of his diocese.

² The above catalogue shows that the single barony under consideration possessed no less than eighteen churches, thirty-three chapels, one religious hospital, and two convents. It is to be remembered that, in ages when roads either were not, or were impassable, it was necessary to have numerous houses for divine worship.

³ Rathaspocke, i. e., Rath-eappunc, 'fort of the bishop,' now the parish of that name. The present church is a modern building.

⁴ St. Peter's was just outside the walls. There are no remains.

⁵ Now called Maudlentown.

⁶ Lepers' hospitals were numerous throughout Ireland. They seem to have been filled with patients suffering from scorbutic affection, caused by eating unseasonable salmon and other salted food, both which formed principal articles of animal food during winter, prior to the adoption of modes of feeding cattle which render them available during this season of the year. These asylums were usually situated outside and at some distance from towns. The prior of the lazar-house at Liamoro had authority over all lepers in Ireland.

⁷ St. Michael's, of Feagh, or Faythe. Fan-tœ (fahy) means platea or green, and is applied to the flat space sometimes attached to raths; it is equivalent to "a green."

⁸ No doubt used to repair the damage done by battery in Cromwell's siege of Wexford in 1649.

A Convent for friars of St. Francis, neere Wexford, with an elaboratlie sumptuous Chappell,¹ with a spacious walled precinct, ruined.

A Convent or Habitation for Knights Templars at Killaloke,² decayed.

In Rathmaknee peece, a Church ded. to St. Martin,³ become lately ruinous.

A Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine, at Wailshestowne.

A Church dedicated to St. Devan,⁴ lately become ruinous.

A Chap. dedicated to St. Catherine, at Mowrontowne.

In Maglass-peece, a Church dedicated to St. Fintan, at Maglass,⁵ where also hath been a sumptuous ancient house, the Deane of Fearnes his Mansion, ruined.

A Chapel dedicated to St. ——, at Tagunnan.⁶

In Dreinogh peese, a Church dedicated to All Saints at Kil-macry,⁷ demolished ; its materials profaned.

A Church dedicated to St. Kevan, at Dreynoch.⁸

A Church ded. to St. Jeffellen,⁹ at Great Killian.

A Chapel ded. to St. Deignuan at Little Killian, ruined latelie.

In Ballimore peece, a Church ded. to the B. Virgin Mother, ruined ; the Golden Chalice thereof plundered by Cromwellians.

A chapel ded. to the same.

In Ballibrenan peece, a Church ded. to St. Kevil, demolished, its Bells and materials profaned.

A Chapell dedicated to Seaven Saints, Sistersatone Birth brought forth, at Ballibrenan,¹⁰ commonlie called in Irish *Shagh Eneen Eee*,¹¹

¹ Unfortunately there are no remains of this building, which appears to have been unusually ornate.

² Now Killiloge, vulgarly Kerlogue, a small parish of three townlands. A folio volume of MSS., in the State Paper Office, dated 1541, contains an extent of the possessions of the late dissolved monasteries, priories, and other religious houses in Wexford.

³ St. Martin, though a foreigner, was a favourite saint amongst the Irish, nominally in virtue of St. Patrick's alleged relationship to him, but really on account of the intimacy between the Church of Tours and the early missionaries to Ireland.

⁴ Probably a mistake for Kevan.

⁵ This was Fintan, son of Gabhrain. His acts are given by Colgan, Feb. 17. See Acts SS., pp. 349-357. This church is one of the largest. A handsome doorway, with circular ornamented arch, remains. The dean's house was near the present chapel.

⁶ A name now changed to "Mount-pleasant."

⁷ Now the parish of Kilmacree.

⁸ Now Drinagh parish; the patron is St. Kevan, *Hibernice Cuemhun*. Ardeavan, in Shelmalier East, is *Gpd Caemhun*. This saint was commemorated as Caomhan of Ard Caomhain, by Loch Garman (Wexford Harbour). A neighbouring island is called Dar-inis-Caemhain.—Colgan, Acta SS., pp. 393, 394.

⁹ Probably for "St. Helen." "St. Helens, *alias Killiane*," is the modern denomination of the parish.

¹⁰ Now the parish of Ballybrennan.

¹¹ *Seochoit m'fend Cleba*. There is no mention of this commemoration in the Irish calendars, but there occurs "the seven sons of Aedh of Aughrim" at December 20. This sevensfold commemoration both of sons and daughters and bishops is peculiar to Ireland. Pictish clans were divided into "septs" or "seven tribes," there were also British and Caledonian "Heptarchies."

or the seven daughters of Hugh, their father, soe called; neere which is a fountain wherein young languishing infants being bathed have immedately by the Divine Clemency beene restored to perfect health and strength.

A Chapel dedicated to St. Michael Archangel.

A Chapel ded. to St. Munn,¹ latelie become ruinous.

In Kilecowran² peece, a Chapel dedicated to St. Inicke,³ one of the seven sisters afores⁴.

A Church ded. to St. Bridget.

A Chapel to the same at Sladd,⁵ ruined.

A Chapel dedicated to the same at Trummer.

A Chapel ded. to St. Ranlan, at Hill.

A Chapel ded. to St. (. . . .) at Ballimacushen.

In Tacumshan peece, a Church dedicated to St. Munn,⁶ ruined, its Bells and ornaments plundered and profaned.⁷

A Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine, at Tacumshan, ruined, Bells and ornaments profaned.

A Chapel ded. to the same at Ballisampson.

A Chapel ded. to our Lady at Tacumshan.

A Chapel ded. to S. Nicholas, at Ballimakarn.

A Chapel ded. to All Saints, at Ballitory.

In St. Ibarius peece, a Church ded. to St. Ibarius.⁸

A Chapel ded. to St. Anthony, at Fursytown.⁹

A Chap. ded. to St. Catherine, at Butlerston.¹⁰

A Chapel dedicated to St. Margaret, to whom women are much devoted, their patroness in Travaille with Childe, much visited, ruined.

A Chapel dedicated to the B. V. Mary, at Ilard¹¹ aforesaid, frequentlie as aforesaid visited.

A Chapel dedicated to St. George, at Rathmore.¹²

In Carne peece, a Church dedicated to St. Fintan, with a fair howse, the Mansion of the Treasurer of Fernes.

A Chapel ded. to the most holy undivided Trinity, at Carne.

¹ This is Fintan, or Munna, son of Tulchan. His day is Oct. 21. See note in Reeves' "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba."

² Now Kilsoran parish.

³ Killinick. The church is modern, being a second time restored. St. Imochs, or Imoghes, was formerly in the advowson of the Colclough family, together with Bannow.

⁴ A townland in Kilsoran parish.

⁵ See *supra*. Taghmon, in Wexford and Westmeath, are named after this saint, as is also Isertmoon.

⁶ Here is an old tombstone, without

date, bearing the following legend, quite legible, in one line along the edge:—

"Hic jacet Dom. Joāēs Ingram quodā Rector istius Ecclesiae, cuius anima tu dōne miserere Deus." The monument seems to be of the early part of the fifteenth century.

⁷ St. Ibar, of Beg Ere, 23rd April; called St. Ivory in patents *temp. Jac. I.*

⁸ A townland in Tacumshane parish.

⁹ Butlerstown, in St. Iberius' parish.

¹⁰ Lady's Island parish. This chapel is in ruins. The stones were used in 1803 to build the modern chapel.

¹¹ Perhaps Rathmore, in St. Iberius' parish.

A Chapel ded. to St. Vake,¹ in pilgrimage frequented by persons afflicted with Toothach, where praying are immediately eased.

A Chap. ded. to St. at Castle Town.

In Kilrane peece, a Church dedicated to St. Rane.

A Chap. ded. to St. at Hiltown.²

A Chap. ded. to St. Nicholas at Ballyconnor,³ ruined.

A Chap. ded. to St. at Ballitrent.

A Chapel dedicated to St. Tullan.⁴

In Roslare peece, a Church⁵ dedicated to the B. V. Mother ; the Bells and ornaments plundered.

A Chap. ded. to St. Breagh,⁶ where latelie miraculous accidents happened, God demonstrating his Indignation with Signal Severity against the contemners and scoffers of his beatified Servants and profane violators of things and places dedicated to divine service, to the Confusion and immediate Chastisement of impious Blasphemers.

There were very many crosses⁷ in publique Roads, and Crucifixes, in private houses and Churches in the said Barony kept, builded of Stone, Timber, or Metal, representing the dolorous passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which, wherever found, were totally defaced, broken, or burned by Cromwellian soldiers. Soe odious in our unfortunate age, became even the Memory of the first Christian Altar that ever was erected, whereon was offered the propitiatory Sacrifice of all Mankind's Redemption. The direption and demolition of the aforesaid Churches and Chapells were perpetrated, and their sacred ornaments profaned, since and during the late Usurper's Government.

The said Barony is very populous, the small villages nere one another, and of narrow extent, hardly any farm contained 200 acres. The native Inhabitants celebrate with singularlie pious Devotion the yearlie festivities, or patron Dayes, as they term them, in the several parishes, in honour of God and his Saints, esteeming him profane (if a constant inhabitant) who doth not on such dayes penitently (by confession to his spiritual pastor) purge his conscience from mortall sinne, be reconciled to his neighbours, and reverently receive the sacred Eucharist. On such festivals, they mutually invite theire neighbouring friends and alliance unto their howses, whom

¹ Now St. Vank's (Pacc?), a townland in Carne parish, with ruins of a church.

² Hilltown, in Kilrane parish.

³ Balliconnor chapel is now a stable.

⁴ Perhaps for Tullock, i. e. St. Doo-
logue, or Toologo.

⁵ In ruins—has some faint remains of fresco painting, in red colour, representing antique shipping.

⁶ Pulled down some years ago, and a schoolhouse erected on its site. Is this

saint meant for St. Brioc or St. Bridget?

⁷ Crosses of stone were set up to mark the boundaries of church lands, which were hence called "cross lands." They had a twofold object,—to divert the pagan reverence given to "standing" or boundary "stones," or landmarks; and, by serving as mearings, to define where the respective powers of the king's or sheriff's, the palatine's and the churchmen's authority terminated.

they cheerfully, piouslie, and civilly intertwine, with variety of the best accomodation the country can affoord; not without incentive facetiousness and Musical Instruments;¹ noe small motive to foment indissoluble union and Amity amongst them. They seldom dispose of their Children in Mariadg but unto natives, or such as will determine to reside in that Barony. Soe that generally they are in consanguinity or affinity neerelie related. Theyre Apparell is according the English mode, of very fine, exquisitely cottned² frize, comelie, but not costlie.³ They generally take moderate refection at Morning, Noon, and night; are very vigilant, so as that the Sunne noe day in the yeare can reflect on or surprise any professed Labourer on mornings in bed, or sleeping. Haveing first recommended themselves and their designs to the Divine tuition and Direction, they proceed in ordering theyre necessary Concerns. In Summer they constantlie desist from all worke about 10 of the clock, and soon after dine, reposing themselves and their Plough-Horses untill about Two of the Clock, during which time all sorts of Cattle are brought home from pasture and kept enclosed. In winter, they constantlie arise before 5 in the morning, applying themselves to some requisite domestic laborious imployments. They are very precise and exact in the observacion of Ecclesiasticallie enjoined fasts, never eate flesh on Fridayes or Saturdayes, few use Eggs, Butter, or Milk on Fridayes, abstained always from flesh on Wednesday, and untill about the yeare 1670, they were dispensed with all (or rather commanded the contrary). They are not inclined to debauchery, nor excessively addicted to the use of any Liquor, though they make incomparablie strong, well relished, and cleare Beere and Ale,⁴ very wholesome. Neither is Aqua Vitæ there distilled in taste, coloure, or operation inferior unto any knowne in Ireland; in the use of all which they are abstemious, (if Civil Society sometimes incites them

¹ In an unpublished History of Ireland, written about the year 1636, now remaining in manuscript in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, we are told that, "The Irish are much addicted to musick generally, and you shall find but very few of their gentry, either man or woman, but can play on the harp; also you shall not find a house of any account, without one or two of those instruments, and they always keep a harper to play for them at their meals, and all other times, as often as they have a desire to recreate themselves, or others which come to their houses, therewith."

² i. e. Napped.

³ Sir William Brereton, who was in the county town during the assizes, in the year 1634, describes gentlewomen of quality as attired in "good handsome

gownes, petticoates, and hatts," yet wearing, as mantles, "Irishe ruggs, which have handsome comely large fringes, which goe about their necks, and serve instead of bands." "This rugg fringe," says he, "is joined to a garment which comes round about them, and recheth to the very ground; and this is a handsomely comely vestment, much more comely as they are used, than the rugg short cloakes used by the women upon festival dayes in Abbeville, Bullen(Boulogne), and the neare parts of Picardie, in France." Speed's map of Ireland, A.D. 1610, shows that the "civill" Irish men and women, and the "Gentleman and Woman of Ireland," then wore the national mantle.

⁴ Wexford ale was famous down to Dean Swift's day.

not to civilly rational complacency), which together with their ordinary laborious Imployments and manly exercises renders them to be of good complexions, firm constitution of health, and consequently to arrive to great maturity of years. They are generally of an indifferent tall stature, of noe despicable feature, clear-skinned, compactlie strong bodied; theyre moderacon in diet securing them from many distempers incident to other Regions occasioned by Sensual Exorbitancyes, whereby a greater number is irrecoverable prejudiced than violentlie by the sword perish. The Quartan feaver since Cromwell's usurpaçon in that Barony (as elsewhere in the afores^d County) much afflicted and destroyed many, its effects before being there hardlie mentioned, much less knowne. At the decease of Neighbours and friends, the parishioners meete, consolating the afflicted, and interring the defunct without any rude Euilations or Clamours, but counterfeit Presentment of seeming sorrow. The Natives are ingenious, and being by Education assisted, apprehensive of the most abstruse and exquisite School learning, wherein many (in all ages and instantlie) have been and are, at home, and in forraign regions, eminent, noe less honoured and admired for prudence and piety; neither are they stupid nor inferior in the knowledge and practise of Mechanicke Arts by them professed, very laborious and industrious, especially in what relates to Agriculture. Averse to Litigiousness, honest, reall, and candid in theyre negociations, affable and hospitious to Civill Strangers, to none voluntarilie injurious, seldom or never any Robbery or Fellony there committed.¹ None so remiss or lazy, but endeavour to acquire a Livelihood, and competent Subsistance, soe that there is hardly any vagrant native Beggar amongst them, that is not very impotent. Unalterable loyal to their Prince, in theyre Allegiance, upon all Tumults, Revolutions, and Rebellions in Ireland, exposing themselves and Interests to the greatest perills in defence of the Crowne of England, signally demonstrated and performed during Queen Eliz. Reigne; in which Engagements and other like occasions, when frequent Incursions were in hostile manner made into the County of Wexford, by seditiouslie disposed and rebellious persons, the Gentry of the said Barony, to the effusion of theyre Bloud and sacrificing theire lives (seconded by the Loyall Comminalty) confronted and repelled the Common Enemy, vindicating and preserving the envied honoure of theyre predeces-sors' Loyaltie to theyre dread Soveraigne, frustrating the Designs of such as attempted to retard or obstruct the acceptance and submission unto his Majesties' Authority in order to the Establishment of a perfect and happy peace, annis 1646-47-48.

It is observable that before the late Commotions in Ireland, anno 1641, and the usurper's invasion, there were divers protestant

¹ A lock on a door was unusual to a late period in the district.

Ministers' constantlie resident in the said Barony, receiving and enjoying Tythes and other Emoluments appendant to their parish Church, having hardlie any native a proselite, entertaining Roman Catholique servants, lived peaceably and securely, all neighbourlie human good offices being twixt them and the native inhabitants exactlie performed; Discrepancy in principles of Faith or points of Religious worship noe way exciting Discord, Animosity, Aversion, or opprobrious contumelie in word or act, one of the other:—An evident Demonstration of the innate propenscion of the inhabitants to humanity and Affection of Tranquillity.

The mansion howses of most Gentry in the said Barony were fortified with Castles, some neere 60 foot high, having walls at least 5 foot thick, of Quadrangle forme, erected (as is supposed) by the Danes,² to the number of Thirty, of which very few as yet becom. ruinous. Theyre howses built with Stone-walls Sclated; having spacious Halls, in the Center of which were fire Hearthes (according the ancient English mode) for the more commodious extension of heat to the whole family, surrounding it (but that forme is antiquated), all howses at present haveing Chimneys. Plebeians have theyre habitacons compleatlie built with Mudwalls soe firme and high as they frequentlie raise Loftes thereon, after that form they finde most convenient for husbandry Businesses; neat, well accommodated with all necessary Implements, more Civilie and Englishlike contrived than vulgarie elsewhere in many parts of Ireland.

None of the Cominality or plebeian natives of that Barony was transplanted or banished by the Usurper's Substitutes, onely such as were signally knowne and accused to have persevered in theyre Loyaltie in bearing Armes for his Majesty of England. Virtue and inoffencive deportment sometime moves Tyranny itself to appeare exorable, and seemingly Element, deluding vulgar apprehensions,

¹ Bishop Ram's statement, and Justice Cressy's letter confirm this statement. The Earl of Anglesey, in a letter to Lord Castlehaven A. D. 1681, refers thus to the state of the country:—"I remember very well, the summer before the rebellion, the titular bishop of Ferns coming to his visitation into the county of Wexford, where I then dwelt, at the request of a popish priest, I lent most of my silver plate to entertain the said bishop with, and had it honestly returned."

² This supposition, that these square towers were constructed by the Danes, is undoubtedly erroneous. That people, as Ostmen, had not spread much into the country, and are believed to have built in the circular form, as Hook Tower, and that called Reginald's at

Waterford. As to the actual date of erection of some keeps, there is certain information inscribed on stones over their doors. Adamstown tower was built in 1556; Ballymackane, in 1616; Ballyconnor, in 1580. These abodes, which are smaller than most of the "piles" on the Scottish frontier, appear miserably small and deficient in accommodation; but the single tower we see is a mere remnant and the oldest part of the dwelling-place as it was when inhabited. Its "howse" had a "spacious hall" and offices, usually constructed, as was the contemporary fashion in England, of timber frames, filled up with woodwork and clay. These fragile parts of the tenement perished, from arson during war, and subsequently from age.

whereas really politall self Ends, which by Universall Eradicacion (at once) of the natives could not be accomplished, were the sole motives of such pernicious Indulgencyes, tending to the exhausting theyre substance in the support of the Usurper's Army, the enriching and Advancement of his then indigent favourites, and the inevitable poverty, ruin, and servitude of the miserable contributors, when by theyre slavish labors anything considerable accrued, like replenished sponges to squeeze them. Add thereunto the pre-meditated grand design of suceeding Transplantation, irrecovarble to render the expelled loyall Gentry Calamitous—being thereby deprived of the attendance of theyre servants and assisting dependants¹ in theyre greatest distress and deplorable exile. “*Matus, ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus.*” Practising that Nero-nian axiom, “*Hoc agamus ne quis quicquam habeat,* and imitating Caligula's cruelty by insupportable exactions, Slowelie but severlie inducing lamentable consumptive poverty (worse than sudden extinction) to render theyre afflictions the more sensible: “*Qui non temere in quenquam nisi minutis Ictibus animadverti passus est, perpetuo notoque precepto ita fieri, ut se mori sentiat.*” The Gentry, whose loyaltie to theyre King was alwayes inviolable, who were possessed of any lands (hereditary proprietors possiblie by descent) knowne or reputed to have neere relation unto or extracted from any generous family, were indispensably with their wives and children (destitute and commonlie forsaken of theyre servants not transplantable) were on penalty of death commanded to transplant into Connaught, anno 1654 (theyre goods by insupportable taxes and pressures being consumed) or immediatelie to transport into some forraigne region; noe certain place being assigned wherein they might reside, nor appropriate nor competent provision made for theyre subsistence, unless cameleon-like feed on air, and transmigrate into the Spacious imaginary Moone's concave, or Sir Thomas Moore's Eutopia, where they may Cohabite with his Poles and Apoles, not to be paraleld by any Example, unless that of Antiochus the tyrant, who endeavoured *constituere habitatores filios alienigenas, in omnibus finibus Judaeorum.* 1. *Machab.* 3, 36.² The victorious seldom removed the subdued without immediately assigning them a certaine Residence, of which in history remaine innumerable precedents. The Assyrian King translated the 10 tribes of Israel into Assyria, placing in their country Persyans, Chaldeans, Sydonians Levi, l. 1. dec. 1 (*sic*). Nabuchadonazor lead the captive tribe of Judea into Babilon 4. Reg. 17, &c. The Romans entered into league and confederacy with the Campanians, joined with them in matrimony, enfranchised them at Rome: yet afterwards (when

¹ For the details of the transplantation of the Irish gentry, see a paper on “The Plantation of Idrone,” which appeared in vol. iii., pp. 72-80, 145-47,

207-8.

² The verse is:—“And that he should place strangers in all their quarters, and divide their land by lot.”

the latter) revolted and adhered to Hannibal, the Romans thereupon depriving them of the city Capua, and their possessions, notwithstanding afforded them lands elsewhere to inhabite.

Some Gentry of that Barony preferred Exile before Transplantation into Connaught, confiding divine benignity would restore his sacred Majesty Charles 2, and settle him in his throne, untill which time, loyaltie in the usurped dominion being esteemed a Capital crime, banishment seemed tollerable, the head being afflicted, Members must sympathize. Yet noe incident, Calamity, Restraint by tyrannicall commands or constitutions, could extinguish theyre loyall Affection to their lawfull prince, nor extenuate the zeale theyre predecessors had to attend his Majesties Service in foraigne parts, many faithfully and inseperablelie adhering into him.¹ *Ex virtutibus parentum prolis licet judicare successum, dum origo possit deficere quo radicitus convenit pullulare; et hanc conditionem sustinent cuncta manantia, ut sapor qui concessus est origini, nisi per accidentia fuerit forte vitiatus, nesciat Rivulis denegari.*—*Cassiodorus ad Theodosium.* Notwithstanding noe proprietor of Lands in that Barony since his Majestie's wished for happy restoracion is judicially condemned,² nor settled in his ancient hereditary possessions;

¹ Our anonymous author must have been ignorant of some historical passages in 1641-9. Some of the gentry, and particularly Hugh Rochfort, of Tagunnan, and Nicholas French, R. C. Bishop of Ferns, were active in seeking and obtaining aid from foreign princes. When, in 1642, a Spanish vessel brought arms and gunpowder to Wexford, the townsmen and sailors of the port carried the Spanish flag in procession through the streets, singing,—

God bless the King of Spain,
For, but for him, we should all be slain.

(Harl. MS. 5999). The Irish Confederates Catholics accomplished little, because they were always looking abroad; the Scots Covenanters did wonders, not relying on extrinsic aid; the English Dissenters did the most, because they had iron on their breasts, and gold and silver to back them.

² By the Act of Settlement, after the Restoration, one of the provisos framed to prevent restoration to estates was, that whoever had taken portions of land in Connaught during the Interregnum were not to recover their original lands. Indictments for high treason had, in 1642, been laid in Dublin against the principal gentlemen of the county. See Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii., as to the nature of these indictments. The text im-

plies that, although numbers of estates men were not condemned by any tribunal, the fact of their being expelled of 1654 enabled the Adventurers and Soldiers to keep them out after the Restoration. A few of the principal gentry of the county, who had adhered to the treaties of peace made by Ormonde with the Confederates, recovered parts of their properties, as Sir Thos. Esmonde, Bart.; Robert Devereux of Carigmenan, who had been one of the Supreme Council of the Confederation; and Colonel Sir Dudley Colclough, of the Duffrey. Colonel William Browne, of Mulrankan, who was taken prisoner in 1647, in battle against the Parliamentarians, and was afterwards in Grace's regiment, having served under Charles the Second's ensigns abroad, was restorable, but did not succeed in recovering his estate. Christopher Hore, of Pole-Hore, recovered part of his property, as did William Hore, of Harperston, who was one of the two treasurers of the Confederation; and Philip Hore, whose father, Philip, of Kilsalghan, county Dublin, had been the original treasurer of the Confederation, recovered his Wexford property. But, as stated in the text, the mass of landed proprietors, having been ejected in 1654, were excluded by various circumstances and on various pretences from restoration.

though neither upon the first eruption of the fatal commotions in Ireland, nor during the unfortunate progress thereof, any of the Gentry of that Barony were instrumental or active any way in the expulsion of any Englishman or protestant; rather protected many such persons and their goods, securing them from all violence, injuryes, and dangers then impending and elsewhere frequentlie perpetrated. However by an assumed authority afterwards over-powered, and forced to an involuntary passive obedience to submit to the Modell of Government established by the National Assembly at Kilkenny, of the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland, whereby they were involved in the disastrous Tempest, and made obnoxious to the deplorable final shipwreck of that distracted Commonwealth; in which dismal complacency and Compliance, Necessity might seeme to mediat theyre excuse, and Extenuate, if not wash off, the staine cast on their (former immaculate) loyalty. It will seeme much rigour if the acceptance of Cromwel's protection be imputed a crime by cause, *Quod vi aut Metu Cogitur, id magis Jubenti quam facienti acceptum referri debet.* But none sooner nor with more zealous alacrity submitted unto his Majestie's Clemency and peace, anno 1648, when the first overtury was made, and possibility of restoring and establishing his Majestie's Authority: and more vigorouslie opposed seditious dissenters (to it) as before is mentioned. The loss of Credit is incident to the Calamitous: most men regarding the Event of Affayres, rather than the merit of the Cause, or Integrity of Actors, and Innocency of their Intentions. *Hoc placet, O Superi, vobis cum vertere cuncta Propositum, nostris erroribus addere Crimen.* Lucan.

The prime Gentlemen and Freeholders in that Barony, interested (though many of them had considerable Estates elsewhere), were Staffords, Rosceters, Coode, of Castle

¹ This is a notable proof of the Christian charity in which the professors of the two forms of religion lived together in this county. It is asserted in the appendix to Lord Clarendon's History, that not one Englishman was murdered there during the entire war. But during the interregnum, the cruelties and massacres perpetrated by the soldiers in settling themselves in their allotments, in 1650-4, were terrible.

² Staffords. This family was traditionally said to have come from Buckinghamshire, and to have sprung from a third son of the line of Staffordes, Dukes of Buckingham. Robert of Stafford was a baron by tenure in the time of the Conqueror; his son's name was Nicholas, and grandson's Robert, who died about

1176. Nicholas de S. was one of the jurors on an inquest in Wexford, in 1296. (Rolls House, 24 E. I., No. 56.) Robert S. was summoned in arms among the gentry of the county, in 1345. John S. was sheriff of the county in 1610. His son, Nicholas, was appointed governor of the county on the civil war of 1642.

The Rosceters came from Rocester, in Lincolnshire. In 1357, Robert Rowcestre claimed the advowson of Rathmacnee, his ancestors probably having built the church and granted the tithes. (Register of All Saints, p. 87.) Thomas Rossister, of Rathmacnee, was expelled in 1653. Bargy castle was built by one of another branch, whose initials are on an oak panel in the house. Slevoy belonged

towne, his familie expressed singular loyaltie and Valour in Q. Eliza : warres, several of them being therein slaine. Esmondes of Johnstowne, from which family alsoe descended divers magnanimous Martialists, of which Laurence, Lord Esmond, Baron of Limbricke, was extracted, having beeene in the said Q. Eliz. Reigne by her Majesty employed in Holland, when there protectress, and most eminentlie active against the Rebels² during the then Irish Warres, upon numerous terrible and dangerous conflicts victorious : by whose conduct, valour, vigilancy, and prudence the Kavanaghes, Birnes, Tooles, and others (chiefe Incendiarys and fomenters) in the province of Leynster (of rebellious machinations and Disturbance of publique Tranquility) were soe curbed, subdued, and reduced to due subjection, that theyre designs were frustrated, Seditious factions irrecoverable dissolved, and dissipated (the string once broken Beades necessarily fall to ground) : after which loyall and noble service he was by King James created as aforesaid, made Major General of the Army in Ireland, Governor of his Majestie's Fort Royal of Doncannon, and one of his Majestie's honorable privie council in Ireland. He was irreconciliablie avers to Enemyes of the Crowne of England ; indeavoured by loyal and prudent Exhortations to premonish and dissuade his Relacōns and Countrymen from taking Armes by the Instigacion of some debauched Bankrupts, Criminals³

to Walter R. in 1608. Another branch lived at Tacumshane, and owned the manor of Tomhaggard.

Coodes. This is still a Cornish and Devonshire surname. Nicholas Codde, of Castletown, was marshal of the armed array of the "liberty" or palatinate of Wexford, and was, as appears by the visitation of the county, slain in the year 1600. His son, Martin, died a Protestant. James C., of Clougheast, was a captain in the Confederate Wexford force during the civil war. Robert C. was Knight of the shire for the county in 1584. James C., of "Ballynfane," in Forth, died in 1635, leaving Walter, whose son, Matthew, of "Ballyumphane," was ejected, and his property was afterwards granted to Nicholas C., the squire previously mentioned.

Among the families unnoticed are Lampart, of Ballyhire, of whom the last was a captain in the Confederate army; the Hays, of the Hill; the Frenchs, of whom James represented Wexford in parliament at Westminster in 1376; and the Rochfords, of Tagunnan.

¹ Note in original:—"Clougheast, Ballyumphane, Garrilogh descended from Castletowne. A manor belongs

thereunto."

² In the 16th century, the Strongbonian families in this county had much to do to hold their own against the surrounding Celtic clans. After the suppression of the house of Kildare, which had hitherto kept these clans in check, and when King Henry dispossessed Lord Shrewbury, as an absentee, of the lordship of Wexford, the king appointed an English knight, Sir William St. Loo, seneschal, with 47 men as his retinue, to defend the district. On the 24th June, 1537, Sir Walter Browne, of Mulrancan; John Devereux, of Balmagir; and Alexander, Baron Keating, of Kilcoan, addressed a letter from Mulrancan to the king's secretary, complaining that the seneschal and his retainers are not sufficient for protection, and proposing that 5000 or 6000 persons, part soldiers, and part husbandmen, should be planted between Dublin and Wexford; or otherwise, that the king should lease the county to them, they covenanting to defend it.

³ Our author, in thus characterizing the leaders of the 1641 insurrection, is so far correct, as that the principal insurgents were mostly needy officers, who

(thoough of noble extraction) who neither could be secure of theire liberty, nor Consolatorily subsist without distraction or confusion in the Commonwealth, whereby lawes to restraine transgressors might not be put in Execution. Prognosticating theire inevitable Ruine, he resolved (as farre as in him laye) to defend his Majestie's interest, and to secure theforesaid Forte, in which he remained after a long and tedious seige during [. . . .] years, without any relief or assistance, the Country round about (the space of several miles) being deserted, and the Strongeholds adjacent replenished with armed Adversarys, many of his men being slaine, victuals and Ammunition being exhausted, without hope of supplie, or succour, he was necessitated on honourable Conditions to surrender and depart with displayed colours, Bal en Bouch; Generall Preston entering thereinto. After which Rendition he lived not two dayes, so grievously did he resent that loss, and the Miserys his Countrymen wilfully precipitated themselves. He was at Limericke, (near Gorey) interred in a church by himself builded, where there is erected a sumptuous tombe. This nobleman during his minority, continued a Martialist in the Low Countries of Germany, the famous Academy of Military Discipline and good Literature, the only theater of warlike stratagems and heroike exploits; wherein he became an Excellent proficient, being afterwards constantlie employed as deservedly esteemed an expert, prudent, and resolute Commander, of a sedate and composed spirit, not meriting the Censure of Temerity, or least symptome of timorous dispair (accompanied with few or many) before ingagement in any Conflict; his countenance terrible, with formidable voice when exasperated: of sanguin Complexion, of an indifferent tall stature, compact, solid, corpulent body with robustious Limms, terrible to his Enemy, merciful when victorious, obliginglie civil and unalterable constant where he once professed amity: Cautious and sparing in promise, speedy and punctual in performance, vigilant, circumspect, and polique [*sic*] in Time of peace and warre; always a favorite of the Lords L^u. and Deputyes during his time in Ireland; very honourable hospitious and liberal, maintaining alwayes a numerous Retinue of well accomplished young gentlemen, well accoutred and compleatlie armed with excellent serviceable horses; close in his Counsails and Designs, speedily executing what maturely had been deliberated. Abstemious and continent, esteeming him incapable of serious and eminent

had served on the Continent, and could not live but by war. These men, being at first successful, as at the battle of Gillianston, near Drogheda, drew the lords and gentry of the Pale to join them, on which the whole island rose in arms. It will be observed that our author, in his memoir of Lord Esmonde, blames

those of his countrymen who "precipitated themselves" into the civil war. Those were to be pitied who were forced into it, and especially those who never were active in it, but promoted peace as much as possible. Many proofs could be adduced to show that Lord Esmonde was a Parliamentarian.

Employment who voluntarilie enslaved himselfe to wine or women : when prosperous in his designs not insulutive proud or vain glorious nor in adversity dejected. A Soldier, Statesman, and good patriot, a Terror to Rebels in his Time, protector to loyal subjects, an honour, support, and consolation to his Relations. He carryed in his Escutcheon or Coat of Armes 3 mullets with powdered Ermines, the field Argent.

He lived beloved, still mourned
Though in the Grave,
Blessings that kings have wished,
But could not have.

Sir Thos. Esmonde, son of the said Lord did not degenerate from his father's heroicke virtues and Martial disposition, singularie manifested in the Expedition¹ against the french king in Charles I. his reigne, under the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, and at his Returne into England was made Knight and Baronet ; after his father's decease was created Viscount Newborrough : he zealouslie appeared in the defence and establishing his Majesties Authority and acceptance and submission unto the peace proclaimed in Ireland anno. 1648, vigorouslie opposing and suppressing such as were averse thereunto : amongst which the Leord Clangarry,² with a considerable party of Irish, Scots, and Highlanders, haveing made incursion into the County of Wexford, intending to Countenance the Northern faction, in order to the rejection of the said peace,

¹ This was an expedition in which the duke landed in the Isle of Rhé, in July, 1627. The Catholic powers of the Continent had meditated a plan of attack on England; and he anticipated it by carrying war into their country; the Huguenots supported Buckingham; but the expedition failed for want of sufficient support. Sir Thomas Esmonde was then a Protestant. He failed to make good his claim to his father's peerage, because his father had, when his son became a Roman Catholic, thrown doubts on his own marriage. After the surrender of Duncannon to General Preston, Lord Esmonde died of grief; his son seized his father's carriage as it was passing through Enniscorthy to go to Limbrick, in order to search for "writings concerning himself," doubtless to prove his legitimacy. Sir Thomas, however, obtained a promise, as in the text, of another title, that of Viscount Newborrough, or Gorey; but his estate having been granted to Colonel Monk, this powerful man's opposition prevented him from re-

covering the best part of it, and, perhaps, also the peerage.

² "The Leord Clangarry," now Glen-garry. In 1647, the Marquis of Antrim had brought over the Laird of Glengarry with a regiment of Highlanders to Munster. These he drew the next year from thence to join the clan Kavanagh in opposing the cessation of hostilities. As they marched on the 8th October from near Wexford, to raise the Kavanaghs' and Byrnes' countries in arms, making in all about 1500 foot and 50 horse, Sir Thomas Esmonde and another Anglo-Irish leader called Mac Thomas fell upon them, and being stronger in horse completely routed them. About 400 were found dead on the spot: all the Scotch officers were either killed or taken prisoners; which last was the fate of Glengarry and his uncle. (Carte's Life of Ormonde, 8vo. iii., 394.) It probably was for this loyal service that Sir Thomas was created a Viscount, or, rather, received a promise to be so created, for no patent was made out.

the s^d Clangarry, with his dependants, were by the said Sir Thomas incountred neere Inis-corthy, and after a short smart conflict, the Highlanders were put to the rout, totally slaine and taken prisoners, with theyre leader desiring quarter. Sir Laurence Esmond, Eldest son of the said Sir Thomas, and heire unto the foresaid Lord, hath in his minority manifested signal demonstrations of valour, and the martial disposition of his noble progenitors, in some conflicts against the Cromwellians, especially at Lambestowne,¹ in the County of Wexford, then commanding a party of horse, at which time and place a great number of them were slaine, he then affording testimony of inviolate innate Loyalty to his King, and eminent hopes of imitating the famous atchivements of his predecessors, is not yet restored to his paternall inheritance.

Wadding of Ballicoglie² had considerable interest in the said barony, and was in former time eminent in the s^d County. Scurlocke of Roslare³ formerlie enjoyed two manors with a valuable estate in

¹ Lambstown.—This battle, fought in 1650, is still traditionally spoken of in the neighbourhood. It is said to have been the last stand made against the Cromwellians in Leinster. The road in which the battle was fought is called "the bloody gap," the ditches having been full of blood. Esmonde commanded the horse; Nicholas Fitz-Henry of Mackmines is traditionally said to have commanded a troop of Bantry men; Christopher Hore, of Pole-Hore, and Philip Hore of Kilvashlan, captain of foot under General Preston, and one of the Furlongs, commanded the levy of the Glynn. The force opposed to them was the garrison of Wexford, a band of well-armed veterans, which marched out to clear and seize the country. The defenders, when beaten, fled as far as a hill still called "the drummer's hill," where they rallied, but were again dispersed. In the appendix to Lord Clarendon's History, it is stated that Piers Butler, eldest son of Lord Galmoy, and captain of horse by royal commission, being taken prisoner in this fight, was killed in cold blood after quarter given.

² Wadding of Ballycogly.—There is a pedigree of this family in the heraldic visitation of 1603. Thomas W. sheriff of the county in the fourth year of the reign of Richard II., was one of three who were appointed to provide twenty archers for the defence of the shire. Thomas W., of Ballycogly, by Margaret, dau. of Nicholas Roche, Newbawn, had a son, Richard, who m. Elenor, da. of John Rowseter of Rathmacnee, Esq., and

begat Thomas, Philip, James, Nicholas, Margaret, m. to James Keating of Baldwinston, Marion to Edward Synnott, Joan to Richard Weale of Wexford, Isabel to Thomas Stafford of Wexford, Elenor to Thomas Scurlock of Bolgan (in the Glynn), and Alice to Thomas Codde of the Knock. Their father married, secondly, Joan, da. of Philip Lamport of Ballyhine, and had one daughter. The eldest son, Thomas, was one of the knights of the shire in 1613, and had also a large family. His eldest son, Richard, was, on the breaking out of the civil war, made treasurer of the county, and he was subsequently one of the Confederate council at Kilkenny. By Mary, da. of Patrick Sarsfield, Esq., he had a son, John, who was one of the county council during the civil war. The second son of the Member of Parliament was Walter, who, by Mary, da. of David Synnott, of Rahyn, had Luke, who was agent to the Confederates in Rome during the war, was afterwards R. C. bishop of Ferns, and died 1 Dec. 1687; and John, a merchant in Dublin.

³ Scurlock of Roslare.—This family came with Strongbow from South Wales, where there is a castle of their name. Nicholas S., of Ratheredan, in the co. Dublin, had a son, Oliver, who was one of the captains of the Irish regiment of kern at the siege of Boulogne; by a daughter of the White O'Ferrall he had a son, Doctor Rowland S., who was physician to Queen Mary, who received from her a grant, in 1558, of Roslare manor, and who married Isabel, daugh-

Ballymore and Roslare, unto whom the Copyholders by theyre Tenures¹ performed homage, divers customary dutyes and services not elsewhere used, many of which were servile; none could marry in his Lordships without his previous Licence, nor build a howse, or suffer it to be demolished or to fall or decay. If a Copyholder married a maide, a certain fine was payable to the Lord; if a widow double as much, a woman whose virginity had been violated more; which fine or duty was termed Lotherwite. All Tenants deceasing were lyable to Heriots. Transgressors of such and many other strange customs incurred forfeiture of theyre respective interest by Copyhold.

There are many distinct families of Sinnots in the said countey in number exceeding any other ancient name within its limitts; whose Estates were valuable before the late tyrannicall usurpacōns; amongst which the howse of Ballybrennan,² in Forte, was esteemed the most eminent: whose possessors frequentlie were intrusted with greatest Authority in affaires of publique Concerne in that County, from whose progeny descended several men remarkable for schoole learning and persons indowed with heroicke spirits and martially disposed minds, vigorously active in theyre constant Loyall affection to the Crowne of England, during all Combustions and Rebelsious Insurrections in Ireland, wherein they resolutelie demeaned themselves, exposing what was most deare unto them and theyre

ter of James Devereux, and left a son, Aristotle, of Roslare, who resided at Carigmenan in 1592, and gave information respecting the escape of Lord Battinias. Aristotle Scurlock ma. Elenor, da. of Thomas Fitz Harris, of Kilkevan, and had issue Roland, Thomas, and Richard. The eldest son lived at Roslare, and m. a da. of Synnot, of Ballybrennan.

These tenants were, perhaps, the only copyholders in this kingdom. They doubtless descended from the Ostmen of this distriet, for whom see an article, entitled "The Scandinavians in Leinster" in a previous volume of this "Journal." If the *droit de mariage* continued in use to the year 1558 (see previous note), it was in force here at a later date than probably anywhere else. The original design of this custom was, doubtless, to prevent settlement of aliens or enemies among denizens. Lotherwite may mean Lother's law; wife is a fine or penalty. Heriots were the best beast or piece of furniture, due to the lord on the death of his tenant, who, being originally a slave, was supposed to have no property.

² There is an enrolment of a deed of John, son of Richard Synod, of Ballybrennan, temp. Edw. II., in the Close Rolls. Walter S., of Ballybrennan, died 20th May, 1580, leaving issue Richard, Walter (of Farrelston or Ballytramont, sheriff in 1591), and other children. Richard S., of Ballybrennan, Esq., the eldest son, performed eminent services to the crown during Elisabeth's reign. He was Knight of the shire in 1559: was one of the commissioners for mustering the array of the county in 1579; purchased the grant of Enniscorthy abbey and lands from Spenser, the poet, and sold it to Sir Henry Wallop: is frequently mentioned with eulogy in the state papers; the viceroy, in a letter dated 19 Aug. 1562, greatly praises "Richard Synot, a man of good birth, living, and credit." Was granted the manor of Rosgarland: died 9th Sept. 1591. His eldest son having been slain in battle, his grandson, Martin, succeeded to Ballybrennan, who married Anistace, daughter of Robert Esmonde, Esq., of Johnstown, and left his heir Richard, born in 1621, who had livery of his Estate 7 Aug. 1640, and was deprived by Cromwell.

Lives in opposing, repelling and suppressing Common Enemyes invading the said County, as also elsewhere especially during the 15 yeares warres in Q. Elizabeth's Reigne, when Rich^d. Sinnott of Ballibrenan aforesaid, commanding and haveing the conduct of Forces raised in the said County (attended by his sonnes and many other Sinnotts his Relations and dependants) affoorded signal testimony of theirre valour and loyalty to theirre prince and country in several violent and fierce conflicts returning with theyre party victorious; wherein Walter Sinnott, eldest sonne of the s^d Rich. was slaine (then Sheriff of the said County) neere Iniscurthy. For which numerous demonstracōns of Fidelity and noble services, the said Rich. Sinnott became her Majestie's favourite, on whom as a Royal Gratuity, her Majesty vouchsafed gratiouſlie to conferre a considerable Estate of forfeited lands (which after the death of his eldest sonne as aforesaid) he distributed and settled on the yonger.

2. To James Sinnott, the Manor or Barony of Rosgarland.
3. To John Sinnott, Cooledyne, with 1200 acres.
4. To Nicholas Sinnott,¹ Parke, Logh, and other villages, with several howses in Wexford.
5. To Sir W^m. Sinnott, Knight, Balifarnocke, with 24 plow-lands intire in the Murrowes.
6. To Edmond Sinnott, Lingstowne, with other villages.
1. Leaving onely to his Grandchild, Martin Sinnott, the Ancient Mannor of Ballicaran and Ballibrenan aforesaid. The present proprietor whereof persevering in his predecessors' zealous Loyalty to his King, was by the late Regicide usurper expulsed and Exiled, his Estate, anno 1653, being as a gratuity given unto General Monke,² and since detained by his Grace the Duke of Albemarle,

¹ This Nicholas Synnot's son and heir is mentioned by Sir William Brereton, in 1634, as "Mr. William Synod of the Lough, landlord" of the Park of Wexford, and as having leased this latter place to Mr. Hardey, (Harvey?) an Englishman. The knight, who was in search of a farm, says the rent of this was £16 a year, for between 200 and 300 acres, and he gives a curious account of the place. Sir William Synnot governed the country of the O'Murroughoes (Murphys), by lease from the Queen. By letter dated 15 July, 1600, the privy council speak highly of his "qualytys and services." (Council Office Register.) He was knighted on the 22nd June, 1660 (Carew MS. 619). He was one of the justices of peace, and resided at Ballyfernock. His son, Walter, had his estate created into a manor, in 1617, and was Knight of the shire in 1613. His

son, William, married a daughter of Sir James Carroll, mayor of Dublin.

² General Monk, having been the principal power which effected the Restoration, retained all that had been granted him during the interregnum, as did Sir Charles Coote, lord Broghill, Arthur Annesley, and other chief men of the restoring party. In fact, the Restoration was planned in Ireland, by Coote and others, on condition that the soldiery of Cromwell's army, and the Adventurers who had been settled on Irish land under the English act of 1642, should not be deprived of their allotments. Broadly viewed, the cause of the Confederates in Ireland was similar in principle to that of the Covenanters in Scotland and the Independents in England. The former, being the weaker party, paid for the civil war by the loss of their lands.

the said proprietor, though distressed, preferring an Existence in some forraigne Region before transplantacion into Connaught, especially his dear and dread Sovereign being exiled, he neither desiring nor accepting (when officiously procured) any compensation in lieu of his ancient inheritance (as most other proprietors in Ireland), depending on divine providence and his Majestie's Charles 2 unparalleled [*sic*] Clemency and Bounty. Sinnot of Ballibrenan beares in his Escutcheon or Coate of Armes a Swan or Cignet sable, the field argent (Elements Coloris). Besides the forses^d familyes and howses of Sinnots, the ensuing several Branches and familys originally descended from the howse of Ballebrenan, gentlemen enjoying good Estates for many descents, from whom also several persons famous for learning and chivalry, in Germany,¹ France, Spaine,² and Muscovie, &c., were extracted.

In the Barony of Fort, Sinnot of Balligery;³

Sinnot of Rathdowny.

Sinnot of Stonehowse of Wexford.

Sinnot of Gratkerocke.

¹ Colonel David S. is mentioned in Carte's Life of Ormonde, i. 367, as being brought to Wexford in Sept. 1642, by Colonel Preston, and in vol. ii. 90, as lieut.-colonel of Preston's regiment and governor of Wexford. His Colonel and he had commanded the famous Anglo-Irish regiment in the Austrian service, first known as Butler's, and then as Devereux's. (Carve's "Itin.") He was son of Michael S. of the Rahine, by Mary, d. of Edmond Hore of Harperston. His son, Timothy, was brought up in Derry as a protestant.

Colonel Oliver S. was in the service of the Duke of Lorraine, and was sent to the Marquis of Clanricarde in 1651 on the king's service. (Clanricarde's "Memoirs," append. 30.) It is observed in a remarkable state paper of 1614, printed in "Desid. Curiosa Hib.", that many of the Irish Gael had, as officers in Continental service, and as ecclesiastics educated abroad, acquired extraordinary endowments, rendering them formidable. The same afterwards applied to many of the Anglo-Irish of similar education.

² The Synnotts in Spain may have descended from John Synnot, who is mentioned in the Life of Sir Peter Carew as having been employed as an "honest lawyer;" but who, having lent money to Gerald, 16th Earl of Desmond, and being otherwise implicated in this noble-

man's rebellion, exiled himself.—Maclean's "Life of Carew," pp. 80, 250.

³ Simon Sinnot of Ballygery, was one of the gentlemen of this barony in 1608. (Carew MS. 600.) As was also Jasper S. of Rathdowny, one of the small ancient freeholders of the district. Henry S. of Greatkyrock is similarly recorded in the same MS. Synnot's "Stone howse" in Wexford is of record. Of this branch was Colonel David S., governor of the town, who was killed in 1649. James S. had a grant of the castle of the Owleord, and 920 acres, in socage, and died in 1618, leaving Edmund, who was expelled. Jasper S. of Ballymore had a son, Arthur, who held 859 acres, and was at the battle of Ballinvegga, or Ross, 17th March, 1643. (Printed Inquisitions.) Edmond S. is mentioned as of Garryniak, in the parish of Castle-Ellis. Mathew S. is mentioned as of Tinraheen, in the parish of Killisk. Richard S. is mentioned as of Ballinvacky, in the parish of Kilnemanagh. Besides the above there were others of the name proprietors in Ballaghkeen, as appears by the Book of Survey: as Piers Synnot owning 755^a. in Ardeme; Edward, 421^a. in Ballyhuskart; Arthur, in Garryvadden, and another Arthur in Killilly. David S. of Ballyroe, in Edermine, had a grant of lands, 15. Jac. I: by his wife Alison Roche, he had an heir Richard. Walter S. son of Richard

In Ballaghene Barony.

Sinnot of Owlort,
Sinnot of Balymore.
Sinnot of Garrymusky.
Sinnot of Tinraheene.

In Shilmaleere.

Sinnot of Garrymusky.
Sinnot of Owlortvicke.
Sinnot of Ballinhownemore.
Sinnot of Ballinvacky.
Sinnot of Balleareele.
Sinnot of Balliroe.
Sinnot of Ballinkilly.
Sinnot of Monyvilleog.
Sinnot of Mogangolie.

These Gentlemen compleatlie armed, and mounted on horsebacke, in Q. Eliz. wars, adhearing and unanimous in theyre resolutions, vigorouslie opposed such as appeared Rebellious or disaffected to the Crowne of England ; they enjoyed their freeholds and ancient Inheritance untill the late usurped Government, being then as proprietors transplantable. How innocent soever, Loyalty to their King seened Criminal.

The Barony of Fort contains within its limits Wexford, a very ancient Corporat Towne the description of whose pleasant and profitable situation, Beauty, Strength, pious Monuments, and Structure, may be delineated by a more dextrous pen and more ample acquainted and better informed judgement. A slender Elogie of the eminently deserving things doth but detract from their reall and due Estimat. The Towne is governed by a Major and Balives. There are two Burgesses sent from thence to all parliaments in Ireland. It is in the Diocese of Fernes. To render an exact accompt of the numerous Commodities that towne is constantlie supplied with all, the frequentation of Merchants and Strangers from almost all parts of Europe, the sending from thence to all parts of the knowne world, the Exquisite knowledge of the Natives in the art of Navigation, very many of them familiarlie having traversed the ocean to the most remote regions and coasts discovered by Americus Megellanus Vespusius [*sic*], and Drake, capable to Navigate and in a martial manner to command the greatest ship, and best provided with offensive and defensive arms, from the Gallion to the Galliot, whose valiant resolution activity and Strength of Body, in

(son of Walter of Farrelston or Ballintroman) by "Amy, dau. of Rosse M'David, of the familie of M'Davidmore," lived at Ballykayle, and by his

wife, Amy, daughter of Cahir O'Doran, had an heir, Melchior Sinnot, who was deprived of his property by the Parliamentary Government.

many late engagements at sea, is remarkable knowne to all Admirals in Europe. Theyre inviolate fidelity and loyal affection to theyre dread and deare Sovereigne Charles 2 King of England, and theyre zealous and incessant services for his Majesty and inseparable attendance on him during his Exile, would require a grand volume: not to mention the abundance of all sorts of Corne, flesh, butter, Tallow, Hides, Wool, Timber, incredible quantity of fish and its variety, the market is supplied with all.

The Barony of Fort had many ancient Gent. resident therein proprietors of Lands now possessed by very few, given as compensation for service in the Usurper's Government performed; unto whom for the Character by him given of the Extraction of his army (as it was frequentlie related, after his Arrivall in Ireland,) they were not much obliged, affirming that it consisted of very few Noblemen, wherein, and in the like Assertions there may appear manifest injurious Errors, for there is much distinction to be made twixt Nobility of virtue and Nobility by birth. There being sometimes nobility of descent in him who is destitute of virtue; soe there may be virtuous qualities in a plebeian. *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.* The philosopher avers. *Nobilitas est majorum splendor et Claritas.* 2 Rhet., c. 15: and distinguishing *Nobilis* from *Generosus* affirms and defines *Nobilis est qui a bono prodiit Genere, Generosus vero est qui non degeneravit a sua Natura.* L. I. Animal. But virtue is honourable though not ennobled with magnificent titles or by some not applauded, yet by nature is laudable. Aristotles his assertion (*Politic. 5, 1*) is remarkable and often verified. *Nobilitatem quidem in verbis fere omnes usurpant, sed qui revera Nobiles sint nusquam reperiuntur, Divites autem reperiuntur in multis Locis."*

PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO WEXFORD AND THE BARONY OF FORTH: BY COLONEL SOLOMON RICHARDS, 1682.

EDITED BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

SOLomon Richards, the author of the following short chorographic tract, was of a Welsh family, and of Presbyterian tenets. After serving in the Parliamentary army until the overthrow of the Royal cause, he came to Ireland, and received from the Parliamentary Government a grant of several thousand acres of land in the county of Wexford. He continued in command in the Republican army till 1656, being latterly governor of Wexford. After the Restoration, he was concerned in the plot of 1663, organized by the infamous Blood, with the design of seizing Dublin Castle, and restoring

the Republic. His complicity, however, was not so much as to preclude him from subsequently obtaining a confirmation of his grant. Dean Swift mentions an historical passage about him, in a paper entitled "The Presbyterian's Plea of Merit." There was an evident antipathy on the part of this veteran to the people he had been made governor over, and of some of whom he had become landlord. His hand had wielded the sword so long in war against the Confederate Catholics, it was stiff and heavy with the pen. His dislike to his new neighbours was deep, extending even to the women's ankles. His lucubrations are certainly honest, and appear to have been acknowledged by a complimentary letter from the person to whom his paper was sent. Who this was cannot be said. The Colonel addresses him as "Dear Cousin," and subscribes himself, "Your Uncle." This brief chorographic paper presents a curious contrast to the other two on the same subject, already published in the Journal of the Society; for, whereas the author of the preceding paper, who apparently was a Roman Catholic clergyman, speaks, as was to be expected, respectfully of his religion, the Presbyterian Colonel turns it into jest, and the Church of England squire, Leigh of Rosegarland, does not (see Vol. II., new series, p. 451) introduce any religious topic at all.

This tract, along with Leigh's and Sinnott's, is preserved in the original MS. amongst the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., of Middle Hill.

COLONEL RICHARDS' ACCOUNT.

"The County of Wexford, being the gate of the Kingdom of Ireland, at which the English under the conduct of Robert Fitzstephen first entered, on or about the 4th May, 1170, at Bag and Bun, a place soe then and yet called, in the said County of Wexford, near Feathard, alias Fight-hard,¹ from the first battle with

¹ This derivation (which is current in the locality to the present day) is equally erroneous with those assigned by Sinnott for the Slaney, (p. 61, *supra*), and the name of the Barony Forth, or Fort (p. 63, *supra*). Sinnott says that Slaney is *Sláine*, health; from the healthful nature of its waters. All our ancient MS. authorities, however, agree in deriving the name of the river from that of Slainge, King of the Firbolgs:—"Slanius inter fratres natu primus, qui Slanio flumini Wexfordiae adfluenti, nomen fecit."—Keating's "History," Lynch's translation in MS., Trinity College, Dublin. The late Dr. O'Donovan informed us that he had discovered the "standing stone" which marked the grave of

Slainge on the banks of the Slaney, near, if we mistake not, Newtownbarry. Forth is derived by Sinnott from the rath or *fort* of Ballytrent. The following is O'Donovan's account of its origin:—Eochaidh Finnfothart was banished by his nephew Conn of the Hundred Battles, and, having settled in Leinster, the king of that province bestowed on him and his sons certain districts called by his posterity Fotharta, from Eochaidh's surname. Of these the two principal were Fotharta-an-Chairn (hence *Carsore*), now the barony of Forth, in "the county of Wexford, and Fotharta-Fea, now the barony of Forth, in the county of Carlow. "Four Masters," vol. i., p. 109, n. About the de-

the Irish, wherein the English were victors, is divided into Eight Baronies, five, viz :—Gorey, Ballaghkeen, Scarwalsh, Bantry, and Shilmalier are the Irish Baronies ; Shilburne, Bargye, and Forth are the English Baronies, but Forth chiefly retains the name, and justlie. Its idiom of speech, tho its not Irish, nor seems English as English is now refined, yett is it more easy to be understood by an Englishman that never heard Irish spoken than by any Irishman that lives remote. It's notorious that it's the very language brought over by Fitzstephen, and retained by them to this day. Whoever hath read old Chaucer, and is at all acquainted therewith, will better understand the Barony of Forth dialect than either an English or Irishman, that never read him, though otherwise a good linguist. It was an observation of the Inhabitants of this Barony of Forth, before the last rebellion, that they had kept their Language, Lands, and Loyaltie. Having seldom or never married butt amongst themselves—having never rebelled, butt always been true to the Crowne of England, till this last General, Cruel, Cursed, Horrid and unparalleled Rebellion of 1641.¹ The Inhabitants were most Freeholders, but their freeholds very small, and being never forfeited, remained as they were first set out and divided to Fitzstephen's soldiers. For the soyle of this Barony, it is naturally coarse and barren, yett by the industry of the people, together with its contiguity to the Sea, from which they bring ouze, or oure seaweed, with which they manure their cultivated lands, its made the Granary of the County and parts adjacent, especially for Barley, in which itt abounds ; and that is all English too, for they will not sow a grain of Beare-barley, and if any one should do soe, the rest would destroy it. They breed few or noe Cattle in this Barony. The men are low of stature, yet well sett, thick, and strong ; very crafty, and deceiptfull enuffe ; few of them schollars, but those that are doe excell. The women alsoe are but of meane stature, very thick legged, but indifferent cumlie and handsome, jocose and pleasant, yet very chaste :—in one particular excelling all their sex in the Kingdom, viz. : they so revere and honour the Male Sex, man, beasts, birds, fishes, that—to instance one particular only—if the Master of a house be from home, his sonne, if any, or if none, then his chief servant present, though but a poor plough-

rivation of Fethard there is no obscurity : it has nothing to do with Fitzstephen's battle. That leader landed at the Island of Bannow (see Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Norman Geste of the Conquest of Ireland), and marched direct to Wexford, where he first met the enemy. Fethard is Fiob-apb, the high wood, or wood on the height. "The Wood," a place close to the town, still

retains the true meaning of Fethard ; and, although but few trees now grow there, tradition has it that one could once pass for miles from one tree's branches to another, so densely was it wooded.—ED. of JOURNAL.

¹ Col. Richards overlooks his own rebellious actions, so vehement is he against those whose estates he had acquired.

driver, or cow-boy, shall have the first mess of broath or cut of meate, before the Mistress or her female guests, if she have any. This I know; but I have heard it affirmed that if there be noe man or boy in the house, they will give the first bitt to a cock or a dog, or any male creature. But more remarkable is it that in this Barony only of Forth, County Wexford, that about high noone, not only men and women, butt children and servants naturally cease from labour and goe to rest for about an hour or two. The cattle doe soe to—the geese and ducks repaire into their Master's yard, and the cockes and the hennes doe goe to roost for that time, and exactly at the hour. This the relator affirms on his own knowledge, having often seen it in that Barony, and in his own house by fowles brought out from that Barony, when his other hennes would not doe soe. One remarque more is, that about ten years since, or more, there came with a strong blacke Esterly wind a flight of Magpies, under a dozen, as I remember, out of England or Wales, as 'tis verilie believed, none having been ever seen in Ireland before. They light in the Barony of Forth, where they have bredd, and are soe increased that they now are in every village and wood in this County—especially in this Barony abundant, my own garden, though in the Towne of Wexford, is continually frequented by them, and they are spread more thinly into other Countys and parts of the Kingdome. The natural Irish much disgust them, saying they shall never be rid of the English while these Magpies remain. The observation is that the English Magpies entered Ireland in the same Countye where the Englishmen first entered it, and in the English Barony alsoe.

In this Barony of Forth is a Lough called "Lough-Togher," about two miles in length, and a mile in breadth, replenished with divers sorts of fish, excelling in their kind, to admiration, especially Plaice, Bass, Mullet, Fleukes, Elles, &c.,—the sea being contiguous, is by the neighbourhood let in and out once in seven or eight years. In this Lough is an Island called Lady's Island, containing about twelve acres of land, in former times of Ignorance highly esteemed, and accounted Holy—and to this day the natives, persons of honour as well as others, in abundance from remote parts of the Kingdom, doe with great devotion, goe on pilgrimage thither, and there doe penance, going bare-leg and bare-foote, dabbling in the water up to mid leg, round the Island. Some others goe one foote in the water, the other on dry land, taking care not to wet the one nor to tread dry with the other. But some great sinners goe on their knees in the water round the Island, and some others that are greater sinners yet, goe three times round on their knees in the water. This I have seen, as also I have seen persons of no mean degree leave their hose and shoes in Wexford, and goe bare-footed in dirty weather from Wexford to this Island, which is eight miles.

and, having done their penance, make their offering in the Chappell, and return to Wexford in the same posture. This, abundance of people (not the wisest) doe every year, towards the end of Summer—but the chiefeſt or most meritorious time is betwixt their two Lady days of August 15, and September 8. If any Lady, through indisposition, be loath to wett her feete, there are women allowed to doe it for them, they being present and paying half-a-crown for a fee. [. . .]. And this pannance is effectual enuffe.

“ There is another Lough in this Barony called ‘ Lough Sale’ [the Lough of Tacumshane] stored alsoe with excellent fish, and, on both Loughs, foule in abundance. But, though this Lough Sale hath an island alsoe, yet is it not half so holy as the other.

“ This Barony is now almost wholly possessed by the English of the last accession, sett out to them for arrears, the old English being still numerous, but almost all reduced to Tennancy.

“ The Towne of Wexford stands in the end, or rather in the beginning of this Barony of Forth. Tradition, agreeing with Mr. Camden, saith itt was first called ‘ Menapia,’ then ‘ Weisford.’ Itt is now called Wexford, in Irish Lough-Gorman, or Lough-Gurmon.¹ Itt’s a walled Towne on all sides, except to the sea poole or Harbor, which washeth the North-east side thereof. Itt’s of the form of an half oval, divided the long way. It hath five gates for entrance, extends itself in length from North-west to South-east above five furlongs. It was in good order and very populous since the last Rebellion, but much depopulated in its taking by Oliver Cromwell. Since that, brought by the English into a flourishing condition, but now about two-thirds of itt lyes in itt’s ruins, through the decay of the Herring Fishing, which was soe great that about the year 1654, there were made and entered into the Custom House of Wexford above Eighty-thousand Barrills of Herrings, and twas thought above Forty-thousand more were made that were not entered. Which trade is soe decayed, that about the year 1678, there was not above Two hundred Barrills made in the whole Towne, nor is there above Two hundred Barrills made this present year, 1682.

“ The greatest number of the inhabitants are Irishe—but the magistracy are all English, or Protestants. Itt’s greatest honor is that itt was the first Towne in Ireland that submitted to the English Government—for when Robert Fitzstephen first landed at Bagg-and-Bunn, he presentlie marched to Wexford, and it surrendered to him, and the Lordship thereof, together with a large cir-

¹ Loch Carman was the name of this ancient residence of the kings of Leinster before the Ostmen gave it that of Wexford. According to the Dinn Seanchus, these kings established fairs,

games, and sports here; hence called the “ games of Carman,” which there is every reason to suppose were celebrated on the “ Faythe” (see p. 66, *supra*) of Wexford.—“ Book of Rights,” p. 15, and n.

cuit of Land adjacent given to him by Dermott MacMorrogh, the then Irish King of Leinster. Butt he soone after surrendered his said Lordshipp to King Henry II., who gave the same to Richard Earle of Pembroke, from whom it came to the Marishalls, the Valences, the Hastings, and Lord Gray of Ruthan. Butt King Henry VI., in the year 1442, created John, Lord Talbot, the firste Earle of Shrewsbury of that name, Earle of Wexford, and after that created him Earle of Waterford and Lord Dungarvan; butt itt went noe further, nor hath itt ever since given title to any other that ever I read of, or heard of. It was formerlie divided into eight parishes, viz—St. Iberius, St. Selskar's, St. Patrick's, St. Mary's, St. Toolock's, St. John's, St. Peter's, and St. Michael's; a Monastery alsoe, but now all ruined, under one Minister. The Monastery of St. Selskar was once famous, but now lyes in its ruins; and without the walls, the Abbey of [. . . .], ruined alsoe, but is still possessed by priests and fryars.

" The Government of this Towne of Wexford is by a Mayor, two Bailiffs, and twenty four Burgesses. Itt sends two Burgesses to Parliament. Itt hath a well-frequented Markett, on Satturdays, and another markett on Wednesdays. At the south-east end of the towne stands the Castle, just without the walls. It's a great old antique building, said to be reared by King John at his being in Ireland. Doubtless itts of great antiquity. Cromwell battered itt, and had itt rendered on his own terms.¹ It usually was a garrison, but now not soe. The towne and castle are washed on the North-east side by the mouth of the river Slane, dilated into a poole of about six leagues in circuit. Two necks of land from north and south poynting at each other, over the Harbor's mouth, without which lies the Barr, at least a league to sea. This poole or harbor at the mouth of the river Slane in Ireland, is abundantlie stored with wild fowle, viz—teale, widgeon, duck, wild swannes, &c., but Barnacles in multitudes incredible, a fowle much bigger than a duck but not soe big as a goose, butt as good meat as either. They are said by Gerrard and others to breed, or rather to grow uppon trees—(a gross mistake)—but itt is most certain that from the 21st day of August, on which day they cum into the poole or Harbor of Wexford, to the 21st May, every year, they are in numbers wonderfull—butt on the 21st day of May they do all leave itt, going Northwards by sea, and in the opynion of many curious observers, they goe into the Northern Isles of Scotland to breed—for on the 21st of August following, they do certainlie and constantlie returne into the same poole or Harbor of Wexford, bringing their young ones with them in numbers

¹ He bribed Captain James Stafford, the commandant, to deliver it to him.

beyond expression. This relater as he hath rode forward and backward betwixt Dublin and Wexford, hath often seen them at sea, cuming a day or two before their arrivall, and also going a day or two after their departure, and for above twenty years hath observed their not fayling the time of going or cuminge, as alsoe of their swimming when the tide is with them, and their flying when the tide is against them, now and then resting themselves on the water.¹

"In this great poole or Harbor is an Island called the Great Island—it's, indeed, two islands, but being wadeable from one to the other they are accompted but one. There is also another lesser island, called the Beg-Erin, in English Little Island. In this island is a little Chapell, and in that a wooden Idol, in the shape of an old man, called Saint Iberian, from one Iberian, the Patron saint of a Church now the chiefe in repaire and use in Wexford, which Iberian was (as he desired), buried in this island of Beg-Erin. To him people go to worship—and in cases of controversyes about debt or otherwise, the partys goe into this island, where one swears before St. Iberian, and the other willinglie is concluded by his oath. A man goes to sea—at his return hee is jealous that his neighbour in his abscence played with his wife—he charges him, the other denys, calls St. Iberian to witness; they take a boate to the Island—they goe there—the man suspected swears before St. Iberian that he never played with the other man's wife—the other is full of belief and satisfaction, and ever after esteems that neighbour without jealousie. Sum idle fellows that love not wooden gods, have twice or thrice stolen away St. Iberian, and cleft him out and burned him—once to roast a pigg: but still, Phoenix like, another arises out of its ashes, and is placed there again, and the silly people are persuaded that itts restored by mirracle. And if the new one be younger, fresher, lesser, or not at all like the other, the miracle is the greater. But there one is at this day, and a living Priest goes over now and then to fetch the silly people's offerings, to keep them for St. Iberian, noe doubt on't.

"A due East and West Moone makes full sea at the Barr of Wexford. On that neck of land that shoots out of this Barony of Forth to the Harbor's mouth stands the old demolished fort of Roslare, at the very point of that neck—which neck runs three miles in length and about half a mile in breadth between the said poole or harbor, and the sea, or bay of Greenhore."

[Here the Manuscript breaks off, and immediately after is an-

¹ This is by far the most intelligent account of the barnacle of any given at that age, and contrasts favourably with

Sinnot's statement on the same subject. Colonel Richards was evidently a keen and rational observer of nature.

nected a letter, "By Colonel Solomon Richards, of Wexford," dated December 12, 1682, as follows:—]

" Deare Cousin—Truth as well as modesty commands me to deny your assertion, but as a supplement to what I sent you, I pray you to correct error of parishes in Wexford, which I said to be eight—but are, or rather were twelve; viz^t., St. Peter and Paul in the monastery of Selakers, St. Clements, St. Iberius, St. Too-locks, St. Michael, alias Feagh, the Holy Trinity, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, St. Mary Magdalene's, St. Bride's, St. Peter's, and St. John's. All now united, which pray rectifie, and to the descriptive add, if you please, viz^t. :—

" The River Slane celebrated by Michael Drayton as I remember by the name of the ' Sandie Slane' att the Marriage of the Thame and Isis (if I mistake, pray pardon me for my memory looks backe above fivety years, itt being soe long since I reade itt). Itts indeed a sandy, swift, cleere river. Running out of the County Catherlagh, devides the County of Wexford in two parts throw the midest, and disgorgeth itself through the aforenamed poole or Harbor into the sea. Its navigable about 10 miles to Enniscorthy, an ancient Borogh, where about two years since, a strong, brave Bridge of stone and lime was built, att a greate charge, by the country. This River is verry well stored with Fish, as Salmon, Trout, Eeles, but caught to preecede all the Rivers in Ireland for its pearle fishing, which thow not abundant, yet excellent—for muscles are daily taken out of itt about fowre, five and six inches long, in which are often found pearles, for lustre, magnitude and rotundity not inferior to Orientall, or any other in the world. They have lately been sold by a Merchant that dined this day with me, for 20^s, 30^s, 40^s, and three pound a pearle to the Goldsmiths or Jewellers in London. He shoulde twenty lately for twenty broad pieces of Gould, and a parcel of small ones for 40 pounds. This brave river ought not to bee omitted. Butt of this, as the former Gent. that cumpiles the part of the Atlas must take and leave what he pleaseth or finds necessary. This is night worke also. Therefore accept my good meaning, with this scribble, from your affectionate Uncle to serve you."

Here we conclude the three chorographic papers furnished to Sir William Petty relative to the county of Wexford. The publication of the similar treatises respecting other districts in this kingdom, which are still in MS., is a *desideratum*. Of all of them, the Westmeath, Iar-Connaught, and Wexford ones alone are, we believe, yet printed. The "Atlas" to which Colonel Richards refers is the volume of maps which was then in course of publishing by

Petty, and which is now so scarce as to sell for from £7 to £10. The old soldier's memory failed him when he thought the passage about the "Sandie Slane" was Drayton's: it is in Spenser's "Faërie Queene." His statement that the bar at the mouth of this river lay a league away to sea is probably also an error, since it now lies only a mile off. Gerald Barry, who was secretary to King John when as Lord of Ireland he visited this country, states that when Henry the Second embarked from Wexford, "on the mondaie in Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sun rising, he tooke shipping without the barre of Wexford."—Hooker's Translation, in "Holinshed," p. 166. On the subject of this bar, and the history of the seaport, an article on Wexford Harbour, in the "Dublin University Magazine" for May, 1862, may be referred to. If any of our readers can supply information respecting the pearl fishery, which is noticed by Colonel Richards, they assuredly will gratify the remainder. Our chorographer also notices the "lordship of Leinster," the true title of Strongbow's fief. This lordship was vested in Richard de Clare, commonly called Strongbow, and descended, by his heiress, to the Marshalls. By a coheiress of the latter family, the lordship of Wexford came, in 1245, to baron Montchesne, who had the title of "lord of Wexford;" and, by his heiress, it devolved on De Valence, through whose coheiresses it fell in abeyance between Gray and Hastings. By an heiress of the latter family the title came to Sir Richard Talbot, whose son, the famous Sir John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, was therefore hereditary lord of Wexford. His creation as Earl of Waterford, and Seneschal, or, as it is now called, High steward of Ireland, was in 1446, and it remains to be proved that, as it seems likely, he was previously created Earl of Wexford, since, owing to the doubt on this point, and although this last title is not borne by the Talbots, it has never been granted to any other family.

Colonel Richards' notice of Wexford Castle shows that this fortress was of considerable size. It stood on the site of the original Danish fort, which is now occupied by the town barracks.

Let us hope that our Archaeological Society will be able to lay before its subscribers, from time to time, the remaining MS. accounts of Irish districts, some of which do not yield in interest to the foregoing.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 9th (by ad-
journment from the 2nd), 1862.

JAMES M. TIDMARSH, Esq., J. P., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Right Hon. Lord Chief Baron Pigot, 52, Stephen's-green, Dublin: proposed by Charles H. Foot, Esq.

Sir James Langrishe, Bart., Knocktopher Abbey; Major William Pollard Urquhart, M. P., Kinturk, Castlepollard, Westmeath; George Stephens, Esq., F. S. A., Professor of Old English and the English language in the University of Cheapinghaven, Denmark: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

W. Bunbury M'Clintock Bunbury, Esq., M. P., Lisnevagh, Baltinglass; Henry Bruen, Esq., M. P., D. L., Oak Park, Carlow; Denis W. Pack Beresford, Esq., J. P., Fenagh Lodge, Fenagh; Ralph B. Brunker, Esq., 31, York-street, Dublin; Charles E. Bagot, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 28, William-street, Dublin; Darby Herring Cooper, Esq., Hanover House, Carlow; Charles Henry Doyne, Esq., J. P., St. Austin's Abbey, Tullow; B. B. Feltus, Esq., A. M., Hollybrook, Myshal; Rev. J. P. Garrett, A. M., The Rectory, Kellistown, Carlow; Thomas Jameson, Esq., Egremont, Ballybrack, Killiney; John Malcomson, Esq., Carlow; William Malcomson, Esq., M. D., Cavan; Joseph C. O'Meagher, Esq., 5, Granby-row, Dublin; Rev. W. J. Purdon, A. M., Erindale, Carlow; Horace Rochfort, Esq., D. L., Clogrenan, Carlow; and Henry Watters, Esq., J. P., Staplestown, Carlow: proposed by Robert Malcomson, Esq.

Lady Bertha Clifton, Argrennan, Castle Douglas, Cork: proposed J. Stratford Kirwen, Esq.

The Venerable Archdeacon O'Shea, P. P., Ballyhale: proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

David Leslie, Esq., M. D., Killybegs, Carrickmacross : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

John Ridley, Esq., M. D., F. R. C. S., Tullamore : proposed by John Hill, Esq.

The Rev. J. W. Ballard, Ballymoney : proposed by the Rev. George Vance.

Thomas M'Donnell, Esq., National Bank, Cork : proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

Patrick O'Donovan, Esq., LL.B., Abbey-view, Thomastown : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The Secretary laid before the Meeting a letter from Sir George Grey, acknowledging the receipt of the resolution of the Society conveying its regret for the decease of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Sir G. Grey stated that he would take an early opportunity of laying the resolution before her Majesty.

The Rev. James Graves brought under the notice of the Members a correspondence which had taken place between Mr. J. H. Parker, proprietor of "The Gentleman's Magazine," and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Mr. Parker justly complained that the Magazine did not receive that support from archaeologists which the nature of its contents and the excellence of its pictorial illustrations deserved. Mr. Graves pointed out that it would be a subject of much regret if a publication in every way so valuable were suffered to fall from insufficient support; and he trusted the Members would aid a periodical which never failed to report the proceedings of this and the kindred societies of Great Britain.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: "Archæologia," Vol. XXXVIII.; their "Proceedings," Nos. 48-52, inclusive, with General Index; and their "Proceedings," second series, Vol. I., Nos. 1-5, inclusive.

By the Smithsonian Institution, Washington: their "Report" for the year 1859; "Researches upon the Venom of the Rattle-snake," by S. Weir Mitchell, Esq., M. D., being one of the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge;" and "Second Report of a Geological Reconnaissance of the Middle and Southern Counties of Arkansas." By David Dale Owen; published by the State of Arkansas.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology: their "Proceedings," Vol. III., No. 2.

By the Royal Irish Academy; their "Proceedings," Vol. VII., part 14.

By the Ossianic Society: their "Transactions," Vol. VI., being Fenian Poems, second series, edited by John O'Daly.

By the British Archaeological Association: their "Journal," Vols. XIII.—XVIII., inclusive.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. IX., part 1.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society: "Views of the Gates of Norwich," by Robert Fitch, F. S. A., &c., and their "Original Papers," Vol. VI., part 2.

By the Rev. G. Mackarness: the volume of the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society for 1861.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for February, March, and April, 1862.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 973—1000, inclusive.

Donations of various ancient coins and medals were received from the Rev. Samuel Madden, Rev. G. L. Shannon, Mr. A. J. Boyd, Mr. W. F. Budds; Mr. J. G. Robertson, Mr. William Lawless, and Mr. Daniel Carrigan.

The coins presented by the Rev. G. L. Shannon consisted of a London groat of Edward IV., two English groats and an Irish farthing of Elizabeth, a Nova Scotia halfpenny, and a half anna.

The coin presented by Mr. Budds was one of a "find" of the gun-money half crowns of James II. They were discovered in a leather purse, on throwing down an old clay fence at Courtstown, Tullaroan, last winter.

Mr. Robertson's presentation was a brass medal, struck in commemoration of the spirited conduct of James, Earl of Kildare, in protesting against the appropriation of a balance of Irish revenue by the Government of England. The obverse represented a table covered with money, the Earl of Kildare with his sword drawn warding off a grasping hand; with the motto "TOUCH. NOT. SAYS. KILDARE. MDCCCLV." Reverse, a harp crowned, with the legend "PROSPERITY TO OLD IRELAND. 1754." The presentor stated this medal to be of considerable rarity.

Mr. Richard Preston, Jun., presented a fragment of an effigial monument, which had formerly been in the Franciscan Abbey, Kilkenny. It consisted of a part of the dog on which the feet of a knight in armour rested. A portion of one solleret remained. The fragment had been used as a building stone in an adjoining house.

The Rev. James Mease presented a small fictile vessel, pitcher-shaped, capable of holding about a naggin, composed of common red pottery, glazed. It was found, with five others, about four feet beneath the surface of a small rath, on the farm of Mr. Edmond Campion, of Ballylarkin, near Freshford, and was given by Mrs. Walsh, of that town. The other vessels had been broken by the

finders, who supposed they might contain money ; they, however, were merely filled with clay.

The Rev. James Graves remarked that from the absence of any archaic character, and the presence of a glaze, the vessel was evidently not of any very remote antiquity. He supposed it might have been intended to contain *aqua vitae*. It and its companions had probably been buried in the rath, and forgotten.

Mr. Frederick Jones, of Cool, Castlebridge, Wexford, presented the upper stone of a primitive corn-rubber. It was of granite, and had been found in a bog, near his place, along with a stone celt.

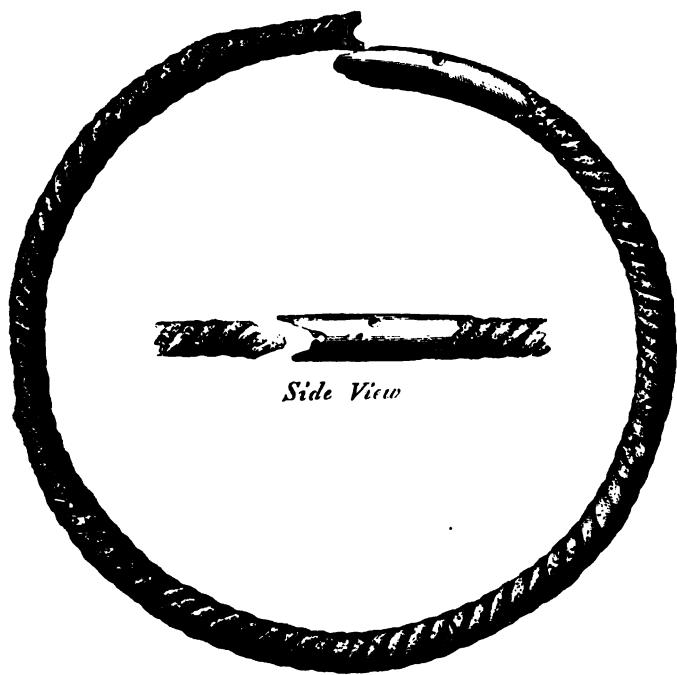
Mr. Dalton, Claremont, county Tipperary, presented a piece of adipocere, or bog-butter, found with the skeleton of a horse, six feet beneath the surface, in Clarenont bog, near Nenagh.

Dr. Barry Delany exhibited a small clog, five inches long, with leather upper and wooden sole, the latter bound with iron, and having a gun-money shilling of James II. nailed to the heel inside. He had obtained this object at the sale of the cabinet of a collector in Cork.

The Rev. George H. Reade exhibited a twisted "armlet" of copper, the ends fashioned like the head and tail of a serpent (of which the plate facing this page is an accurate representation), and a bronze ring. He supplied the following observations respecting the "find," of which these were a part :—

"A dealer in Dundalk whom I employ to secure all brasses and antiques for me, sent me the entire of a 'find,' made very lately, several feet deep in a bog between Faughard and Ravensdale, in the county Louth. He stated that there was a tradition amongst the people there—'that in old times a great battle had been fought on that spot between the Irish and the Danes'—but as the man went immediately after to Liverpool, I have not been able to ascertain any further particulars as to the circumstances of the 'find.' The antiques consist of a twisted 'armlet' of copper, the device a serpent eating its tail, which I forward for inspection; 17 bronze rings, of different sizes and weights, from two ounces and a half to one quarter of an ounce, the greater part of them being nearly an ounce, and half an ounce, respectively. Those of nearly an ounce weight are two inches and one-eighth in diameter, and the quarter ounce weight one inch in diameter. A single ring weighing two and a half ounces is much thicker than all the others, and only one inch seven-eighths in diameter. I forward a ring also for inspection. They are all patinated; and as the weights are integral parts of each other, forming as it were a change for one another, they may probably have been bronze ring-money—as we know the ring-money was in that metal, as well as in gold and silver.

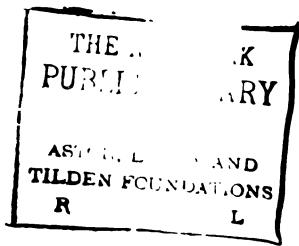
"I believe that the larger antique, though it may occasionally have been used as an 'armlet,' also served as a ring, like our key-rings, to hold the ring-money found with it. In the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy are preserved a number of rings exactly similar to these, together with two open rings nearly the size of this 'armlet.' The smaller rings

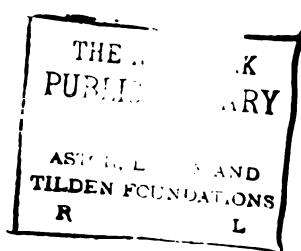


Side View

Copper "Armlet" found in the county of Louth.

[Full size.]





were found, as I am informed, looped on the large open rings. This circumstance, if authenticated, would determine the uses of these 'armlets,' and also go far to prove the smaller rings to be ring-money. A suggestion made by Mr. Graves to me, that they may have formed coat armour quilted between two pieces of leather, could hardly have been the case with the two and a half ounce rings, although the small kind may well have been used for that purpose. There were also found two pieces of a bronze sword, 21 inches long, of the oldest type, with the hammer-hardened edge ; it was much gapped and worn, as if it had been used in many a fight before it failed in the warrior's hand. It also was deeply covered with the green rust of ages, much more deeply patinated than the rings."

Mr. Prim reported the recent discovery, on the townland of Lacken, in the parish of Ullard, near Graigue, of a leather purse, containing fifty-eight halfpence of the so-called "St. Patrick's money," and four halfpence of Charles II.; the former in excellent preservation ; the latter much worn. They were found on the farm of Mr. Patrick Murphy, of Milltown, by workmen digging about a large boulder stone. The leather purse mouldered away almost immediately on being exposed to the air. The chief interest in noticing this "find" was the circumstance of the two descriptions of coin being found together. The late Dr. Cane, in a paper read at one of the early meetings of the Society, had endeavoured to prove that the "St. Patrick's money" was coined for and issued by the Confederate Catholics. Dr. Aquilla Smith, however, had contradicted this proposition, showing reason to suppose that the issue of "St. Patrick's money" must have taken place after the Restoration of Charles II. This "find" would tend to corroborate Dr. Smith's view, seeing that, whilst the St. Patrick halfpence were quite fresh and unworn, the accompanying halfpence of Charles II.—which we know were not struck till late in his reign—had obviously been long in use.

The Rev. James Graves said, that since the number of the Society's Journal for September, 1861, was issued, and his paper on the capture of the Earl of Ormonde by O'More, A. D. 1600, had been in the hands of Members, a very important point, which he was unable satisfactorily to settle, had been resolved by the more accurate local knowledge of one of the Members. At page 398, (vol. iii.), he had appended a note, confessing that he had been unable to discover any locality in the neighbourhood of the place of the Earl's capture answering the name given to it by Carew and Thomond—"Corraneduffe." However, the Rev. Thomas Greene, R. C. C., who, although now stationed at Athy, was a native of the neighbourhood of Ballyraggett, in writing to Mr. Prim, observed—"He (Mr. Graves) does not seem to know that there is a place called 'Corraneduffe' or 'dhu,' the place at which Ormonde and

O'More met. It overhangs the town of Ballyraggett ; eight 'long miles' from Kilkenny ; within a mile of the borders of Idough, and at most four of the borders of Leix. It presents every feature of the place of meeting. Ormonde could gain the spot by Kilmocar, where there was a castle on his own property, one mile and a half from Corran-dhu. O'More would reach it by the wild table-land of Pheroda—a country so wild that, even now, such an occurrence as the capture of the Earl would seem to be in perfect harmony with the savage character of the scenery around. The old road from Ballyraggett to Castlecomer, after ascending a pass between Corran-dhu and Ballymartin, dips down a precipitous decline to the valley of Byrne's-grove. The ground rises from the head of the valley into the wild heathy and boggy land of Pheroda. It probably was scrubby as well as boggy 260 years ago ; and when Ormonde ventured there to meet O'More, the latter had all the advantage of position for his light-footed kern. Speak to some old fox-hunter on the subject, and he will tell you that the ground from the back of Corran-dhu to Pheroda is very unfavourable for the action of cavalry ; and this is the ground by which the Earl must have been brought to Leix. To the left of this route the hills slope gently up, and then fall down precipitously to the valley of the Nore. These lands belonged to Mountgarrett, who was then on friendly terms with O'More, who consequently had no apprehensions from that quarter ; and on the right a wild country gave full protection to his retreat." He (Mr. Graves) was informed by the Rev. Mr. Greene that the hill of Corran-dhu is in the townland of Toormore, and parish of Kilmocar. Corran-dhu was Ormonde property at the time of the capture of the Earl, hence Ormonde would naturally give a safeguard to O'More, but would not think of demanding one for himself. And this also would account for what puzzled the statesmen of Elizabeth's time, namely, his apparent folly in meeting O'More without a sufficient force for his protection. Ormonde's route from Kilkenny would have been by the old Dunmore road, across the river Dinan at a ford where the old Dinan bridge¹ now stands, along a track on the right bank of the river, and then leaving the old track² to the Castle of Shanganagh to the right, followed another leading

¹ This bridge, though remodelled, if not rebuilt, bears the inscription—"PATRICIUS DOWLYE SUIS EXPENSIS HUNC PONTEM EXTRUXIT, ANNO D'NI, 1647. ETERNAM ILLI UXORI AC LIBERIS REQUIEM PRECARE VIATOR." Patrick Dowly was one of the sheriffs of the city of Kilkenny in 1613.

² The road, which succeeded this horse track, is now swept away, along with the old church and entire church-yard of Maync, by the impetuous winter floods

of the Dinan. The Rev. Mr. Greene states, that he was informed by an old man, dead about ten years since, that he had played ball against the east end of the old church towards the river. About thirty years ago he (Mr. Greene) was present at a funeral in the church-yard. It was now about twenty-three years since the last trace of the church-yard had disappeared. A new bridge, higher up the stream, now carries the road towards Kilmocar.

to Kilmocar castle and church, from whence, and indeed from the Dinan, the country must have been open and unenclosed, and, as the hill was approached, covered with heath and scrubby wood. Thus Ormonde rode from Kilkenny to the place of parley through his own property ; and the 200 footmen, who were left, most likely, at Kilmocar castle, must have had him in view during the parley, but were too far off to give aid when O'More took him prisoner. Mr. Graves stated that he was informed by Dr. Reeves that there are five townlands called "Corran" in Ireland, and above thirty with the word in combination ; that there is a Corrandoo in the parish of Moylough, barony of Tiaquin, county Galway ; and that all the places of that name have received their appellation from the real or fancied likeness of the configuration of the ground to a sickle. The hill of Corran-dhu sweeps from Ballyraggett towards the river Dinan, in a marked falciform curve. The Irish orthography would therefore be Coppán-dubh (the black sickle). He had asked the Rev. Mr. Greene to make this communication himself to the meeting ; but that gentleman had generously declined doing so, and allowed him (Mr. Graves) to correct his own mistake.

Mr. Graves said that he also wished to obviate a slip of the pen at p. 409, of Vol. III., where the style used by the Irish is called inadvertently the "old style." The Irish, from their connexion with Rome, used the new style at this period, and as long as they were able to hold out against the English power. The English continued to use the old style until 1752, when the new and correct mode was at last introduced, though ignorant people clamoured for their lost "eleven days."

Mr. Prim stated that the correspondence which had taken place between the Rev. Mr. Greene, Athy, and him, as alluded to by the Rev. Mr. Graves, arose from a letter which he had received from John Otway Cuffe, Esq., of Missenden House, Amersham, Bucks. Mr. Cuffe had informed him that there was what appeared to be a very ancient and curiously cut stone in the wall of the old church of Monkeasgrange, on his Queen's county property, which he would be happy to place in the museum of the Society for preservation. Mr. Greene being a member of the Society, he (Mr. Prim) had written to him to request that he would examine the stone, and report as to what its character might be, and as to whether it was in danger of being injured in its present position, as he thought that, if not, it might be better not to remove it from the neighbourhood with which it was connected. Mr. Greene obligingly complied with the request, and reported that the stone referred to was about a foot square, built in the church-yard wall, and in no danger whatever of injury. It bore the date 1588 ; and pendent therefrom, by an elaborately sculptured chain, the initial letters R. H., which were doubtless those of

Robert Hartpole. The neighbouring castle of Monkesgrange—from the debris of a portion of which that had fallen, the stone in question was said by tradition to have been removed to the churchyard—belonged in the sixteenth century to the Hartpole family. About ten years before the date on the stone, Robert Hartpole was Constable of Carlow Castle; and in some of the Leinster Inquisitions his son, George, is referred to as being the proprietor of Grange-Kilmagobbock, or Monkesgrange. Mr. Greeue had quite agreed in his view, that, the interest connected with the stone being entirely of a local character, it would not be at all desirable that it should be removed from its present position. In this opinion Mr. Cuffe fully acquiesced.

The Rev. Samuel Hayman sent the following contribution towards the history of the issue of tradesmen's tokens :—

"The Youghal tradesmen's tokens have been illustrated in previous volumes of our Proceedings.¹ In reference to one of the series, I am now enabled to supply a curious document, upon which I lately stumbled, during a search among the archives of the Town Commissioners of Youghal. The following bond, while of individual application, may be regarded with a kind of general interest. I cannot doubt but that it sets forth the accustomed conditions under which, in Borough Towns, the strikers of these tokens were placed by the respective municipalities.² I supply a *verbatim* transcript, and am not to be charged with the ungrammatical Latin of the opening paragraph. My special thanks, for numberless acts of courtesy, are due to the excellent Town Clerk of Youghal, Jeremiah Hodnett, Esq.

"'Noverint vniuersi p'entes, nos, Thomam Walters de Youghall, Mercator, et Josephum Murdock, de ville p'dict' Aldermano, teneri et firmiter Thomam Baker Armig', Major ville de Youghall, et successor' suis, in Octoginta libr' bonis et legalis monete de et in Anglia, Soluend'eisid' Thomam Baker et successor'i suis ad quam quid' solutionem bene et fideliter faciend' obligamus nos et quemlibet n'r' p se p toto et solv' hered' et Executores noest' p p'sentes sigillis n'ris sigillat. Dat' xiiij die Novembris Anno Dom. 1665.

"'The Condition of the above Obligation is such that, Whereas the aboue-bounden Thomas Walters hath sett forth a quantitiue of Brasse or Copper penis or tookens, wth the Subscription on one side *The Acorne*, and on the other Side T W wth this subscrpcion round the Ring *Thomas Walters of Youghall March*³. If therefore the said Thomas Walters, his Executors or Administrat', shall from time to time as often as therenvnto desired by any person or persons to Exchang the said tookens or pence, and such his Exchange to be sterlinge money, As alsoe, shall pay yearly dureinge the passeing of his said pence or tookens the yearly Rent of Twentie

¹ "Journal," vol. ii., new series, pp. 222—232; 399, 400; vol. iii., new series, pp. 83, 84; 262—264.

² See Prim's "Attempt to indentify the Persons who issued Tradesmen's Tokens in Kilkenny," vol. ii., first series, p. 174.

Shillings ster. for and to the vse of y^e Corporacon of Youghall, and that halfe yearly, That is to say Tenn Shill^l on the first of May next, and the like sum of tenn Shill^l on the first of November then next following, and soe to Continue halfe yearly dureinge their said passeinge, That then the aboue obligation to be voyd & of non effect, otherwise to stand in full force and virtue in the Law.

"Sealed, signed, and delivered
in the presence of

"THO : WALTER, (L. S).
"JOSEPH MURDOCK, (L. S).

"JOHN Ffarthinge.
"PATT : HAEPER.

(Endorsed),

"Thomas Walters Bond for his penie."

Mr. Edward Benn, Glenravel, Clough, Belfast, forwarded the following communication:—

"A few months ago, in digging on the townland of Ballycraigy, parish of Ballyclug, County of Antrim, there was found an urn, now in my possession. It was of the middle size, very neat, and in fair preservation. I believe there was nothing in it except fragments of bones; there does not appear to have been any carn or outward marks to distinguish the place. Urns are frequently found in this way, but it must not therefore be inferred that the place had not been originally marked by a small heap of stones. In the course of fencing and improving, these were removed; and as the urn had been placed in a grave about two feet below the surface, it is not met with in the ordinary progress of agriculture; it is only when making ditches or drains that they are discovered; and even in this way but seldom, as urn-burials were generally made on dry hills, where drainage is not much required.

"A more interesting discovery was made about the same time by my own workmen, in a field in the townland of Craigdunloof, parish of Dunaghy, County of Antrim.¹ A deep pit had been dug, out of which sand had been taken; when digging for sand, there fell down at the feet of the workmen a large urn with stone enclosure; it was broken into many pieces, but all are carefully preserved, and might be restored. There was no indication on the surface, below which it had been sunk about two feet, in a round hole made in the subsoil. It was a large fine urn, ornamented in the usual way. Its contents were singular, consisting of a large quantity of powdered bones exactly resembling osten meal, but extremely white. There appeared to be a much larger quantity of this matter than would

¹ It is generally considered that this parish derives its name from a very insignificant earthen fort near the village of Clough; this is very improbable. Dunaghy seems to have been the name of the Doom or rock fort that preceded the Castle of Clough; it is now called Clough, but was formerly known as Clough Dunaghy and Clough Galda-nagh; the name of Dunaghy is lost in

the place to which it properly belonged, but is preserved in the name of the parish. Clough properly signifies a useless stone; when these were first gathered up and built into a castle or tower, the name of Clough was given to distinguish it from the wooden or earthen works of the old inhabitants. Many castles throughout Ireland are called by this name.

be produced from the bones of one body. On making further search, at the distance of a few feet, was found another round hole in the subsoil, and in it three or four large pieces of another urn mixed with earth, as if thrown in carelessly; some of these pieces had marks of fire on them, or rather of smoke, such as might have been produced from the burning of green wood. The conclusion come to was, that two funerals were to have been celebrated; and that one of the urns having been broken in the process, and another not being at hand, the 'undertaker' adopted the plan of giving the bones of both a little extra fire, and then pounding them very fine, so as to compress them into one urn. This is more probable than to suppose that the grave where the fragments had been found had been opened at some recent period, and filled up again.

"Although these discoveries do not present much that is new, it is well to put on record every thing connected with urn-burial for the use of some one who may at a future time write a work on this mysterious and interesting subject. In no instance that came under my own observation was any thing found in urns except bones; but I have been informed, and I have no reason to doubt the truth of the information, that other things have been met with. One of the most interesting was a necklace, consisting of a great number of jet beads, and two pear-shaped ornaments. These beads were like button-moulds, evidently made by a machine, and as nicely turned out as they could be done at this day; they are polished on the edges, but not on the flat surface (I enclose a specimen). These urns cannot be described as good pottery, yet those who made them had ideas of a graceful outline; they had also skill in selecting material, and in manipulating it; for, when found, they are as perfect, and the ornamenting as sharp, as when they left the hands of the potter. I think they were not made in this locality; for in a case as formerly stated, one was found with its bottom broken, and the want supplied by a stone, and in the present case one of two having been broken, that which remained had to do duty for both. It is very remarkable that I never knew of any teeth having been found among the remains in an urn; yet, I should think, a good sound tooth would resist the action of fire as well as the skull, fragments of which are always found. Were the teeth extracted before burning, or such of them as remained among the ashes carried away as memorials?"

The following papers were submitted to the Meeting:—

**EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.**

**COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M. A., M. P. ;
WITH NOTES BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., M. R. I. A.**

[Continued from p. 52.]

KILKENNY is the most pleasant and delightful Town of y^e Kingdom of Ireland,¹ belonging to the most noble prince, James Duke Marquis and Earle of Ormond, Earle of Ossory & Brecknock, &c. Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford & Dublin, Lord Lieut. Generall and Generall Governor under his most sacred Ma^{ts} of the Kingdom of IRELAND, whose other titles see pag. [. . .].

The Device of his family is **COMME IL TROUVE.**

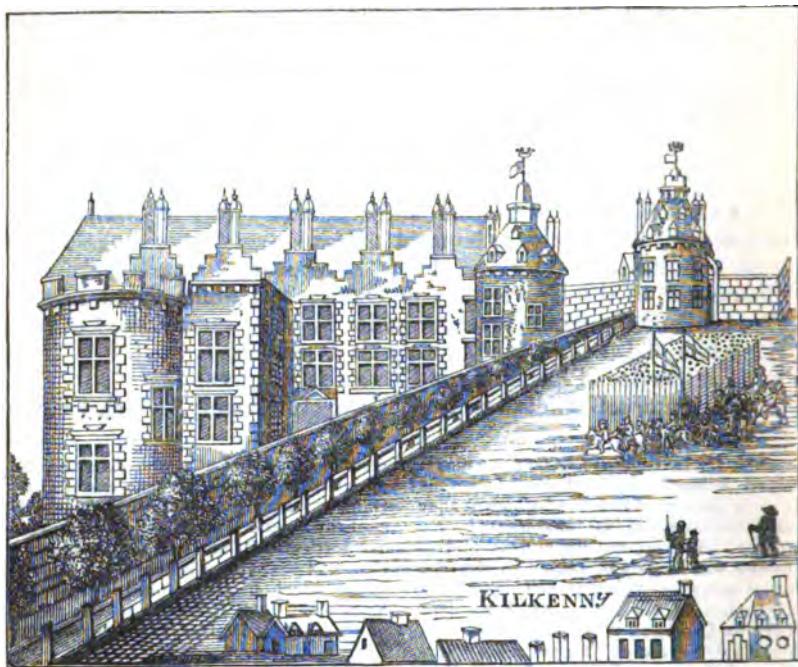
His Paternall chiefe seat is y^e Castle of Kilkenny,² which I have

¹M. De la Boullaye le Gouz, who visited Kilkenny in 1644, says:—"This city is the size of Orleans," which at that time contained 31,000 inhabitants! No doubt, however, the population of Kilkenny was largely increased by the fact of its being the capital of the Confederate Catholics at the time. After its capture by Cromwell it seems to have been nearly depopulated. Tighe, in his "Statistical Survey of Kilkenny," states that the town had but 507 houses standing in 1699. The situation of Kilkenny commended itself to almost every traveller by whom it has been visited. A tour through Ireland by two English gentlemen, printed in 1746, describes Kilkenny as "delightfully seated on the River Nore" (p. 173). Another tourist, writing from Kilkenny in 1775, alludes to it as "sweetly situated on the River Newre." Speaking of the situation of the Castle of Kilkenny he observes that it does not lose by comparison with that of Windsor:—"It stands upon a precipice, overhanging the bend of a deep and rapid river, with two stately bridges full in view: . . . the sides of the river are well planted, and the subjacent town looks as if it had been built merely to be looked at; for everything in it worth seeing bears upon the castle, whilst everything dissightly is, some how or other, screened from view. The horizon is closed, in one limb, by

mountains, placed at a due distance, to give variety without horror; and if anything is wanting to render the prospect enchanting, it is that the middle distances are destitute of that richness of cultivation, and that embellishment of country seats, which is the capital beauty of Windsor. But Kilkenny is far more picturesque."—Philosophical Survey, p. 103.

² The graphic sketch given by Dineley, and now engraved in facsimile, shows this ancient fortress as remodelled by the first Duke of Ormonde, who fashioned it into a chateau, in the French taste prevalent after the Restoration. At this period the large windows shown in the cut, the high pitched roofs and tall chimneys, were inserted into, and placed upon the old work. The ducal crowns upon the towers, one of which was extant in the writer's memory, were also of this date. But the present large gate of entrance in the classic style, opening on the "Parade," had not then been erected. The view shows the original curtain wall which stretched between the south-west and north-west towers. That this wall is correctly given without a gate of entrance is proved by the discovery, in the course of the spring and summer of 1861, of the foundations of the original Norman portal, with its two protecting towers, or bastions, together with that of the curtain wall connecting

design'd on the other side, famous for spacious Roomes, Galleries, Halls, adorn'd with paintings of great Masters, Bowling green,



Gardens, Walks, Orchards,¹ & a delightfull Waterhouse adjoining to the B. green, which with an Engine of curious artifice

the gateway with the south-western tower. This gateway faced the south, and seems to have been of great strength. On the whole, to those who recollect the Castle of Kilkenny as it stood before the remodelling, which commenced about the year 1826, Dineley's sketch (making allowance for false perspective) must appear very correct. The view seems to have been taken from the top of some of the houses in High-street. It is interesting to remark that Castle-street was in Dineley's time used for the *parade* of troops, a custom which prevailed to the commencement of the present century, and which finally caused the name of "The Parade" to supersede the original denomination.

¹ John Dunton's account of the Castle of Kilkenny is contained in a book of such

rare occurence that I am tempted to give it a place here. This eccentric London bookseller, and voluminous writer, visited Ireland after the Revolution, and whilst the second Duke of Ormonde was in the full blaze of his splendour. After detailing his introduction to Dr. Wood (a Kilkenny physician of some note, who corresponded with the celebrated Ray, as appears by the publications of the Ray Society), Dunton proceeds:—

"I came to Kilkenny on Friday night, in Sept. 1698, and the next morning the doctor carried me to view the Castle, the noble seat of the Duke of Ormond. Indeed the alcove chamber, and Dutchess's closet, &c., well deserve a large description, but, leaving these noble apartments, I must say, that adjoining is a great window that gave us a view of the

by the help of one horse furnisheth all the offices of the Castle with that necessary Element. This Waterhouse bath a pleasant summer banqueting room, floor'd and lin'd with white and black marble, which abounds here, with a painted skye roof wth Angells,

private garden of pleasure, I think finer than the Privy Garden at Whitehall, or any walk I had ever seen; being very much pleased with this pleasant prospect, the Doctor led me up one pair of stairs, where, on the left hand, was the room where the Duke of Ormond dines, it was high-roofed, extremely large, and hung all round with gilded leather: the table cloth was laid as we entered, and I think the curious foldings of the damask napkins, and pretty nick-nacks that adorned the table, were worth a particular attention. The plate for the dinner was not less remarkable; there were three silver tankards, embellished with curious figures, and so very large that, I believe, would his Grace have given me one of them, I could scarce have carried it to my lodging; there were two silver salvers as large and noble, and a vorder^{*} made of silver, big enough to contain all, broken as I perceive it did. Leaving this noble dining-room, we ascended two pair of stairs, which brought us into a gallery, which for length, variety of gilded chairs, and the curious pictures that adorn it, has no equal in the three kingdoms, or, perhaps, not in Europe—so that this Castle may properly be called the Elysium of Ireland. The first thing I saw remarkable in it, and indeed the top glory of all the rest, was the picture of the Duchess of Ormond; the face was finished, but the other parts wanted more of the painter's art—though very beautiful it was much outdone by the original. There is also a design of drawing the Duke's picture, and when both are finished, Dr. Wood told me they are intended to adorn the Tholsel, (a sort of Exchange) to which will be added the pictures of all those that have been Mayors of Kilkenny. The next picture I saw remarkable was Lord Stafford [sic], frowning (like a mere hero) on the messenger that brought him ill news from Parliament; by him hung the Duchess of Modena's picture, late Queen of England; and next to her stands the late King James, drawn like a man affrighted—so that I told the

Doctor I judged the painter designed to draw him just as he looked when he fled from the Boyne; near King James's picture, hangs the picture of an old Usurer, telling money, and a Jew by him, considering the moral of it, pretty enough; here is also the picture of that chaste Prince, Charles I., who, if you will take his word on the scaffold, ne'er strayed from his Queen, in thought word or deed—and next to him, if I don't mistake, hangs H.^{*} that

^{Queen} amorous Queen; here is also to Maria, the picture of Charles II., I suppose. that Royal Libertine; but the Queen Dowager I did not see. There were several other pictures which I omit; however I can't forbear saying, that at the west end of the galery stood the several ages, perhaps the finest drawing that the world has seen. On the left side of the room hangs the picture of Vandyke, as drawn by himself—and a curious thing it is, and a little below him is a Scotch Lord, drawn in the garb in which he hunts, or goes to visit the clans. On the south side hang two Royal Buds, Charles II. drawn when he was four years old, 'Ab Charles! what innocence didst thou outlive,' and James II. in hanging sleeves, and it had been well for England, and himself, if he had put off with his little coat his body also, and so exchanged one heaven for another. In this galery, and in the house of Dunmore, hang all the progenitors of the Duke of Ormond, which I may describe in some future publication.

I next went to see the Bowling green adjoining this princely seat—it is an exact square, and fine enough for a Duke to bowl on; nay, Church and State were here at Play—for, when the Doctor and I came to the green, the Duke was then flinging the first bowl, next bowled

the Bishop of —; Col: R.—; ^{*I believe} the Bishop with about four inferior clergy. of Ossory. At paying our respects to the (Dr. John) Duke, he gave us the honour of his hat in a very obliging manner; and here I would attempt his Grace's character, Duke's Chaplain. had not the ingenious Cibber

in this is seen a fountaine of black marble in the shape of a large cup, with a ject d'eau or throw of water in the middle ariseing



mounts into the hollow of a Ducall Crown, which but hangs over it, and descends again at several droping places round. this I have touch'd off on the other side the following leaf.¹

done it before me, in his poem, published at the Duke's landing in Ireland; but I may venture to add to what he has said in the Duke's praise, 'That the most he has said of him is the least of what he merits, for the Duke is a man of a truly brave and noble spirit, and lives in the world like one that is much above it.'

"After making our devoirs to the Duke, the Doctor and I left the Bowling-green, and went to see the garden adjoining the castle, which, though gone to decay, is now repairing by a young gardiner from England, and will, in a few years, be as picasant as the Spring *Vauxhall Gardens, near Foxhall."²—Copied from some loose pages preserved at Kilkenny Castle, pp. 51–54. I believe this fragment to be portion of an edition of "Some Account of my Conversation in Ireland," printed by Dunton; but it differs in many points from the parallel passage in the imprint of

that book at London, 1699. Dunton's promised "Summer Ramble," in which he purposed to give a further account of Kilkenny, was never printed. The Rawlinson MS. 71, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, comprises Vol. I. of the "Summer Ramble" prepared for press, but though it contains his American experiences, and considerable part of his Irish Tour, and the commencement of his Journey to Kilkenny, yet that town is not reached. It would be interesting to ascertain if a perfect copy is any where known to exist.

¹ There were also fountains placed at this time in the back lawn of the Castle; a portion of the basin, and some of the sculptured human figures which emitted the water, are still extant in the Castle garden. The terraces in the back lawn were erected at the same period on the site of the Castle ditch. They retain some of their original Caen stone facings.

The Buildings here are fair and people fashionable.¹

Its scituatiōn is in the best Air of Ireland, upon the river Nore of admirable clear water upon a Gravel: wherefore it is s^d of Kilkenny thus concerning the four Elements therē, that it hath—

Water without mud, Air without Fog,
Fire without smoak, & Land without bog.

Their fewell being a sort of Coal burning bright without smoke or ill scent not unlike Scotch Coale excellent chamber fireing, leav-ing ashes very white. The Territory about it is admirable.

This Town was anciently the chief see of the Bishop of Ossory.

Its Name Kilkenny hath its original in the opinion of some from *Kil*, which signifieth the *burying place* vulgarly, and Kenny: some will have it so called quasi Cella Cannici the Cell or Monkey of Cannicus,² a man of remarkeable piety in those parts.

In the Ruines of severall Churches in and neer this town are severall Inscriptōns on monuments of which hereafter.³

In y^e Hospitall of S^t Thomas of Acres or Acon in the holy land, since call'd Mercers Chappel in Cheapside London purchas'd at the dissoluōn by S^r Richard Gresham, before y^e great fire, were seen

¹ The Dukes of Ormonde, having been almost perpetual Lord Lieutenants of Ireland, and keeping up viceroyal state at Kilkenny Castle, gave the tone to the society of the city. This peculiarity continued to a much later period. A tourist, writing in 1775, says—"Kilkenny values itself upon its superior gentility and urbanity. It is much frequented by the neighbouring gentry as a county residence, has a stand of nine sedan chairs, and is not without the appearance of an agreeable place. . . . At present the inheritor of the castle and some of the appendant manors, a Roman Catholic gentleman, affects the state of his ancestors; his wife receives company as, I am told, the old Ormonde ladies used to do; she never returns visits, and people seem disposed to yield her this pre-eminence. The cook belonging to the inn, the Sheaf of Wheat, wears ruffles; and though an old man is full of vivacity and politeness." "Philosophical Survey," pp. 109, 110. The following passage from a tour made in 1776 also bears on the same subject:—"Walking one Day by the side of the River, near some Corn-Mills, I was met by a Flour-car: the Driver, who was seated on the Thill, was a mean looking,

ragged Youth. Just as I had passed him, he accidentally dropped his Rod out of his Hand; when another Youth, of nearly the same Complexion with himself, coming along the Road, readily stepped aside, took up the Rod, and, very politely, presented it to its Owner. This occasioned many Compliments. Monsieur himself could not have made a better Leg than the Presenter. Each waved his Hat—bowed—recovered—turned—then parted and covered.—Instances of this Sort may be observed hourly in the Streets of Kilkenny; which show that they are before-hand with their neighbours, the English, in the fine Art of Politeness."—"Trip to Kilkenny," pp. 178, 179.

² This derivation is correct in the main, the Irish being Ceall Cannic, the Church of Kenny.

³ It is much to be regretted that Dineley did not carry out this expressed intention. Many inscriptions, especially those in the monasteries of Kilkenny, have been lost since his day. I am informed by Mr. Shirley that, unfortunately, there is not any trace of the existence of copies of these inscriptions in any of Dineley's manuscript collections which have come down to us.

these monuments of this great family of Ormond, named Butler, with these Inscriptōns:—

Here lyeth entombed James Butler Earle of Ormonde and Dame Joane his wif.
he dyed Anno Domini MCCCCC XX vij. and she MCCCCC XXX.¹

Another monument of this family carrieth this Inscriptōn following:—

Hic iacet Thomas filius Jacobi Comitis Ormondie ac frāris Jacobi comitis
Tullis et Ormondie qui quidem Thomas obiit secundo die [augusti] MCCCCXV et anno
mī rī Hen. viii. [reote viii.] mībi cuius sit p̄picieut Deus. Amen.²

An epitaph on the most loyall James Marques of Montrose, &c.

Renown'd Montrose thou Scotlands cheefest glory,
Whose famous acts might make an ample story,
What! must thy head so soon succumb to fate,
That was the only prop of Church & State?
Must thy divided members tell the tymes
In sev'rall citiess thy most horrid crimes?
They'll tell the world this was the only thing
That sever'd them—Fear God Honour the King.
Thy noble courage at thy death did raise
More tropheys then thy Lawrelles or thy bayes
To thy renown'd great name in loyall breasts,
Where honour to thy sacred ashes rests.

Thy death's recorded in great Brittains story,
Scotlands cheef shame, yet Scotland's cheefest glory.

Written by a lover of Loyalty JOHN PATERSON.

But to returne to the descendēts & anc^r of Strongbowes family: Wever the learn'd and laborious antiquary John Wever Esq^r takes notice of some in the Temple Church LONDON, where are ancient monuments of famous men (where he sayth out of what respecthe knows not, but K. HENRY III. & so many of the nobility both before and since desired much to be buried in that church) shap'd in marble, arm'd, their leggs across, whose names are not to be gather'd by any inscriptōns, for that time hath worne Cambd. tures, Cambden (according to Wever) sayth that he hath Lond. read Comes Penbrochie & upon the side this verse

¹ There is an error in the date of this Earl's death as given above. Carte fixes his demise in 1452, at Ardee in Louth, and the place of his burial at St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. His wife Joan, daughter to the Earl of Kildare, had died during the absence of her husband in France, A.D. 1430, and was buried at St. Tho-

mas D'Acres.—Carte's "History of Ormonde," vol. i., Introduction, p. xxxix.

² This was Thomas, eighth Earl of Ormonde, who, according to Carte ("History of Ormonde," vol. i., Introduction, p. xlvi.) died on the 3rd of Aug. 1515, and was buried in the Church of St. Thomas D'Acres.

Miles eram Martis Mars multos vicerat armis.

Under which monument lieth William Marshall Earle of Pembroke The Epitaph currant of whom is this

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit HIBERNIA, Solem
 ANGLIA, Mercurium NORMANNIA, GALLIA Martem.
 IRELANDS Saturne, ENGLANDS Sunne am I,
 The Mars of FRANCE and NORMANS Mercury.

This William according to Weever had 5 sons, William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter & Anselme all Earles of Pembroke and Marshalls of England

In this Temple Church, by his father, and under the like monument, is sayd to be interr'd William the Eldest son, according to the book of Waverly, wherein this Epitaph is made to his memory.

Militis Iстius mortem dolet ANGLIA, ridet
 WALLIA, viventis bella minasque timens.
 England laments the death of this brave Knight,
 Wales laughs, he living did her so affright.

Though Irish Writers will have this last also to be buried with the afore-named Richard in the friers predicans Quire of this Town of KILKENNY.

Under another monument in the TEMPLE CHURCH London lieth the body of Gilbert Marshall Earle of Pembroke & Marshall of England Lord of Longuevill in Normandy &c. This potent Peer being kill'd in a Turnament, his bowels were interr'd in the Abbey Church of the Town of HERTFORD.

This Town of Kilkenny hath bin y^e seat of Parliaments one whereof was very famous.

[*Here follow in the MS. extracts from Fabian's and Baker's Chronicles.*]

Between Kilkenny and Clonmell, a dayes journey off, is Kilconan¹ which was the Lord Dunboyns in Q. Eliz. dayes: and in the way to Cork afterwards is Glanogher belonging to the Lord Roche.

¹ Probably a mistake for Kiltinan, a fine castle, formerly the property of the Lords Dunboyne, still habitable, and now the residence of Robert Cooke, Esq. Kiltinan lies between Fethard and Clonmel. There is a Kilconan in the north of Tipperary, but too much out of Dineley's way.

(To be continued.)

THE RENTAL BOOK OF GERALD FITZGERALD, NINTH EARL
OF KILDARE. BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1518.

EDITED BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE, ESQ.

(*Continued from Vol. II., p. 310, new series.*)

As the principal object in publishing parts of the valuable record (Harleian MS. 3756), the title of which heads this paper, is to afford illustrations of the social state of the nation, we do not think it necessary to print in detail the various items comprised under the headings "Tethes [tithes] and fermes takyn to fferme" (folios i. to iii.), "Landis set to ferme" (folios iv. to vii.), and "fees" (folios viii. to x.). These entries throw considerable light on the private affairs of the Earl, show how widely extended were his possessions, and ought to find a place in any future history of the house of Kildare. We give a few of the items of more general interest which may be culled from them.

In some of the deeds there are stipulations evidently intended to interest the other parties thereto in the Earl's continuing to hold the Government of Ireland. William, Abbot of St. Thomas' Court, "beside Dublin," in the 6th year of Hen. VIII., sets to the Earl the tithes of certain parishes for fifteen years, "paing yerele whan the said Erll shall not be Deputie viij*l*, and during his beeing in that Rowme to discharge the said Abbot and his successoures of the King's subside during the said term." (Fol. i.) The Patent Rolls of Chancery contain an entry which illustrates this curious contract. It is an indenture, dated 30 Nov., 8. H. VIII., between Gerald, Earl of Kildare, the king's deputy, and Sir John Rawson, prior of Kilmainham, witnessing that the Earl had made sufficient assignment to the prior for the payment of £112 8*s.*, arrears due to him in respect of tithes and lands held by this nobleman. Further, the said Deputy promiseth to be singular good lord to the prior, and his *protector and defender* in all his causes, for which the said prior remits him one thousand pecks of corn, and 4 marks in money, due to the prior by the Earl's late father. And the prior promiseth the said Deputy a fee of £10 yearly, to be received of the "porte [export] whete and malte" of Kyloke; and moreover, to grant him a new lease for the term of the Earl's life, of certain lands and tithes. (Printed Calendar of Rolls).

The change from the old Irish townland denomination of Mobyn to Boyton rath, in the county of Tipperary, is noted in a lease made by David Boyton of that ilk, anno 10th Henry VIII. (Fol. i.)

The Earl makes a lease in the 8th year of Hen. VIII. to Wil-

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

R

L

~~Eboracum in the bounche
of York & ~~the~~ ~~crossing~~
for ~~crossing~~ ~~the~~ ~~river~~~~
Eboracum unto comis
of York to my lady
Eleanor for y^e l^e freehng
y^e l^e y^e

Lv 7
for t^e he to
pam^e s^e s^e
not w^e ll

4mln

dy e ro vyn
w^e m^e p^e.1.1.
nanc^e d^e r^e C^e
alda br^e r^e.1.1.
alda br^e y^e g^e
.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.
o^e l^e h^e y^e d^e ja
d^e y^e d^e x^e u^e d^e c^e
d^e a^e n^e a^e o^e m^e
d^e d^e d^e y^e c^e f^e m^e
r^e p^e e^e d^e y^e k^e t^e
i^e y^e d^e b^e r^e c^e s^e a^e
t^e b^e r^e d^e a^e y^e l^e d^e
p^e a^e d^e b^e r^e y^e c^e r^e
t^e b^e r^e d^e b^e r^e q^e a^e
a^e t^e r^e s^e a^e t^e d^e r^e
d^e c^e u^e g^e d^e t^e

liam Eustace of "Clongow is wodd"¹ gent., of the lands of Paynes-town by Rathcoffy for 20 years at £5 per ann. "he having the oon half of custum hertils and watche hennes of the same." (Fol. iiiii.)

David Comen of Limerick, in the 6th year of Hen. VIII. has a lease of the King's Castle and Island of Limerick at £10 a year, "and if any other wil yeve any more fore the same he to yeve as moch, and to have the same to ferme as long as the said Erl have ght therto, and also for no warre, ne other occasion he shal not eve over the said ferme." (Ib.)

The following entry bears on the story of Katherine, the long lived Countess of Desmond, who succeeded Sheela, the daughter of Cormac Mac Carthy (the Gilis Ny-Cormyk of the lease) as second wife of this Thomas, afterwards Earl of Desmond:—"An Indentur from Gerald fitz Thomas Erll of Kildar vnto Gilis Ny Cormyk wife to Sir Thomas of Desmond vpon Corbyne in the Countie of Cork, for terme of v yeres paing yerely at Mychelmas t Ester xxvis viijd sterling, and that the said Gilis shall not wast the wodds. Dated the ixth day of June a^o. xx^o. H. viim^e".² (Ib.)

In the margin, the docket of this lease is crossed out, and the following entry written below it: "Corbyne in the countie of Cork to my Lady Elynor^s for xls sterlyng yerly." This second lease, however, is not recorded.

The lease of the castle and town of Lisserdoule (written Lisderlough in margin) illustrates the mode in which the Earl's power was supported. The Earl set by indenture "vnto Brene O'fferall, Captain of his Nacón" the above mentioned castle and lands "for

¹ Clongowes Wood, Co. Kildare.

² Mr. Sainhill, in his able and exhaustive memoir on "the Old Countess of Desmond," has cleared up many points in her mysterious history; but he seems to allow that she may have danced at the court of Edward IV., and says truly that, if so, she must have been born "not later than 1464" (p. 53). He also fixes the probable date of her marriage at the year 1482 (p. 57). The record above given is not to be reconciled with the last supposition, for Sir Thomas's first wife is proved by it to have been alive, and recognised as such, in 1505. The date given in the lease also renders the supposed year of her birth improbable, as, if born in 1464, she must have been over forty-one years of age at the time of her marriage. On the whole, this prosaic lease strips off a good deal of the romance which has been hung around the name of the old Countess of Desmond. It proves that she did not hold her jointure from the time of Edward

IV.; and that, most probably, we should read, as her true age, 104 instead of 140—a misprint which might easily have crept in by an error of the press—Moryson having died before printing his "Itinerary;" or which even a tradition of only nine years' standing might easily have engendered, supposing that the Youghal folk believed, and told their belief to Moryson, that 140 was the term of the Countess's life. A facsimile, by Netherclift, of this passage is given on the opposite plate (No. I.). There is some obscurity about the last numeral of the regnal year "vii." but the best authorities are in favour of reading it so, and not as "viii." The plate is kindly presented to the Society by the Marquis of Kildare.—ED. OF JOURNAL.

³ It is probable that this lady was Elenor, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, who married M'Carthy of Blarney, and subsequently Manus O'Donnell, and was celebrated for having saved the life of the 11th Earl of Kildare when a boy.

terme of the said Brenys lif paing yerely at May xxvis viij^d, also the said Brene shall finde on his gpre cost^f an c. Sparthis¹ of Gallogles, on his vitaill^f and waggt^f in his half of the Anall, for a quart of a yere in the herwest or somber at the said Erlys pleasir to do him s^rvice. Also the said Bren gr^auntith that when any hoothing shalbe pclamed by the said Erle that then suche as shal not answer thereto of his parte astir lafull warnyng, the said Erle to have the onehalf of the penalties so forfeited by them, durig the lif of the said Brene. Datid the vith day of January anno viij^e H. viii^o. (Fol. iii.)

The mills of the feudal Lord were not uncared for, as appears by an indenture made between the Earl and "Thom^s Miagh of Mainoth carpent^f of both the Millys of the sam ^t the Mill of Rathmore," whereby the said mills were by the Earl "set to ferme at his will to the said Thom^ss, he receiving as Mr Miller, and for his vndir Millir the vijth p^ck^f [pecks] of all the tholl Corne of the said Mill^f, he repairing them on his owin cost^f, and the said Erle finding to him all stuff for them. Dat the xxvij^d day of Octob^r anno r. r. H. Oct. x^o. (Fol. v.) In 1581, another Thomas Meagh followed the 11th Earl of Kildare to London, and was put to the torture in the Tower, where his name, deeply engraved by his own hand in the stone wall of his prison, may still be seen. These Meaghs are supposed to have been the progenitors of the Meade family.

One of the Bardic tribe of O'Daly (Owen beg), has a six year's lease of half a carucate, "in the Keallagh land in Kynaliagh" in Meath, at a yearly rent of "ij fatte rudders"² 7th January 10th Henry VIII.—"Glasseny M'gynos, Prior of Dovne" (he was abbot of Newry and Prior of Down and Saul), who according to the "Four Masters," was slain by the sons of Donnell Magennis in 1526, has a lease of the poundage of Ardglass and Strangford for 5 years for a yearly rent of seven marks. 4th June, 9th Henry VIII. (Ib.)

Three merchants of Chester, "Othewell Corbet, William Daves, and Raff Rogers," rented the fishing of the Ban in Ulster from the Earl, paying yearly at Christmas in London therefor £40, besides "the Captaynys wages".³ The indenture is dated 29th December 16th Henry VIII. (Ib.)

The following and some other of the entries relate more especially to the sphere of the Society's operations:—"An Indenture from the said Erle to John Synot of Wexford M^{ch}unt vpon the

¹ The sparthe was the formidable battle-ax carried by the gallowglas; every sparthe or axman was attended by four "horse boys," each armed with a sword and two darts. The docket in the margin of the original Manuscript calls the

body of an hundred sparthes "a batail of galoglis."

² A "rudder" was "a beef." See below.

³ In another entry of the same the rent is, also, "xlii besyde the Captain is wage."

castle of Dyppys, the Towne of the sañ, and Ballynslany w^t y^e rent^f pfit^f t^e coñodities belonging to the sañ castell t^e townys, to have &c. all the same to him during the said Erle plesir, he paing y^for at suche tym as the said Erle shal com ther sufficient met drinke, t^e also met t^e drinke sufficient to masonis t^e carpentys wirk- ing ther, lyke as Mayns Lawles did yeve in his tym. Also the said John bindith hym, his heir^f t^e executo^r to the said Erle his heir^f t^e execut^f in an c li of good and lawfull money to dely^v the said Castell in as good state as he finde hit, or bett^r, in to the said Erls hand^f his heir^f or assign^f, when he shalbe callid on by the said Erle his heir^f or assign^f. And the said Erle ye said Castell t^e tounys shall warr^runt in Lawe againes almen &c. Dat^v vith day of Marche, the ixth yere of the Regne of King Henry the viiith. Witnes Will^m Delahide t^e Morish Keting, S^r Edward Dillon t^e others. (Fol. vi.)

The customs of the widely distant towns of Wexford and Naas are set, the first to John Synote of the same merchant in the 16th Hen. VIII. for £5; the second to Gerot and David Sutton, for six marks in the 14th Hen. VIII., each for one year. (Fol. vii.)

The mills of Old Ross, and Ross Ponte (New Ross) were set "to John Tailor for xxij yere paing for the Myll of Ole Ross half the toll t^e proffett thereof yerely, and he to builde t^e keep the sañ on his aun cost^f, and the other mill x mlf^f yerely whereof v mlf^f ar remitted to the said John is wiff. Dated the xxvij day of Julii a^o xvij. Hen. viii." (Ib.)

The horse mill of Kildare is also set "to James Duffe O'Doyn for iiiij. yeris, paing yerely v^{xx} p^ck^f of such malt as shal cū to the said mill by the ffurst day of Sept, and shall do the cost of reparacion of the same having all stuff to hande: also he shall pay for the eight myll horssia of the same viij mlf^f aloving ij mlf^f of his wag^f yerely during iiiij yeris, the said mil horssis to have such mett as the cart horssis of the court of Kildare shall have. datid the ij^{da} day of July a^o x^o H. viii." (Ib.)

The Earl was a patron of the bards of Erinn as we know from other sources. The rental tells us that a messuage in Cromlin was set to Robert Talbot of Belgard, and "Tege O'Rono, Rymor," for twenty-one years for £4 16s. 0 p ann. December 2nd, 15th Hen. VIII. (Ib.) And that "Dermott O'Coffy, Rymor had a lease of Ballysallogh in Maghirghurkne being a carucate of fre land" for five years, at twenty shillings a year. Dated March 5th, 16th Henry VIII. (Ib.) The clan Mac Ward, "Rymor in Uriel" paid to the Earl six "rudders" yearly, no doubt as a retaining fee. (Fol. viii.)

We now come to the items called "Fees," which disclose how deeply rooted the feudal system was at that time; as an example the following charter is given:—

"A fee of xls yearly on all Cristor Plunkets lands. A dede from Xpofer Plunket of Donsoghly to the said Erle during his lif to be pceved of all the said Cristor is lande at the feeste of Midsom & Cristymmas. And to distrain for noon paym^t of the same. Dat the iiiijth day of Aprle Anno octavo Hen^t. octavi. Witnesf Richard Delahide and Barthe Dillon, Chief Baron." (Fol. viii.)

Ferrall O'Gibne "horseman" has the townland of Garclone, at a "rudder" yearly. July 12, 6th Henry VIII. (Id.)

Amongst numerous "fees" granted to the Earl from Religious Houses and churchmen, no doubt to secure his powerful protection against oppressors, is one of £10, paid from Edmond, Prior of Lanthon for the Earl's life "pvided that in caas the said Erle be not Deputie, he to have but cs yerley," his aid being then less available. This grant is dated June 24, 7th Henry VIII. (Fol. viij.)

The following are other examples of the mode in which the favour of this potent Earl was secured by the payment of "fees":—

"A dede indentid from Gerot Dalton of Milton son to Jamys Dalton to S^r Edmūd Harrold Chaplain & his heir^t to the vse of Gerald Erle of Kildar t̄ his heirs ther helpe and favo's to him t̄ his heirs vpon iij*s* iiiij*d* of annuall Rent in the Towne of Moymore in the Countie of Mith¹ at the fest of all Seint^r. Whch rent he had i recōpence of the iiiijth parte of the Lordship of Twoballenegne, whiche Two [Tuath] was yeven to Con omolaghlyn, Captain of his načōn, in the Rampuson of Thomas Dalton, Captaine of the Daltonys, w^t a claus for distreſe t̄ warrantize for the said Rent. Dat the xijth day of March A^o. Dñi M. v°. xvij°. Witnesf p'sent, Willm Delahide, Moris fiz Richard Shanysson, S^r Edward Dillon Chaplain y^t wrot the sañ dede." (Fol. ix.)

"An Indentur from Jamys Deyn, Vikery of Oregan in the dioc^t of Kil-dar vpon ij rudders to be payed at the ffest called Ad vincula S̄ci Petri yerly to Gerald Erle of Kildař, as long as the said Vikery shall contynue Vikery in the said Oregan, for which the said Erle hath promysed to assist hym in just caus^t as fer as his Archbisshop or Biship shall thinke cōveniently. Dat the xxvijth day of August A^o. x°. H. Octavi. Thies witnessf Wa^t Wellisley P'or of Conell t̄ Phe flattisby." (Ib.)

"An Indentur from Morice fitz Richard Delamare vnto the said Erll, vpon vis viij*d*. yerly in Russ to be paied at Hallontid during the lif of the said Erll. And therfor the said Erll shal shew unto him his favo's in his rightfull caus^t. Datid the xxiiijth day of September A^o. Dñi M^o. D. xvij^o." (Ib.)

"An Indentur from Richard Elward of fflyn [Faythleg?] in the Countie of Watford, Gen^t, to Gerald ffitz Thomas Erle of Kildař, t̄ to his heir^t, xxs of yerly Rent at Ester t̄ Mich by evin perçōns t̄ ij horsf fynding when the said Erle or his heirf shall resort towarde that Contie of Watford w^t a claus of distresse. Also the said Richard hath gr'untyn

¹ Called "West Meth" in the margin.

to make sure to the said Erle one of y^e Goryes¹ oy²wise called War^r namyd Cottok^r t Dovlok^r in the hawyn of Walford. And when y^e suertie of y^e said War^r is made to y^e said Erle, then the said xx^s to be extinguished for y^e pfo'ma'nce y^eof. The said Erle hath boundin hym i an cl^r, for whiche the said Erle or his heir^r hath pmised the said Ric^r t his heir^r them to defend as y^e owin s^rv^runt^r t spealy agaynes S^r Pyers Power. Dat a^r Dñi M. V^c. Octavo y^e xxv day of August. The fme of y^e said War^r was for fme of v. ye^r aft^r dat herof to ferme from the said Ri^c t no longer, which expired y^e said Ri^c was bond to make y^e said suretie to my Lord and his heir^r." (Ib.)

In other deeds the provision made from the Earl's table is seen. For instance, by "a dede from Remond Dillon Captain of his nacon vpon cccc Elys in Alone [Athlone] yerly to be payed in Mainoth betwin Cristym^s t Estir to my Lord for terme of lyf with a claus of distresse. And evy ele y^t shalbe vnpayed at the ffeast of Estir ij^d. Dat the xx^t day of November anno vi^o Henrici octavi." (Ib.)

"An Indentur from Jamys M^rIn herine for the payment of viij gallons of hune yerly. . . . datyd the xith day of March A^o. Dñi M^r ccccc^o. xxiiij^o." (Ib.)

"An Indentur from William Ossenaght of Kilkenny, for c. elys yerly at Candlemas, or ij^d for a pes [a piece], during the said Williams lif. Datid the iiith day of September a^o xvi^o H. viij. t a^o. M.D. xxiiij^o." (Ib.)

"A dede from Cayr ODoyn vppon iij bevis³ yerely betwixt Mig^ms and Cristm^s for fme of lyf. Datid the xxiiijth day of Febru^a a^o xvi^o. H. viij." (Ib.)

The Earl did not omit to keep up his stock of hawkes as appears by "An Indent to Willm son to Phillip ODoyr in Killymannagh, vpon an nest of Goshawk^r yerly at Lammas vnto Gerald Erle of Kyl-dare during the said Willm is liff, w^h a clause of distress of v m^rk^r evy yere he make a default. Datid the eight t xx^t day of Julii, anno xvii^o. H. viij." (Fol. x.)

Amongst numerous grants of annuities to the Earl, without any consideration mentioned—but evidently to secure the Earl's favour, are the following:—"Twenty shilling^r yerly by dede on Carikeglick^r t Dromdill in the Countie of Myth, to Geralde Erle of Kildare, for fm^r of his lyff gr^unted by S^r Cristoffre Plunket of Rathmore, for his lafull diffense against the Irishmen. . . . Datid the last day of April anno. Henr^r octavo decimo." (Ib.)

"A mark stling yerly vppon John Coursy Lord of Kynsale for term of lyff at the ffeast of Eister and Michm^s w^t a clause of distres in Downmacpatryck t in the said Kynsale. Datid the xvi day of Octob the xviith yere of Kyng Henr^r the Eight." (Ib.)

¹ Fishing weirs are called "gurgites" hence, probably, the term "goryes." in law Latin, and "coradh" in Irish,

² Called "rudders" in the margin.

" Vpon S^r Gerald Waylshe, Deane of Arddaghe and p'son of the Anell [Anally] at Mychalmas yerly iiiij mark^f yerly graunted by an ynden^t to Gerald Erle of Kildare, w^t the Senescalshipe of his Deanrye during the tyme that he shall have the p'sonshipe of the Anell. Dated the xxij day of Septembre in the xxij yere of H. viijth. " (Ib.)

The following ecclesiastical persons are mentioned in the dockets of leases, and in indentures entered in the Rental:—

William, Abbot of St. Thomas' Court, Dublin; 13th October 6th, Hen. VIII. (Fol. i.)

William Fowle, Prior of St. John's without the New Gate, Dublin; 30th April, 8th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

John, Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin; 20th March, 8th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Thomas Rochford, Dean of Dublin; 22d May, 6th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Robert Sutton, Archdeacon of Dublin; 22d May, 6th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Ellen Wulf, Prioress of Timolin; 10th May, 10th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Thomas Rochford, Chanter of Dublin; 10th May, 10th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Oliver Herbul, Commandor of Tully (a Commandery of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in the County of Kildare), A. D. 1516. (Ib.)

William O'Dala, Prior of Loughseudy; 9th November, 1515. (Ib.)

Nicholas, Prior of Conal; 23d May, 1520. (Ib.)

Dr. Chambre, Archdeacon of Meath; 12th February, 16th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir John Rawson, Prior of Kilmainham; 30 Nov. 8th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Thomas Tute, Prior of Loghcede (Loughseudy?); 20th February, 1522. (Ib.)

James, Abbot of St. Thomas' Court, Dublin; 24th February, 22d Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

John Cross, Prior of St. John of Down; 31st May, 23d Hen. VIII. (Fol. ij.)

Giles, Prior of Grane; 13th October, 23d. Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Glasseny M'Gynes, Prior of Down; 4th June, 11th Hen. VIII. (Fol. v.)

Patrick Cantwell, Abbot of Navan; 11th May, 5th Hen. VIII. (Fol. viii.)

Christopher Dowdall, Archdeacon of Meath; 22d September, 5th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

David Wellesley, Archdeacon of Kildare. (Ib.)

Richard, Abbot of Granard; 11th September, 1516. (Ib.)

Thomas Canen, Vicar of Girley (Grellock); 31 Dec., 7th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Thomas, Prior of Mullingar. (Ib.)

James Deyn, Vicar of Oregan; 27th August, 10th Hen. VIII. (Fol. ix.)

Walter Wellesley, Prior of Conal (Great Conall in the county of Kildare): 27th August, 10th Henry VIII. (Ib.)

Donagh, Abbot of the Monastery de Lege Dei (Leix in the Queen's Co.), and Vicar of Tymoage; 20th February, 1517. (Ib.)

John Fferaill, Vicar of Drumraithine; 21st Feb. 1512. (Ib.)

Sir Gerot Dalton, parson of Pieriston; 16 May, 17th Hen. VIII. (Fol. x.)

Sir Pierce Whit, Vicar of Clonmel; 28 July, 18th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Thomas Brown, parson of Kylymanan in the Diocese of Ossory; 28th July, 17th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Thomas O'Gowin, parson of Castell Corr in the barony of Fower; 4th July, 17th Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Gerald Boessell, prebendary of Edermine, in the county of Wexford; 3d July, 23d Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

Sir Gerald Waylshe, Deane of Ardagh, and parson of the Anell; 23d September, 23d Hen. VIII. (Ib.)

We now come to a very striking indication of the status of the Earls of Kildare amongst the Irish tribes and septs of the South-eastern districts of Ireland. We give these entries in full, and only have to express our regret that, by the untimely death of Dr. O'Donovan, the Society is deprived of a valuable mass of annotations which, with his accustomed kindness, he had promised to the Editor.¹ As to the tributes received by Lord Kildare from several Irish septs, in consideration of the "defense" he afforded them, the following extract from a state paper of 1534 shows that these exactions were then rendered to the Earls of Kildare, Ormonde, and Desmond:—

"Item, for the moyre part all the captayns of the whild Irish is in subjection, and doth bere grete trubut to your said Erles, or els, by reison of the mariage and norising of ther childirn, be at ther comaundementes; wherby it is to be entendyd that when thes Erlls be refornyd, all thes Irish capitaines, which is undyr ther trubut, and at ther comaundement, must at all tymys yeld Your Grace trubut and service; for this trubut and subjection is by reison off the streinth that they have by retaynyng men, and finding them on your subjectes."

In a subsequent paper, of 1537, a "Memoriall for winning Leinster," it is stated that most of the Irish chiefs and their septs, of this province, were under tribute to the Earls of Kildare, and part of them to the Butlers, thus being "divided betwixt the Geraldines and Butlers, which," continues the report —

"Hath ben the most occasion of the preservyng of thym; and also, as far as coulde be perceived, the Geraldines preserved the most of them

¹ Since the above was in type, the demise of Professor Eugene O'Curry has caused universal grief. It will be seen that the members are indebted to that eminent Irish scholar for some valuable

notes to this paper. The death of O'Curry occurring so soon after that of his collaborateur, O'Donovan, is an irreparable loss to Irish literature—especially to the publication of our Brehon Laws.

for skurges too the King's subjectes at souch tyme as thei wold be in displeasur. . . . Knowing well that, if those parts had ben resourmed, thei sholde not have borne the rule, ne enyoied the advauntage thei had."

This tribute shows the fraternal system under which land was depastured by each sept possessed of a *creacht*, or stock of cows and sheep.

FOLIO XIIJ.

THERLL OF KYLDARF DUTIES UPON IRISHMEN.

first, M^morowis Contrey.¹

Congho' O'Geran, Re-
cevo'.

In Cloghamon, Gragnyslissok, Kilrosnaran Kyldovan and Bolyngate upon evy cow iiijd. At Mich yeven by Morgh Ballagh. ² In the Lyemonye graunted by Morirtagh M ^m Phillip yerly ppetuall of evy cow iijd. In Kylmychill t Kilcoyme yevin by Moris Kevenagh upon evy cowe at Mich yerly iiijd. In the Barduff graunted by Wiflm Glas yerly ppetuall of evy cowe iiijd. In the Anagh Ballydovlis Kilmychil M ^m Wadik t Kylros- mynok yevin by Mori ^c M ^m Vadik ³ Captain of

¹ Mac-Murrough's country comprised the district around Mount-Leinster, inhabited by the Kavanaghs. No special denomination, further than this, is given to it, for it had not, like most other districts, a particular name, and no definition of its limits is known. Its chieftain bore the title of King of Leinster, but there is nothing to show that he had sway over all the Irish of this province. His name was *Mac Murchadha*, anglicised Mac Murrough, as the representative descendant of Murchadh, King of Leinster. The largest branch of this family had the surname of *Caomhanach*, anglicised Kavanagh, from their progenitor Domhnall *Caomhanach*, son of Dermot-na-Gall (the king so called because he brought in the "foreigners," or English, under Strongbow), who was fostered at Killcavan (Caochan), near Gorey. The head of this family was created Baron of Kayer temp. Elizabeth. Kayer was a denomination of one of the six divisions of which the modern barony of Bantry was subsequently formed. It contained fifteen ploughlands. Old Ross division contained the same number. More anciently Kayer included a larger terri-

tory, since it comprised much, or all, of "the Glynn," or wooded vale-district, which included "the Pole, or, Gaelic, *Poul*, a valley covered with water during high tides and rain, and which was held of the Barons of Kayer by the service of keeping a safe passage over the poll, or tidal inlet, flowing through it, whenever the sessions were held in the county town (Printed Inquisitions). Carrigmenan was also held of these Barons, who, themselves, held by immemorial right, and therefore were better able to alienate their estate to Lord Kildare than if they had been vassals of the Earls of Shrewsbury. The word signifies, like the Welsh *caer*, a castle, which stood on the site of Wilton Castle, now the seat of H. Alcock, Esq.

² Murrough *Ballach*, i.e., the Freckled, was the late Mac Murrough, and had died in 1511. His descendant, Sir Morgan Kavanagh, dwelt in Clohamon Castle, and was knight of the shire for Wexford in 1634.

³ McVadick was the name of the chief or senior of a subordinate sept which dwelt around Gorey. See O'Donovan's Introduction to "The Topographical Poems of O'Heerin and O'Dugan," p. 24.

Congho' O'Geran, Re- cevo'.	his countrey vpon evy cowe at Mich yerly iiijd.
Patrick Archepoll, Re- cevo'.	In Ballycadane graunted by Morgh M'hew- carre ¹ of evy cow at Mich iiijd.
Congho' O Gerane, Re- cevo'.	In Kil Ballyregan yevin by Clanne Clery M'Gilpatrick More ² callid Moriartagh boy Dongh Robo t Edmund on evy cow at Mich yerly ppetual iiijd.
Patke Archepoll, Re- cepto'.	In Ballybegg grannt ³ by Tege M'hewcarre of evy cow iiijd.
Conno' Ogerā, R. .	In Moyhell in Odrone yevin by Patrick M'Shangalty at Mich yerly xiijs. iiijd.
Mollaghlyn Lawles, R. .	Upon Arclo yerely, xx. vis. viijd.
Connor O'Gerrā, rasei- vor.	In Borgys hamon ⁴ graunt by Cayr son to Art boy on evi cow yerly iiijd.
	In Ballynekerge on evy cow yerly iiijd.
	On every croo ⁵ of shepe a shepp, t of evy croo of swyne a hogg graunted by Art M'Ge- rald and Tege Ballagh.
	In to Coulkonin at hallontide for ther dif- fence xx.
	In Ballykharege graunted by Donyll Doul- lor, on evy cow iiijd.
	Evy croo of shepe a shepe t evy crow of swyne a hogg yerely.
	On Edmond Doff M'Dongh in O'Kynshelly ⁶ yerly for defence iiijd. ppetually.
	Kylvele of evy cow iiijd. and of evy crow of swyne one hogg, and of evy crow of shepp i. shep granted by Edmond M'Dongh is sonnys.
	Parknekyre, Kylcoribbre, Donnemoire, Bal- ilan, Ardromyn begg, Monigenehire.
	In Bale macValtryn on evy cowe iiijd. and on evye crowe a shepe and on evy [crow of] swyne a hogge.
	Parke Vaspayne t Konnagh of evy cowe iijd.
	Garremore Karrol a Gorran in lykewyse. Shane Manaster vis. viiid.

¹ Query, Mac Hugh Carragh?² This sept, *Siol*, i. e., seed (in Scotland written *seill*), is unknown.³ Borgyhamon, i. e., Hamond's town.⁴ *Carkoo* means "a quarter," also "a herd." A townland in Lecale, co. Down, is still called "Kildare's Crew;" but this is a different word, being correctly written *ced̄parnab*, commonly pronounced "carrow."⁵ Donell Dowlin?⁶ O'Kinsellagh's (Ui Cennselach) country, in the north-east of the co. Wexford. This district was so named, according to the late Professor O'Curry, from Eochaidh Cennselach, i. e. "of the foul mouth." A note written on a State Paper chart of Idrone explains that "the countries of Cavenagh consisteth of these countries followinge—Kenselaugh, occupied by three septs, viz., M'Edmond Duffe, M'Damore, M'Vadaugh."

Walt Archepoll, Rece- ver.	Item in two Coulconyn to my sayde Lorde and his eirys, for there defence yerly at hal- mas for evy cowe iiijd. And out of evy croo of shepe one, and of evy croo a hoghe.
Donoll Doullor, Receivo'.	Item Ballykharock evy caro iiijd. and for evy croo of shepe one shepe or a hogge graunt- ed by Donalde Doullor.
Edmond Duff M'Do- nough, recevo'.	Item on Edmonde Duffe M'Donnough in O'Kynsylly yerly for defense vj. markes.
Edmond M ^c Donnough is sonnys, recevo'.	Item Kyllvele of evy cowe iiijd. and evy croo of shepe one shepe, and evy croo a hogge, graunted by Edmond M'Donnough.

The said Lords dueties in ffelym Omoroy² Countrey.

Malaghlyn lealas, Rec'.	Upon the Omorow for his defense yerly at Mich xx. Kyne or x. mlf.
	The wilde Orcharde alias the Owllorde Syan Clonegarran.

In Onolanys Countre called ffohirt.³

Congho' O Gerañ, Rec'.	Upon the said Onolan yerly at Mich for his defense graunted by Morgh Nydosre Captain of his naçón xij. Kyne or vj. maret.
	In Rathto yevin by Gerald Duffe Onolan upon evy cow at Mich yerly iiijd., and upon croo of shepe i. shepe.
	Item in Ballyvaldin in likewyse.

¹ "Mac Edmond Duffe" was the title of the chiefs of the Kinsellaghs. This entry and that above and the two below it are crossed out in the original.

² That is to say, *Ui Felme*, the O'Murrough's country. This district is explained, in a note to Dr. O'Donovan's edition of the "Irish Topographical Poems" to be the northern *Ui-Felme*, a territory situated in the present county of Carlow, and comprised in the parish of Tulloghophilim, which retains the name. O'Huidhrin's poem speaks of:—

Ul-Felme, the cold northern tract,
A fair land has O'Gairbhidh obtained,
The warriors of Tulach to cement the tribes,
All are without decay throughout the region.
O'Murchadha is now anglicised Murphy, which is the most prevalent name in Leinster, because the name Murchadha was borne by many early members of the native dynasty. The territory called "the Murroes," as being the patrimony of the southern "O'Murchoes" is understood to be coterminous with the present barony of Ballaghkeen, in the

county of Wexford. As to one of the chiefs of this district, and his political relations with the English pale of that county, see the "Annuary" of our Society, p. 24.

³ Commonly called Fort (i. e. Fothart) O'Nolan: it is now the barony of Forth, in the county of Carlow. O'Nolan was senior vassal to Mac Murrough. A document in Harl. MS. 2138, as to the title to Fort O'Nolan, quotes an inquest of 35, Edw. I., on Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk's demesne estate there: this record mentions "one chamber of stone, one grange (now Grangefort), 368 acres of demesne land (each acre is noted by the transcriber to contain five statute acres), worth yearly £12 5s. 4d., twenty acres of meadow; ten of pasture, called Oxynles, (i. e. the Oxen leys or meadows), and some other parcels of land. The Earl being an absentee, and after the O'Nolans had slain Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, in a skirmish at Kellistown, they recovered their country.

FOLIO XIII.

Obirnys Country.¹

In Killyneor for theſ defens̄ yevin by Mo-
riartagh M'Philipp at Mič for evy cow iiijd. at
Michm's.

In Ardwoene yevin by fſergynanem M'dongh
for defens̄ yerly of evy cow iiiid.
Upon evy croe of ſhepe, i. ſhepe.
Upon every croe of ſwyne, i. Swyn.

In ye Brittas² at Mich̄ yerly for ye defense
yevin by Hugh Bradagh³ & his kyñesmen called
Gowil Shandowlyn⁴, and also in evy Towne
whiche ſhalbe inhitited of their lands of evy
cow at Mich̄ yerly iiiid. of evy croe of ſhepe
i. ſhepe † a dish of butt'. And worke to the
Castell of Cloghenogan.

In the Leawn for the defens̄ at Mich̄ yerly
gevin by Hugh M'Moriartagh xiiis. iiiid.

In Ballyneglogh for ye defens̄ yevin by
Marg⁵y Enybry⁶ of evy cow yerly at Mič
iiid.

In Aghrym for ye defens̄ at Mich̄ yerly
gevin by William Bedy and his kynesmen
xlviii. gall butt'. In the Moynthag of evy
ac̄ at Mich̄ iiijd. and of evy cow iiijd.

Upon Marg⁷et Oge Enytholl⁸ yerly for her
defens at Hallontide viij gall hony.

Upon Clan M'Shane for ye defens̄ yerly to
ye ſaid Erle & his heirs for evy graunted of
evy cow iiid.

Itm upon Kylkeandragh and Kyllehigh or
Kyllewyn iiijd upon evy cow, yevin by the
pson⁹ M'pluke yerly a ſhepe upon evy crow, &
a ſwyne upon evy crowe at Criftmas.

Itm upon Clanm¹⁰ Shan for thare defence
yerly vnto the ſaid Erle and his heirs for evy
uppon evy cow at Mich̄ iiiid. Itm grauntid
by Morgh m'Dermot m'Donyll Ryogh.

The Moynthag y'of,
Congho' Ogeran, Rec.

Patryke Archbolde, B.

¹ The O'Byrnes' country. Their territory is undefined. *Ui Faolain* was the tribe name of the O'Byrnes and Mac Eochaidhs (Keoghs, who were hereditary bards), whose original territory was about the northern half of the county of Kildare, whence they were driven by the Fitzgeralds and other English into the east of the county of Wicklow.

² Ballybrittas, i. e., the Britons' town.

³ Hugh Bradagh (because fostered

by the Bradys?) was chief of the junior branch of the O'Byrnes called Gavel-Ranallach, i. e., the gavellers descended from Ranal.

⁴ Gowil Shandowlyn may mean the gavellers, or clansmen descended from Old Dowlyn.

⁵ i. e., Margaret m' bpium, the daughter of O'Byrne, "enny" (ni) being equivalent to the Welsh *Euny*.

⁶ Margaret oge, m' Chuachal or "the daughter of O'Toole."

⁷ The parson.

Item upon evry cow in Gowlraynnyll¹ yerely
at Whytsontyde iiijd.

M^d. that Donyll M^cShanglays of Knocragh
did covenant w^b Geralde Erle of Kyldare the
furst day of August the xviii yere of Kyng
Hen^r theight in the p'sense of Thom^s Eustace
Tyrrelagh M^cOne carragh and ffyagh M^cTyr-
relagh that he shall pay yerly for evy cow on
the said Knocragh other any landf longing to
hym or his brethern—iiijd.

Itm on evy crowe of swyne a hogg, and one
evy crowe of shepe a shepe. Also the said
Donyll haith covⁿted that if ev he take part
against the said Erle in anny wer^r, that then to
forset to the said Erle all his por^con of land
for ev.

M^d that Patricke Ohee of the Toreboy dyd
grawnt unto Gerald Erle of Kildare the xiiij.
day of Apriell anno 1564, in p'sence of Oliver
Walshe of Maywallie t James Bardis that he
shall pay yerly unto the sayd Erle xx^d gallons
of butter. And on evy cro of shepe a shepe,
on evy cro of swine a porke, to be payed yerly
out of all the sayd Patrik^f landf to the sayd
Erles maner of Maynoth. And the sayd Erle
shall defend the sayd Patrike of all injures and
wrongs to his power. And he shall pay fur-
ther owt of every cow in his cōtre iiijd. p
amn³.

FFOLIO XV.

In Oryany Contrey.²

Conō^r OGeran, Receiwo^r
ther.

Dromrys, Poweriston, ye Gurtyn, the Ger-
ran, evy of them contaynyng xv. gret acrf,⁴
Which lands was boght of Tybot Butler by
Gerot Fitz Thom^s Erle of Kyldare. The
said land is sett to ferme to Tybot Fitz Ed-
mond Butler for viij. mlf yerely.

¹ Cowranelagh, i. e., Cul Raingel-
laigh, the corner or back of Ranallach.

² This entry shows that, in 1564, the
11th Earl of Kildare revived the defen-
sive policy of his ancestor, the 9th Earl.

³ O'Ryan's country, Idrone, in the
county of Carlow. The topographical
poem of 1372 has this verse:—

Hereditary to O'Riaghain of smooth land
Is a cantred, long the land,
Ui-Drona of pleasant hills,
More befitting (to him) than a strange territory.

The tribe *Ui-Drona* sprang from Drona,
fourth in descent from Cathaoir Mor,
king of Ireland in the second century,
and gave their name to the barony of
Idrone, Co. Carlow. In 1571 it contained
67 mart lands, or, at five ploughs to a
mart land, 335 plough lands. [Calendar
of State Papers.]

⁴ This mention of "great acres" is
explained in the note under O'Nolan's
tributes, p. 120, *supra*.

Otholis Contre, callid O Mayl, and in Gleancappe.

Congho' OGeran, Re- cevo'.	Upon evy cow in the same except the gen- tilmenys ² kyne, and ye kyne of Talbotiston, y ^e Stramore, Carrikbreak, t Kilneclone iiijd. of evy cow at Mich. And ye said Carrikbreak paith xxiiij. gallons butt Killneclonagh xij. gallons butt at Miç yerly.
Patrike Archepoll, Re- cewo' ther.	Itm evy cow in Gleancappe jd a quarter, i. horsse lode wod on evy howse hawing a cabill ³ to draw to Dublyn quartly. Itm also at evy Mich evy cow iiijd. and vpon evy Towne a motton, i. porke, t xv. gallon butt at Mich.
	Itm a custom day ⁴ on evy hovse to ripp bind t drawe. Itm half kany ⁵ t penalties w ^t in the said Gleancapp.

FOLIO XVI.

Leys.⁶ OMores Countre.

Mahon OCoyn, rec ² .	Item in Twodaclowe upon evy kow at Mich iiijd. t vpon evy flok of shep i. shew and of evy croo of swyn a hogg. The said Gerald Erle did quyte the landf of Patrike M ^c faghne M ^c Kedagh, calite the Kyller, paying therefor x. maref reddy money unto Lisagh and Wony sonnes to Kedagh O More for the which ac- quittail the said Patrike did yev unto the said Erle the oon half of the said landf. And the said Erle and his heyres to defend him and his heyres in the other half.
To Morish Keting.	Upon Sleymarge for thar defens yerly vi. mif.

¹ *Ui-Mail*, now Imail, a well-known territory in the barony of Upper-Talbotstown, Co. Wicklow. It belonged to the O'Tuathails or O'Tooles, to whom also Glencap belonged. The late Professor O'Curry said that *Ui Mail* means "the sons of the champion."

² This exemption of "gentlemen's" cows proves there still were slavish septs, specially liable to taxation.

³ i. e., Capull, a horse.

⁴ Custom day at harvest time.

⁵ "Half kany" was the moiety of

the *caina*, fines, payable for transgres-
sions committed within the district.

⁶ This name Leys (*Laoighir*) may derive from *Laoighir* *Ui Morða*. Lisagh was a frequent Christian name among the O'Mores, and was in some cases probably the origin of the vulgar Irish surname Lacy. An account of this territory, which belonged to the O'Mores, will accompany a facsimile of an ancient map of Leix, Offaly, Iregan, Irry, and Clanmalier, to be published in a future number of this "Journal."

Upon Kyllenebarre yerly ij. rudderf & xl*d.*
to the said Erle and his heyr graunted by Neyl
M^cConyll.

Itm upon Jamys M^cInharyne¹ by dede for
his defens viij gallonis of hone² to be paid yerly
during his lyf w^t a clause of dystres the same
to be paid at evy Michi the dede being dated xi.
die Marcii a^e Henr viij. xiii^j.

Itm upon Gilpatricke M^cMoriatogh O'Doran³ yerly at Halomas a rodder vis. viij*d.*
wyle he dwellys in Leya.

Itm upon Conor O'ffeneyn, leche,⁴ of the
Money in Lease, yerly, two rodders, or xx*s.*

William Ro ODympey,
B.

Ossory⁵ M^cGylpatrickis Countre.

Itm in fformoyll for evy kowe iiijd. evy
croo of shew i shew. evy croo of swyn a hogg.
graunted by Brene M^cTirrelagh M^cDonghe
yeree vnto Kildare.

Itm upon Clanmalaghlin Roo for the defence
of Ballydawoke, the Parke, Garran ne boly.
Croyll, and the half of Ballygnevyn, and Kyl-
bracan, Kyllermoy iiijd of evy cow, a mutton of
evy croo of shewe, and a swyne of evy croo of
swyne at evy halontide. Of the fferaneheglyshe
of evy cow iiijd.

Vpon the vicar of Chircheton iiijd of evy
cow, a swyne of evy croo of swyne, and a
mutton of evy croo of shewe belonging vnto
him. Of evy cow in the Cargyn iiijd of evy
crow, a mutton of evy crow of shewe, and a
swyne of evy croo of swyne.

Itm of the Loran in likewyse.

Itm of Ballyvaghlin in like man^f.

Itm of Graige Arde in lyke man^f to be
payed all at evy halontide.

Itm on the sonnys of Dognogh Makdon-
nok OShowylle in the Burgache and in Syre-
bege one evy cowe iiijd.

Itm on evy crows of shewe a shewe.

Mahon Coyn, B.

¹ M^cEnny-harin, or the son of the
daughter of Harin, is an ancient "Base
Leinster" name.

² Honey was a staple commodity at
that time, when sugar was unknown,
when metheglin was appreciated, and
when honey was probably mingled with
the still favourite mountain drink, viz.,
milk and whiskey.

³ O'Doran was hereditary brehon.

⁴ A leech, surgeon, or physician.
O'Fannin(?) was hereditary mediciner
to the Leys tribe, for which he held
that "money," i. e., moor, in fee simple.

⁵ "Ossory."—i. e. *Oraighé*, the ter-
ritory of Mac Giollaphatric, then con-
terminous with the modern barony of
Upper Ossory.

Itm vpon evye crowe of swyne a hogge to
be payde at hallontyde graunted for terme of
lyff beyng p'sent Jamys Boyf, Jamys Kyng,
Edmone Sex, Wal Long, graunted by Wone
and Tyrrelaghe M'donnogh in the name of all
ther brethern the xix. day of Novembre the xxij.
yere of King H. viiith.

FOLIO xvij. *O regane,¹ O dones Countre.*

Willām Roo O Dympsy, B.	{ Itm vpon Twosmerē yerly vi. Rudders to Kildare. Itm vpon the Vikere of the same yerly ij. Ruddres.
Vpon Cayr O Doyn ij. Ruddris yerely.	
	{ An indent from Cayre O Doyn vpon iij. bevis yerely betwix Michm's and Christm's for l'm of lyf w' a clause of distress, dated the xxiiij. day of februař a° xvi. H. viij ^v .

Irra, M^cMorishis² Countre.

Willām Roo O Dempsey, B.	{ Itm vpon M ^c Morish yerly vi. Ruddurs.
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FOLIO xviii. *Clanemalyre,³ O Dympsey is Countre.*

Willām Roo O Dympsy, Rec.	{ Itm vpon Thoñs E'dure is sonys a hog yerely. Itm vpon Dermot M'dongh. Vpon Ballym ^c crossan yerly by Indentur ij. fatte Rudders at holontide graunted by Davy M ^c crossan and Ovin his broth ^r and Keroll soñ to Donyll M ^c crossan. ⁴ Item in Ballebohyr xx. acris p'chasyde of Lyssagh M ^c Bryne O Dymeye in Killeghone yerly vis. iiid. Item in Killeghone yerly vis. viijd.
ij. Ruddris is yerly in Bal- ly m ^c crossan.	

¹ *Ui Riagan*, Anglicised Iregan. Ir-
gan contained in length twelve miles,
and in breadth seven, and lay mid-
way between Ophaly fort, or Philip-
town, and Athlone, and five miles south
of Mullingar. O'Molloy's country bound-
ed it southward; Ophaly south-east-
ward; Fertullagh, or Tyrrell's country,
eastward, and O'Melaghlin's and Dil-
lon's countries westward.—Map in
“State Papers,” vol. iii. Some account
of this district will accompany the fac-
simile of the ancient map alluded to

in a previous note.

² “*M^cMorish*.”—This probably was
the “territorie of Kilteile, alias Mac Mor-
rise's countrie in the county of Wex-
ford,” which lay south of Shilelagh, as
stated in a note on the “Topographical
Poems.”

³ “*Clanemalyre*.”—An account of this
district will accompany the above-men-
tioned facsimile.

⁴ The M^cCrossans, modernly Crosbys,
were hereditary bards, or rhymers, to
the O'Mores and O'Conors.

O Conno' is Countre of Offaly.¹

Manus O Mylone, Ra- seivo ^r .	<p>Vpon Clancolgyn belonging to O Innons, of evy ploland a rudder at Mich.</p> <p>Vpon Shan O Mony pson of Geysyll the tething of Clondehorke iiiij. melsh kyne yerely.²</p> <p>Vpon Clonsaist iij. carts yerly.</p> <p>Vpon Fearran I Morghane ij. rudder^r yerly.</p> <p>Vpon Morish O hennoise yerly imperetuū xs.</p> <p>Vpon evye plowe lande in Cloncolgyn yerely a Rodder.</p> <p>In feran O Morgan ij. Rodd^s yerly.</p> <p>Itm vpon evy plowe lande of Clonecolghyn yerly a Reudder.</p>
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FOLIO XIX. Ferkeall,³ O' Mulmoyes Countre.

Itm in Moyanna vpon evy plowland yerly at
Mich for xl ix. ploland^r at xiid. the ploland
yevin by Brene M'Shane O Mulmoy vnto the
said Erill. Sm^a xxixs.

Itm vpon Rory O Doygyn yerely at hallomas
ijj. Rudders.

Itm vpon his sonnys yerely vis. ijjd.

Kynalphyagh,⁴ Mageogbegans Countre.

Paden OHurgy, Re-
ceiver.

[.....] by the hands of
Paden OHurge.

<p>iii^{xx} & xii. plow lands in Kynnalfiagh, by the declaration of Nycholas Walshe, a^o 1560. [This is in a later hand].</p>	<p>Itm, upon every ploland yerly in the said countre at Mich xiid. yevin by Leynagh^b M'keoghane unto the said Erill.</p>
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Itm, in Ardnurcher,^c a plowland, which
was yevin to Cahir OConor, Capitayne of his

¹ "Offaly."—A full account of this territory, *Ui-Failghe*, will accompany the above-mentioned map.

² This and the third item below it are crossed out in the original.

³ "Ferkeall."—This denomination is explained in a learned note to the Irish Topographical Poems to mean "*Viri cellularum seu potius ecclesiistarum;*" to have been preserved in "Fircal," a barony in the King's County, now known as "English," from the Irish *eaglais*, a church; and to have comprised not only this barony, but also the baronies of Ballycowan and Ballyboy. It belonged to

the O'Maolhuaidhs, anglicè O'Molloys.

⁴ "Kynalphyagh."—*Cinel Fhiachach*, anglicised Kenaliagh or Kinalea. This countre is accurately defined on an old map published in the second volume of the Irish "State Papers," showing it to have been twelve miles long and seven broad.

^b Laighnech, anglicised Lynagh, i.e., "the Lagenian," or Leinsterman. He became the Mageoghegan in 1493.

^c Ardnurcher, Ath-an-urchair, or the Horse-Leap. The remains of the castle here show it to have been a large and stately edifice. See Professor O'Curry's "Lectures," Appendix, pp. 593, 640.

..... by the hands of
Paden OHurge.

nacion, by James Makeogane, capitayne of Kynalfiagh, to pledge of iiiii^{xx} kyne. And the same Cahir did yev the same plowland in the same sm^a to Gerald fitz Thomas, Erl of Kildare; and after that, Leynagh Makeogane, capitayne of the said countre, with all his sept of Sleought Hew Bowyⁱ did reles their hole

¹Aedh, or Hugh, Buidhe, i.e., "the yellow," grandfather of Leynagh. This Hugh "the yellow" MacGeoghan was lord of Kinel Fiachach, pronounced "Kinelea;" as was his son Conall, who was slain in 1470. Laighneach assumed the chieftaincy on the death of his brother, anno 1463.—("Four Masters.") There is a curious Irish deed, written on a small square piece of parchment, inserted between pages 37 and 38 of the original Rental. It is as follows, from a copy made by the late Professor Eugene O'Curry, with a translation made by that eminent Irish scholar for the Society:—

Amen. In Dei nomine.

Ce é ro coir aírla dhéanamh Déarbhóil
mao Comáid, mic Seoirn .. Láplá Chil-
te d'arpa ná d'earp (?) ghearr na Rata
Urríseadhais d' iad agus, mao Conla,
mic Aedha Óuiríde .. tigernna Cineális
Fachach, oscur cois pleásta Ceiba
uidhe, oscur pleásta Néill, oscur fhe-
arrgair Ruaidh Óuiríde rinn .. in clárula
do toghairt Coille Tobuiri pia uirláim
rém ó fhléasachán do gannúint
feadhainn cloítheamh do fheamainn bhl., oscur
a gcuin dochúint cónra do gheáraithe
Mag Eochagán, oscur atá d' Mag
Eochagán don láplá, a cenn is eisid
bhó, do éinn in dortheáinum rinn do ghe-
áraithe .. vi. tarng ap Choiill Tobuiri
rém do ghnáit, do féin oscur da tháic
ma bheagánibh, oscur da fhiúst; oscur da
mbeadh sochaibh ap in láplá ne piarsab
ailear pia, Choiill Tobuiri dainginibh do
bheanntibh; oscur da mbeadh
ailear do piarsab ailear pia, comhúiltí in
láplá do gheáraithe ap Choiill Tobuiri do
beit ap manaiti rír in gann; oscur da
mbeadh nád cisearb do Pháidh Eochagán
no da fhiúst Choiill Tobuiri do báirri-
dáct, in clárula do éin báirriodh innse.

"This is the way in which Garret, son of Thomas, son of John, the Earl of Kildare, obtained at first hold of Rath Driscoyhighi from Laignech son of Conall [MacGeoghan] son of Aedh Buidhe, the Lord of Cenel Fiachaidh; and the descendants of Aedh Buidhe, and

the descendants of Niall, and of Fergal Ruaidh, were consenting parties to it. Viz.: The Earl is to take Coill Tobuir into his own hands from the Sil Chonchabair [race of O Connor] who coveted to make sword land of it, and is to force them to make terms with the Macgeoghegan. And there is from MacGeoghegan to the Earl, in addition to the [above mentioned] land, half a mark out of Coill Tobuir itself in perpetuity to himself and to his son after him, and to his posterity. And if there should be war against the Earl, and that it should be advantageous to him to get Coill Tobuir for the purposes of the war, or if he should have an ally to whom it would be advantageous, the Earl is to decide whether Coill Tobuir is to be given to such ally. And if it should happen that MacGeoghegan or his descendants should not be able to defend Coill Tobuir, the Earl [is bound] to put defenders into it."

This deed, which is written on a piece of vellum not larger than the palm of a man's hand, is so curious a specimen of Gaelic conveyancing that a facsimile is laid before the reader. See plate facing page 111 *supra*, facsimile No. 2. The endorsement is as follows:—

"Lands and rents yevin by Laynaghe
Mageoghane, the cheff of his nacon,
lord of Kinallaghe to G^rod fitz Thomas
Erle of Kildare.

vith. viiith. by the yere on Kyltobbyr and
the castell of the same to be at the Erelis
comavndement."

Radrissoge, one of the denominations mentioned in this curious deed, as appears by an inquisition of the reign of James I. (Co. Westmeath), contained sixty acres, and belonged to Hugh Mac Geoghan. Coill Tobbuir is correctly translated "the Wellwood" in the same document. Fergal Roe MacGeoghegan died in 1458 according to Mac Firbis's Annals.

A succeeding Mageoghegan, namely, Conall mac Couchobhair, made on the 20th August, 1520, a similar curious compact with "The Fox" (Sionnach).

title thereto to Gerald fitz Gerald, son to the said Gerald. Itm̄, the said Gerald yave to Ovyn begg ODala, in full acquitting of the pledge that he had upon half the Genyol kille ix. marcf money, and to Thole OHuggin in like manner for the ful payment of the other half vi. acres of tethe in full payment of vi. melshe kyne.

Itm̄, Malaghlyn mac Hew M'Keoghane yave the said Gerald oon cartron in Gleanedok for vi. marcf money. Itm̄, another carton in Gleanedok in pledg of xii. in calf kyne, which Ferall dofe OFuore had payd him.

Itm̄, vpon a plowland calde Corinnahir in pledge xviii. kyne, which was payd to Kahyre m^cArt OKonor.

Itm̄, a plowland in Balyncomyn, in pledg lx. kyne, by the judgment of Shane M'Egan,¹ for a pray that the Cosny O Moyle is sonys made on Moryartagh M'Geoghegan is sonys, for that Conghwr M'Brenrowe was gylte of ye said pray; and the said Moryartagh sonys gave the same to Gerald fitz Gerald Erle of Kildare, in amends of the dethe of Moryartagh m^c Hue Mageoghegan, whych was slayne in treyson by Nele M'Moryarte.

Itm̄, half a plowland in Down Owyr, in pledge of xxiiii. kyne, from Moyleaghlyn M'Geoghegan is sonys, for the kylling of the said Moriartagh.

Nychas Walsh, Recevyr. { chief of Munterhagan, by which the former chieftain was to be deemed lord over the Fox, and his country. One of the covenants is to the effect that whenever a war, or disturbance, came either upon Mageoghegan or upon the Fox, on account of which one of them might bring his forces with him out of territory, the other should bear the proportion of his territory of the expense of the *bonayht* men, or waged soldiery. The new chief was to do his utmost to protect and shelter the Fox, and every person in his country, both small and great. Whenever any part of their territory should be unjustly, or with default of rent, detained by tenants, without paying any or the usual rent, Mageoghegan was to do his utmost endeavour to recover such part of the territory. Another covenant implies that the Earl of Kildare had customarily

exerted his power in assisting such chiefs as were under his banner in recovering dues from their inferior septs or slioghts. "Whenever," the clause runs, "the Earl of Kildare declines to recover it [the rent], Mageoghegan is bound to lend his utmost endeavours to recover it." (See "Miscellany" of the Irish Archaeological Society, vol. i., p. 179.) This remarkable covenant shows that Lord Kildare stood virtually in the place of the Crown, as the power possessing strength sufficient to enforce law. He was *Ard-Righ*, or supreme king, of the south-eastern and midland chieftains, and they were his *Uir-righe*, or sub-kings, in almost as complete a political relationship as that in which O'Neill and his vassals, O'Cathain, Mac Mahon, Maguire, O'Hanlon, &c., stood.

¹ The Mac Egans were a numerous tribe of Brehons, or Gaelic judges.

Gleanedok.

Corinnahir.

Ballynghomyn.

Kyllye.	Item, the half plowland of the Kyllye, porchesyd of Bryen OBrenan, for [. . .], whereof Padyn OHurge payd him xiii. in calf kyne.
Ballanorghyr.	To Brene OKing, at Portlest, the xvi. day of May, anno xvii. H. viii ^o ., iiiii. iijs. viid. which was the last som ^o of xxx. kyne that he and his brethrin had vpō Ballanorghyr in Glannevedog. A cartron in pledg of xii. kyne which Padyn OHurke paid to Feraile Duff of Nyr, and an other cartron which Moylaghlyn M'hew did yeve unto the said Gerald and his ayrs for ever, wytnis Padyn OHurke and others. ¹
Aghyncnoyke.	Itm, upon Aghyncnoyke in Moyraghe xls. which were payd to Kayr O'Molmoy.
Knocnocorr.	Itm, the half plowland of Knocnocorr and the cartron of Feragh fyne, in pledg of iij. score and ten kyne from One M'Morrite and Moyllaghlyn M'Rore M'Gyoghegan by the jugement of Conle and Congho' Ballagh M'Kegan for breking of Geralde Erle of Kildare is slantyaght ² vpon Feral M'Owin. Wytenys, Rosse M'Geohigan, abbot of Kilbyan, Phe M'Kygan, Padyn OHurgy, and Thomas Albenorgh.
Nic: Walshe, Reiceivyor.	Itm, paid the sonys of Edmond ODowlyng by thands of William Rwo ODaly and Tole OKyng, xxli. Irish mony, in the quiting of a plowland called GnywLeackyvoriagan by Kyldromkryachragh in Kynnalfagh in the countie of Mith, the which plow land is sett to William Roth ODaly for viii. kyne in calf, to be paid by Christmas yerly, the which was the xxvii. day of May, a° xvii ^o . Heñ. viii ^o . Witnes being present, Jamys Boys, Tole OKyng. ³
L. Kyvoriagan.	Itm, a plowland called Gnyvleaka, in pledge of xxli. redy money, whiche Gerald ffitz Gerald Erll of Kildare, paid Edmond ODowlyn is sonnys for the same. Sett to William Rwo ODala for viii. in calf kyne at Halontyde yerly.
Gnyvleaka.	Itm, the half plowland of Ballynekonaghta, in pledge from Ferall M'Own Magoghegan for lx. kyne by the jugment of Konla and Konnor M'Egan for brekinge the said Erle is slante on the sept of Nele Mageoghegan.
Ballenegonagh.	

¹ This item and the two above it are crossed out in the original.

² Slaintha a pledge of protection.

³ The O'Ciongas were bards to the Mageoghegans and Foxes. This item is crossed out in the original.

FOLIO XX. *Moynter Tagane,¹ the Shynnagh is Countre.*

Itm̄, vpon Edmond ODowlyn is sonyes.
Teig O'Kyng of the Rowskaghwill yeve to
therle of Kildare yerly during his lif one
pork of a yere old at Halontyde.

Clancolman,² OMolaghlyn is Countre.

Itm̄, vpon OMolaghlyn yerly vi. rudderf.
Itm̄, vpon Beanmowyn ny Keally yerly.
Itm̄, in the Rowe xiid. a plowland, viii.
yevin for the defense.

FOLIO XXI. *Caly,³ Magawle is Countre.*

Itm̄, vpon Magawle yerly in Calry, xx.
Itm̄, vpon Balenenge yerly, . . . xx.
Itm̄, vpon Rore oge ORony, yerly at Hallon-
tyde, a ruddyr.

Breaweyn,⁴ OBryne is Countre.

Itm̄, upon OBryne yerly, a roddyr vpon
every plowland to be paid at Hallomas. Sm^m
vii. ruddrys.

Upon Bren M Intale of Athlone yerly lx.
Elis, or xii. for kanyes.⁵

The Anayll,⁶ OFerrall is Countries.

Will^m Walshe, Rec.

Will ^m Walshe, Rec.	Itm̄ in the Callagh,	xxiiij. kyne.
	Itm̄ in Clonconghof,	x. kyne.
	Itm̄ vpon Moynter Gealgan, . . .	iiiij. kyne.
	Itm̄ vpon Clangernowe,	iiiij. kyne.
	Itm̄ Moybraeavon,	vij. kyne.
	Itm̄ Bally McCormoke,	i. cow.
	Itm̄ vpon Bally Moriarta,	i. cow.
	Itm̄ vpon Clean Tean,	xxiiij. kyne.

¹ "Moynter-Tagane."—Properly *Mu-*
nter-Tadhgain, a district which was
formed into the barony of Kilcourcey,
and lies in the King's County.

² "Clancolman."—That is to say, the
country of the clan descended from Col-
man.

³ "Caly."—The anglicised form of
Cahraige. This name is retained and
applied to a territory co-extensive with
the parish of Ballyloughloe, in the ba-
rony of Clonlonan, county of West-
meath. Magawley was chieftain. Some

interesting particulars respecting this
territory are given in a note to the Irish
"Topographical Poems."

⁴ "Breaweyn."—Properly *Breagh-*
mhaine, now the barony of Brawney, in
the west of the county of Westmeath.
It belonged to the O'Breens.

⁵ i. e. for fines.

⁶ "Anayll."—Properly *Anghaile*, an-
glieè the Annaly, a considerable terri-
tory in the county of Longford, possess-
ed by the Muintir-Fearghail, i. e., the
family of O'Ferrall.

David Spallan, rec.	{	Itm vpon M'Morgh,	xij. kyne.
Inherit'unce.		Itm vpon M'Heu oge,	xij. kyne.
		The abbot of Srouther yerly,	[.]
		Itm vpon Lisserdowle yerly,	xxvii. viijd.
		Itm the New Castell,	xxs.
		Itm Kylnecarra,	vis. viijd.
		Castel Broke to my Lord t his heyres,	xiijs. iiijd.
		Vpon Feaghtne M'Cormok of Sleought Cowman in Keylte,	vis. viijd.
		Itm Leysagh M'Hobert in Rath- asbik,	vis. viijd.
		Itm the prio' of Monaster Deirge,	vis. viijd.
David Spallan, rec.		Itm vpō the castel and lande of the Barry- coribane t Coricaysshill in pria de Analy in Conas ad festa Mič t festa Pas̄ annuatim equis por̄sonib⁹ ijjpm put pt [patet] i indentu- tura vna cū revcōe dčar trar pt deceſſū Kedagh O fferall t hered masc de corp'e suo legite pc̄.	
Hugh M'Tege.		Vpon the ca'ton of Oryncaghmore Clank- houghore, vis. viijd.	
Art M'Edmond.		Itm the cartron of Lesglassoke in Moybean from Hubte M'Caile t Congho' Riogh is bro- ther to Geralde Erle of Kildare.	
Rathmore.		Vpon Heu M'Tege M'Morirtagh in Clane- hougho' t his brethern, vis. viiid.	
Moygrilte.		Vpon Art M'Edmond in the Crevagh in Clane- hougho' yerely, vis. viiid.	
The Litil Raith.		Md that the v. day of Septemb a° H. viiiij-. xvij° in the p'sens of Willm Wal, t Richard Walsh p'son Lughseude, Dongh O Makyne fre- thir obs/vunt of Trym, and Conlae M'Kegā, at Castell Ricarde, Congho' M'Dermot in Smoyt M'Morirtagh, did gev vnto Geralde fitz Geralde Erle of Kyldare a cartron in Rathmore by the Wal of Inne, which the said Conno' had in pledg of xvi. very kyne of Ly- sagh M'Hobt M'Rore of the Calle. Also the said Erele did quit from the said pson an other cartron in the said Rathmore which he had to pledg of x. very kyne, also the said Conno' haith gevin the said Erle for the quit- ting half a plow land in Moygrylte which he had to pledg for xx. very kyne. Also the said Erle haith quit from the said Conno' a cartron w' a quart of a cartron in the Lytyll Rath for lv. very kyne, the which som the said Erle hath holy paid the said day and yere.	

The Castell of Bary.

Itm̄ the Castell of Barry boght of Kedagh M'lyshe M'Kyady M'Thom's for xxli. xij. iiijd. of which som Brene Boy Offerail was paid for s̄tāin landf callid Tyrrelyckyen which he had in pledg of the said Kedagh M'Lyesagh xl. To Will'm Wailsh by the said Leysagh is assignement iiij&. To the said Kedagh himself iiij&.

A Plowland in the Keyle.

Itm̄ a plowlande in the Keyle by thEnne gyvin by Connell Hobt t' Will'm, sonnys to fferais M'Edmond in pledg of iiij. score kyne vnto the said Erle for amends of the hurtf they did vnto the said Erle. And the said Hobt and Will'm did gyve the said plowland ppetually to the said Erle.

Cassell Corr ij. cartrons w' the werys.

Cono' M'Dyermot yn Smoyst M'Moryerty sold the Erle of Kyldare t' his heyres the towne t' lande of Tolcartan by the Yne, t' all the lande from the said Tolcartan to the Keyll.

FOLIO xxvi.

The Breny,¹ O'Realy ys Countrie.

Itm̄ vpon Edmond son to Hew O'Realy in evy p'cell in Clancahill yerly, xxđ. Clane Mahon O'Realy to my Lord t' his heyres.

Itm̄ vñ M'Shane t' his Kinnismen, vis. viiiđ. Itm̄ vpon Wony is Sept² for xx. cartons at xxđ. the carton, xxxiijs. viijd.

Itm̄ vpon fferas is Sept xx. cartons at xxđ. the carton, xxxiijs. viijd.

Itm̄ vpon ffelem M'Cahill and his kynesmen Slyought Rowry t' Richardes Sept viij. pullis³ at xxđ. the puff.

Itm̄ vpon Edmond Oge in Clanross viij. pullis at xxđ. the puff.

Itm̄ vpon Mulmore M'Cormyke for iiij. pullis at xxđ. the puff.

Itm̄ vpon Mageary for viij. cartons payable at Midsom at xxđ. the carton, xis. viijd.

Itm̄ vpon Calaigh M'felem t' his kynnesmen called ffelem is sept.

Vñ Gylleis is sept for xvi. pullis at xxđ. a pece, lijs. iiijd.

John fitz Symon, Recd.

¹ "Breny."—Properly *Breifne*. This extensive territory anciently comprised what forms the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

² Wony is the name written hibernicd

Uachne. Sept is from *septum*, a division.

³ The land was customarily divided into tracts called anglicē "poles," which are the "pullis" of the text.

Vñ the sept of Thofs Oge, vis. viijd.
Itñ yerly vpon Glasny is Sept to my Lord &
his heyres.

Glasny Septe.

Itñ vpon Thom's M'Glasny is sonnes for
xxxiiij. pullis at xxđ. the putt.

Itñ vpon Edmond M'Glasny is sonnes for xxvi.
pullis at xxđ. the putt.

Itñ vpon ffelem M'Glasny is sonnes for xv.
pullis at xxđ. the putt.

Itñ vpon Gillese M'Glasny is sonnes for xij.
pullis at xxđ. the putt.

Vpon Cono' M'Glasny is sonnes, iiiij. mfkf.

*The Uppermost Cleanky.*¹

Richard Plüget, ra-
sevore.

fieran O Molle.

{ Vpon yerly vi mfkf or xs. for evy of theym.
Vpon Molmory M'Shane is soon for xvij. pullis
and a galon at xijd. the putt.
Vpon Tirrelagh M'Glasny for xvij. pullis at
xijd. the putt, xviijs.

Vpon Moynter Connaght² yerly iiiij. mfkf.

fieran O Molle paith yerly iiiij. mfkf for the
whiche my Lord haith a p'cell of land where-
in Enneys M'Gillewoy dwelis which payeth
the said sm³.

Itñ ij. pullis in Kyltecrenyn in pledge of iiij^{xx}
kyene for the sart⁴ of William Naco is
doughter sett yerelye for iiiij. mfkf.

Clankheynea iiiij. mfkf yerelye.

Teallaghghonghoo.⁵

Itñ vpon the vppermost of Teallaghghonghoo
for xxiiij. cartons yerelye, xxvijjs.

Vpon the nethermost Teallaghghonghoo for
evy carton, xxđ.

Vryell⁶ M'Mathona is Countre.

Vpone M'Mathona for a q⁷rter yeraly viii^{xx}
sparrys.⁸

Vpone ffermwys.

Vpon Clane M'bhyward yerlye vi. Rudders.

¹ "Cleanky."—This is the barony in County of Cavan now called Clankee.

² "Moynter Connaght."—Munter Connought is a parish in the barony of Castlerahan, County of Cavan.

³ The "sart" of William Naco's daughter was probably a mulct or fine paid for an assault upon the young woman.

⁴ The barony of Tullyhunc, Cavan.

⁵ "Vryell."—Rightly Oirghialla, now

Oriel. At the date of the Rental Book this territory hardly included more than the county of Monaghan, and the M'Mathons were the chief proprietors.

⁶ The tribute rendered by the M'Mathons of Oriel was not common. It did not bear the vulgar, sordid form of the ordinary groat for every cow which the clan owned, nor was it a yearly rendering of rudders or fat kine, nor a money

FOLIO xxij.

Moy Loirge¹ M'Diarmadys Countre.

Itm̄ in evy karow of the same vid. sterling amunting vi. mark^f or more.

Kaylnemannagh² O'Doys Countre.

An nest of Goshaukf vñ
Willm ODoyr.

{ An Indent^r from Willm son unto Phillip ODoyr in Kyllymannagh vñ an neste of goshauskis yerely at Lamm's vnto Gerald Erie of Kyldare during the said Willm is lyff wⁱ a clause of distress of v. mlf evy yere that he make defaunt. Datid the xxviiiij. day of Julii a^s xvij^o H. viij^j.

FOLIO xxiiiij.

Brene Iroyrke³

In Coulloflyn for xxx. Cartrons at xvid. the cartron.

In Clankhaleren for xij. cartons at xvid. the cartron.

Moynterolys⁴ Magranaylk Countre.

Itm̄ on evye cartron whereof O'Roryke and Magranayll racewys Rent, xijd. yerlye.

Cono^r M'Key captene of M'Keyes contre w^win Moyntryr Olys hathe gwyn Gerod Erle of Kyldare t his Eyrsse for ev yn evy cartron yerly w^win the forsayd M'Keyys land xijd.

payment: but the support or quartering of a military force of eight score "sparrys," spears, or spearmen, who, we know, were galloglachs, so designated from the spears, halberts, or long battle-axes borne by them.

¹ "Moy Loirge."—Properly Magh Luirg, usually anglicised Moylurg, a territory comprised in the present barony of Boyle, Co. Roscommon. The poem of 1372 speaks of the "Clan-Maoilruana" (which was the tribe-name of the Mac Dermots), as possessing this district. The "karow" was cedcpoimh, "quarterland."

² "Keylnemannagh."—Query Cill-na-mannagh, the church of the monks, or Coll-na-managh, the wood of the monks? The O'Dwyers were the owners of this

country. That a distraint of five marks was leviable on failure of receiving a nest of goshawks, shows the high value hawks bore in sportmen's estimation. There are two baronies of Kilnamanagh, in Co. Tipperary. See "Top. Poems."

³ "Brene Iroyrke," i. e. Briefny O'Rourke. The part of Breifne which belonged to the O'Rourkes. O'Dubhagain's topographical poem says:—

"Chief king of Breifne of lasting sway,
Is O'Rualru."

⁴ "Moynterolys," Properly *Muinntir Eolais*, in Breifne, Co. Leitrim, a territory comprising the southern half of this county. The upper portion is a level district on the east side of the Shannon. "Magranayll" is now Reynolds.

wyche is xxxij. cartrons, & the same payable at
Mychalmas. Wryttin the xv. of August 1562,
& hathe pomest for this last yer for the forsaid
rent xxxij. kyne,¹ & from this forthe yerly as is
aforsayd. Beyng p'sent

MEYLER HUSSEY.² TYRELL TADESKYDE.
REDMOND M'SHANE. WILL'M COUGAN.

In conclusion, some additional comments on the curious entries (comprised in the preceding pages) of the Erle of Kildare's Duties upon Irishmen, may be acceptable to our readers. These records may challenge all other, and perhaps excel them, in lighting up the social and political state of our Celtic clans in the sixteenth century. They are simple and faithful accounts, entered in the Earl's register, of the various fees annually due to him by several tributary Gaelic tribes. Every year he could set down these sums, whether of money or honey, of marks or marts, on the debtor side of his ledger, against these septs; but we do not perceive any entries on the creditor side. However, likely enough, the consideration—his powerful protection—for which he received these offerings, was duly given, as the "duty" on his part. He was the great insurance office, the only one of the day, holding the monopoly of "policies," under which, for punctual payment of certain eels, hawks, sheep, hogs, fat cows, &c., the prudent paying parties were assured of undisturbed possession of their ancient piscatorial, pastoral, and other rights. In fact, such were the original quit, or quiet, rents, offered by primitive sons of the forest and mountain to this powerful peer, who, by unwarranted yet useful privilege, accepted black mail for keeping what the king, and all the king's horses and all the king's men could not keep, namely, the king's peace. By many of the entries, we see that these concessions were mostly recent, being made by clansmen whose names prove them to have lived within the preceding generation; and that at the very time when the Irish are generally supposed to have almost overwhelmed and expelled the English, a single feudal family received tribute from most of the principal Irish clans. These tributes evidently grew out of the want of law and power which resulted from the neglectful treatment of this kingdom during preceding centuries, and which left the lords of Kildare to set up themselves as an arbitrary and absolute authority. Had we space, we might compare these Irish fees with feudal tenures in England and Scotland, and *les droits feodaux* in France. This we may say,—they have a business character, quite apart from

¹ A cow was valued at half a mark, which coin was then, we may safely suppose, value for 10s.

² Meyler Hussey was the Earl of Kildare's principal steward, and resided at Moyle-Hussey.

the “jocular tenures” described by Blount, or the French custom under which the peasantry were bound to keep all frogs in the moat of a castle quiet by night, whenever its lord condescended to sleep at home. The same object, viz., quiet, was the end common to most of these feudal ordinances; and it was more important to the clan to keep their cows and sheep and swine in peace, under the ægis of the Earls of Kildare, secure from freebooters who haunted the adjacent bogs, than it was for a French marquis to have frogs to eat, combined with sufficient sleep.

Among ordinary fallacies, we may class the popular, mistaken disapprobation of the feudal system. There certainly were abuses of this system, from which no human institution is free; and it is not too much to say that these tributes or fees, either imposed upon, or accepted from, Celtic clans by the Earls of Kildare, formed a gross and illegal usurpation on the part of these noblemen, who could show no charter from the Crown, no title but the sword, for such exactions. At the same time, the probable fact that these fees were paid with tolerable willingness, at least at the time when they were conceded or “graunted,” in consideration of the protection extended to the payers, demonstrates the strength of the feudal (or retaining fee) principle of polity. As Baillie Nicol Jarvie observes—in reference to the engagement entered into by Rob Roy, to keep those scathless who paid him four per cent. of their rent—“the levying and the paying black mail are baith punishable: but if the law canna protect my barn and byre, what for suld I no engage wi’ a Hieland gentleman that can?” So rooted and requisite in Ireland was this system of obtaining defence, that as late as 1562, after the restoration of the House of Kildare, the captain or chieftain of M^cKey’s country, and others, formally covenanted to pay the Earl regular rent, for the sake of securing his protection. In a land disturbed and torn as this country was, the feudatory relation, which mutually bound the Scottish nobility and their vassals together during the same century, and which in earlier ages had formed the main social tie in England, was absolutely necessary to give the humble vassal some sense of security. So far down as the year 1584, Sir Henry Wallop writes that there is hardly a native of the kingdom who is not dependent upon either the Earl of Ormonde or the Earl of Kildare. In those rough times, the relationship by dependency was marked in definite terms, which have disappeared under the softening influence of gradual civilization. Easily found fault with, feudalism cannot fairly be compared with any other polity than clanship, with which we here see it in juxtaposition, and we also see clansmen adopting its principle. It had endowed the House of Kildare with a splendid seat on the sunny side of the Irish world, while the native septs dwelt under the cold shadow of that house, and in the colder shades of woods and

hills. Clanship had done little for its devotees, because its principle, communism, is opposed to economic and elaborate production. Take the entry regarding "the Breny." What idea does this give of the condition of the clan O'Reilly, whose country contained the large district now called the county Cavan? Surely a very poor one. And we see the working cause, in the custom of male-gavel, as in the instance of the five sons of Glasny O'Reilly, to each of whom a country was allotted, which, again, was occupied in common by the fraternity of "sonnes." In that district, verily, the sept, or divisional, system was in full force. Every denomination speaks of the *clan*, i. e., children's claims. There were "Rowry's sept," "Richard's sept," "Wony's sept," and that sept of Glasny, a chieftain whose several sons had already become the patriarchs of separate tributary clansmen. Recollecting that a tribe could not legally alienate its land, we may object that it could not legally grant a continual rent. But our objection comes late, since those septs did pay tribute to ward off ills which the law could not master, namely raids and robberies, devastations, and worst of all, the perversion of a clan country into what was significantly called "sword land," or conquered land. So soon as these ancient tribes lost their protecting head, by the temporary ruin of the House of Kildare, they began to perish, one by one; for their polity was unable to maintain them single-handed.

Gerald H. Supple, in his ably written "History of the Invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans," a work in which the strong sympathies of the author with the Gael of Ireland are only controlled by a stronger sense of impartiality, lays the chief cause of their subjugation in the system of clanship:—"This was a fundamental cause of weakness. The clans were so many independent little communities; and they were too undeveloped not to abuse the full liberty which they enjoyed. They needed what did not exist in Ireland—a strong central power to restrain their perpetual feuds with each other This continual civil strife checked all improvements, even of a military kind. . . . Here, then, we have a primitive and pastoral people about to encounter the strength of the feudal system at its highest development—that feudal system one of the most consummate military organizations of any age."—pp. 19, 20.

Prejudice against or in favour of any particular branch of the great European human family would not become archaeologists, and, while free from it, we shall hardly incur reproof for suggesting that the clan system was the ruin of the Irish Gael.

(To be Continued.)

REGISTER OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITS.

EDITED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

(Continued from Vol. II., p. 238, new series.)

It is proposed to continue this register as materials serve, and the attention of members is again called to the necessity of at once placing on record notices of all existing portraits in any way connected with Ireland. Members are referred to the article referred to at the head of this paper for the reasons which show the national importance of this work. A schedule of directions for the observer will be found on the cover of this number of the Journal:—

COMMUNICATED BY THOMAS JOSEPH TENISON, ESQ., J.P., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, &c.

[Nos. 10 to 19, inclusive, are portraits of Bishops of Clogher, painted on canvass, in oil, of a uniform shape and size, viz.:—Twenty inches by eighteen. The names and armorial bearings of each prelate, surmounted by a mitre, being represented on the sinister top corner. *Place of Conservation*—The Clerical Rooms, Lakeview, Monaghan.¹]

No. 10. *Name and Date*—Myler Magrath, 1576, *ob.* 1662. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—About 50; high forehead; elongated visage; aquiline nose; goattee or square beard with imperial; countenance shrewd, sullen, and staid; attired in the colobium sendonis or surplice of that period. Myler Magrath was a Franciscan friar, advanced to the See of Down by Pope Pius V.; but, becoming a Protestant in 1570, was placed in the See of Clogher by Queen Elizabeth. A further evidence of her Majesty's friendship is furnished by the fact that he was translated the same year to the Archbishoprick of Cashel, with Emly, Waterford, and Lismore annexed by a commendatory grant. It is recorded by Sir James Ware, that during the fifty-two years that he governed the archdiocese "he wasted and alienated the revenues and manors belonging to it."

No. 11. *Name and Date*—George Montgomery, 1605, *ob.* 1620. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; clerical costume; thin black hair, with long beard and moustache; high forehead; sunken eyes; Roman nose, and some idealization in the visage. Bishop Montgomery was a native of Scotland, and a scion of the Eglinton family. Having been translated from Derry and Raphoe to Meath, he continued to hold with it the See of Clogher, and the Deanery of Norwich.

¹ These portraits were formerly hung in the See House of Clogher, but on the suppression of that see, and the conse-

quent alienation of the See House, they were removed to the place of conservation above given.—ED.

No. 12. *Name and Date*—James Spottswood, 1621, *ob.* 1644. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; stiff suit of ecclesiastical garments; close fitting black cap, with square collar to shirt. A sombre picture, and much defaced. Dr. Spottswood was author of a treatise called St. Patrick's Purgatory.

No. 13. *Name and Date*.—Henry Jones, 1644, *ob.* 1645. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; sacerdotal gown and bands; full brown eyes; high brow; meditative and mild expression; brown curled hair; light moustache; skull-cap.

No. 14. *Name and Date*.—John Leslie, 1661, *ob.* 1671. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; appareled in white surplice and bands; sharp, intelligent features; dark eyes; aquiline nose; heavy brows; a profusion of hair; beard and moustache, and a dignified and courteous expression. Bishop Leslie was a most accomplished gentleman, scholar, preacher, and linguist.

No. 15. *Name and Date*.—Robert Leslie, *ob.* 1672.—*Age, Date, Dress, &c.*—About 40; habited according to the clerics of the time; linen turned-over collar of shirt, somewhat similar to that at present in fashion; blue eyes; rather an expression of *hauteur*; flowing brown hair; slight moustache, and small imperial.

No. 16. *Name and Date*.—Roger Boyle, 1672, *ob.* 1697. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Aged; habited in surplice, &c.; small, piercing eyes; high forehead; compressed lips, the upper one long; double chin; long grey hair. A Prelate of great learning and unblameable life.

No. 17. *Name and Date*.—St. George Ashe, 1697, *ob.* 1716. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; clerical costume; large flowing wig; handsome intelligent countenance; dark eyes, and expanded forehead. This Prelate expended large sums in charity for improvements, thereby affording a creditable example to his successors.

No. 18. *Name and Date*.—Richard Tenison, 1690, *ob.* 1705. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—Middle age; dress, same as in portrait No. 17; large features; intelligent eyes; good-humoured and complacent countenance. Doctor Tenison left several bequests for charitable distributions. In 1697, he was translated to Meath, sworn of the Privy Council, and created Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, where he was interred, in public testimony of the love and veneration in which his memory was held.

No. 19. *Name and Date*.—John Sterne, 1717, *ob.* 1745. *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—About 54; white gown, and black tippet, with close-fitting cap; heavy brows; forehead, nose, and mouth, prominent; general expression benign and dignified. Doctor Sterne bequeathed property in Middletown, county of Armagh (now a much improved village), with thirteen townlands, situated

in that and the neighbouring county of Monaghan, for charitable uses.

No. 20. *Name and Date*—Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, d. 1715. *Material*—Paper; line engraving; portrait in oval, surrounded with fanciful ornamentation, and resting on a sculptured pedestal. *Size*—Folio. *Signature*—“M. Beale Pinx, P. Vanderbanc, sculp., 1695.” *Age, Dress, and Characteristics*—About sixty; attired in his archiepiscopal robes; long gray uncurled hair; benevolent, contemplative, and intellectual countenance; on the pedestal appear the arms of the primatial see, surmounted with a mitre, and quartered with the armorial bearings of Tenison, viz. gu. bend, engr., or between three leopards' heads, jessant-de-lis; underneath the arms the following is inscribed:—

“Reverendiss: in Christo-pater Thomas Tenison Providentia Divina Archi: Episcopus Cantuariensis totius Angliae Primas & Metropolitanus Serenissimo Regi Gulielmo IIIrd. a Secretioribus Consilijs. Printed & sold by Tim. Iordan & Tho. Bakewell, at y^e Golden Lion in Fleet-street.”

Place of Conservation—Port-Nelligan, county of Armagh. *Owner*—Thomas Joseph Tenison, Esq.

No. 21. *Name and Date*—Right Rev. Edward Tenison, Bishop of Ossory, nephew to the former, d. 1735. *Material, &c.*—Paper; line engraving. *Size*—About thirteen inches by ten. *Signature*—“Sir Godfrey Kneller Baron^{ta}. Pinx., 1720. Geo. Virtue, Lond. sculp. 1731.” Said to be after the original in the Luxembourg Collection. In the left-hand corner at top the family arms, with motto, “Petræ Immobilior;” underneath motto, “A. A. 46, A. D. 1719.” *Dress and Characteristics*—Large features, dignified, solemn and benevolent expression; full flowing wig, black gown and bands; standing with left hand resting on a book, the attitude being easy, and the figure well poised; at back appears a table, on which are arranged, “The Holy Bible,” “Hooker's Eccl. Politie,” and “Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants;” inscription underneath portrait:—

“E. T. Nordovicen. S. T. P.¹ Regi a Sacris, Primum. Archid. Marid. deinde Can. Cantuar. tandem ab Aug. Principe G. II. Mag. Br. & Hib. Rege Episc. Oss. designatus favente Illust. D. Dorsetae Hib. Prorege.”

Place of Conservation—Port Nelligan, county of Armagh. *Owner*—T. J. Tenison, great-great-grandson of the aforesaid Edward.

(To be continued.)

¹ *Sacra Theologie Professor.*

² In p. 237, n. 4, vol. i., it is stated that Archbishop Potter's grand daughter was married to Thomas Tenison, Arch-

deacon of Carmarthen: this is erroneous, his eldest daughter having been the first wife of the Archdeacon, who was only son of the Bishop of Ossory.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 9th (by adjournment from the 2nd), 1862.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The Secretary said, that having inquired if it was Her Majesty the Queen's wish that the Journal of the Society should still be sent to the Royal Library, notwithstanding the death of the Prince Consort, who, it will be remembered, was a Life Member of the Society, he had received the following gracious reply :—

“ OSBORNE, 23rd June, 1862.

“ Sir Charles Phipps begs to acknowledge the receipt of the Rev. James Graves' letter of the 16th inst., and to express his regret that the last Number of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society's ‘Journal’ should have been, by some mistake, refused. Sir Charles Phipps is commanded to inform the Rev. J. Graves, that it is the Queen's wish that the ‘Journal’ should be continued to be sent regularly, addressed to C. Ruland, Esq., Buckingham Palace.”

. The following new Members were elected :—

The Hon. Justice Hayes, Mountjoy-square, Dublin; Colonel Kane Bunbury, Moyle, Carlow; William Duckett, Esq., J. P., Russellstown Park, Carlow; Rev. James A. Carr, Carlow; John Bower, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor, Carlow; and William Preston, Esq., Bank of Ireland, Carlow: proposed by Robert Malcomson, Esq.

James Colthurst, Esq., King-street, Cork; and Humphrey Haines, Esq., Grand Parade, Cork: proposed by R. Corbett, Esq., M. D.

Sylvester Gillman, Esq., Crown Solicitor for the county and city of Cork: proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

Henry Lavallen Puxley, Esq., Dunboy Castle, Castletown, Berehaven: proposed by J. L. Nicholson, Esq.

The Rev. Richard Johnston, the Parsonage, Omeath; Burton Brabazon, Esq., A. M., Dromiskin House, Castlebellingham; Hubert Kiernan, Esq., Capra House, Carrickmacross; and P. J. Byrne, Esq., Lisnawilly, Dundalk: proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

John S. Sloane, Esq., C. E., Chief Engineer, Ballast Board, Dublin: proposed by William Burgess, Esq.

Dr. J. T. Campion, St. John's Bridge, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. Hogan.

The Kilkenny Library Society: proposed by Patrick Duffy, Esq.

James Bury, Esq., Waterford and Limerick Railway Terminus, Waterford: proposed by J. G. Davis, Esq.

J. Camden Hotten, Esq., 151, Piccadilly, London: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Mr. John Monck, Castle Office, Kilkenny: proposed by J. G. Robertson, Esq.

The Rev. Albert B. James, Rathlin Island, Ballycastle, County Antrim; and Patrick Cody, Esq., J. P., Callan: proposed by Mr. Prim.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson, a Member of the Society, wrote to suggest that a kind of repository might be opened in the Museum, wherein could be placed objects of antiquity of which the owners might wish to dispose, having the prices affixed to them. This would serve the double purpose—first, of making known the existence of such antiquities, and, secondly, of enabling persons to purchase them without fear of imposition.

Some discussion arose on the subject of this suggestion, and it was ultimately agreed that if such objects were offered, they should be received, as Mr. Atkinson proposed; but with the understanding that the Society should not be responsible to their owners in case of injury by fire, or other such accident.

The Secretary laid on the table some programmes of the Archæological Congress which was to assemble at Truro, in Cornwall, on Monday, August 25th, and five following days, principally for the study of the Celtic remains in that district. It was hoped that the various Celtic nationalities would be represented at this meeting by the attendance of numerous *savans* from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. It would be important that Ireland should be well represented on the occasion; and he was ready to supply copies of the programme, illustrated by maps of the localities to be visited, to any members of the Kilkenny Archæological Society who might wish to attend.

Dr. Browne, Kilkenny College, observed that there could be no doubt of the desirability of Ireland being well represented at the Congress, and that their own Society should be so in particular. In

order to secure such a result, he would propose that they should disburse from the Society's funds the necessary sum which might be required to bear the expenses of the Rev. James Graves, Honorary Secretary, to Cornwall, to represent their body. From the report which they would be enabled to have from Mr. Graves, on his return, the Society might expect much more than an adequate return for the outlay.

Captain Humfrey said it afforded him much pleasure to second Dr. Browne's proposition.

The proposal was received with unanimous approbation.

Mr. Graves said that as he happened to be Treasurer as well as Secretary of the Society, he was sorry he could not report so favourably of their financial position as to warrant the expenditure so kindly proposed by Dr. Browne, and taken up so warmly by all present. He should say that nothing would afford him greater pleasure than such an excursion; but for the reason which he had stated, he felt compelled to decline availing himself of their flattering offer to pay his expenses from the funds of the Society on the occasion. If he went, it would be at his own expense; and in that case he would be happy to impart to the Society any information which might result from what he should there see and hear.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Sussex Archaeological Society: "Sussex Archaeological Collections," Vol. XIII.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 6.

By the Cambrian Archaeological Association: "Archæologia Cambrensis," third series, No. 31.

By the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 71 and 72.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. III., Part 3.

By the Cambrian Institute: "The Cambrian Journal" for December, 1861.

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Transactions," new series, Vol. I.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for May, June, and July, 1862.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 987-1013, inclusive.

By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker: "Respublicæ sive Status Regni Scotiæ et Hiberniæ diversorum Autorum," Lugd. Bat. Ex. Officina Elzeueriana A° M.DC.XXVII.

By the Census Commissioner, W. Donnelly, Esq.: "The Census Reports of 1851," Parts 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

By Colonel T. D. Graham, United States Topographical Engineer : a Map of Chicago Harbour and Bar.

By Mr. James O'Bryan, Jenkinstown Schoolhouse: a bone pin, a bronze pin, and the ornamented bone brace of a comb, which had been found in digging sand in Jenkinstown demesne. These bore a striking likeness to objects of a similar character found in the raths of Dunbell, and which are deposited in the Society's Museum.

By the Mayor of Kilkenny: an oak pillar, which had supported one of the floors of the old house in Coal-market recently removed, formerly the residence of the Shee family, and which had been used by the Confederate Catholics in 1642, for their earliest deliberations.

By Patrick Cody, Esq., J. P., Callan, on the part of Mr. Edward Hennessy, Callan: a penny token, struck in Knocktopher by George Robbins. This token will be engraved and illustrated for the Journal of the Society, in connexion with the ancient Corporation Records of Knocktopher, which have been kindly submitted to the examination of the Secretaries by Sir J. Langrishe, Bart.

By Mr. Prim, on the part of William Hartford, Esq., Kilkenny Fusiliers: several excellent photographs of Kilkenny antiquities, amongst which were views of the old house in which the Confederate Catholics had held their earlier meetings, and usually known as "the old Parliament House of Kilkenny," recently removed; the last-mentioned photographs were intended to illustrate a paper on that building and its history, to be laid before a future meeting of the Society by Mr. Prim.

The Rev. James Graves, in proposing a special vote of thanks to Mr. Hartford, which was carried unanimously, said that nothing could be of greater importance toward the carrying out of the objects of the Society, than the presentation of photographs such as those which that gentleman had kindly made for them. He suggested that members of the Society, who were photographers, would do much service to the Society by following the example set by Mr. Hartford.

By the Earl of Courtown: a fragment of a richly ornamented unglazed *terra cotta* vessel, which was accompanied by the following letter, addressed to Mr. Graves:—

"Courtown House, Gorey, June 26, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is now a good many years since this vase was found. I was not present at its finding, but learned from a gardener who was present, that it was found near a tomb, four feet long and two feet wide, containing nothing but the bones of an adult of ordinary size. The tomb was composed of rough slabs of stone, and was but a few inches under the surface of the soil. The discovery was made in lowering some ground for the purpose of making a walk; there was no appearance of a mound to indicate that there was a tomb underneath, though such may

have been the case once, as there having been formerly a garden in the same locality, a mound would probably have been removed. I would be glad to be informed if antiquaries can affix any date to tombs formed in the manner I have described. I should say that the place where the tomb was found is on rising ground, near a small river (the Ounavarra), and not far from the mouth of the river—in fact, quite the place to look for a village inhabited by a sea-faring race. Could any of your members give me a clue to the meaning of the name of this parish, Kiltunnel—or Kiltennen, or Kintennen, as it is sometimes written in old maps?

“Your’s truly,

“COURTOWN.”

The Rev. James Graves said that it was impossible to assign a date to these ancient interments. It was certain, however, that they were of the pre-Christian period.

The Chairman observed that at his place, Cornahir, in the County Westmeath, there had been found, in a stone cist, two similar urns, with a heap of calcined bones between them. The urns had been unfortunately given to a friend, whose collection had since been dispersed, and he knew not where they now are.

Several ancient coins were presented, amongst which were a Manx halfpenny, by W. Hayden, Esq., St. John’s Bridge; a silver penny of Edward I., by Mr. Hugh Mac Cuolahan, Piltown; some curious Japanese, and other coins, by Mr. Edward Kelly, Mayor’s secretary; and a Roman brass of Aurelian, by Mr. J. P. Sutton, Waterford.

The Rev. J. Graves exhibited a gilt *etui*, an article worn by ladies up to eighty years since; containing a knife, scissors, tablet, pencil-case, &c. The ornamentation showed it to be of French workmanship, probably of the reign of Louis XIV. or XV.

Mr. Robertson exhibited a brass Dutch tobacco-box, with curious engraved ornaments and inscriptions, which he had purchased at an old iron store in Kilkenny; also some coins, amongst which was a Mountrath token, in good preservation, struck by Nicholas Raget; and a jetton said to have been found in the Castle lawn, Kilkenny, the German inscription on which was *Heut. rot. morgen. todt.*, which a friend of his said was a well-known German proverb, meaning—“Red (i. e ruddy – alive) to-day, dead to-morrow.”

Mr. W. Skehan, of Clonmel, wrote to say, that Mr. J. Davis White, in a note to his paper on the Original Wills of the Diocese of Cashel (“Journal,” vol. ii. new series, p. 321), had expressed a wish that some member of the Society would make inquiries about a silver chalice, left by James Kearney of Fethard, in Tipperary, to the chapel there, A.D. 1706—he made diligent search, but was unable to find any trace of it: he had discovered, however, that there was a silver chalice of a much older date in use at the parish chapel there; and was enabled to supply the inscription. The Society was

indebted to the clergyman in whose care the chalice remains for the copy of the inscription:—

Orate pro animabus Joannis et Helena Geraldinae uxoris ejus qui me fieri fecerunt A. D. 1621.

Mr. Michael Mullally, of Mullinahone, forwarded, on behalf of Mr. James Brennan, mathematical and classical teacher, the following ancient inscriptions, copied from some of the monuments still extant at the abbey of Fethard, County Tipperary:—

No. 1.

*Orate pro animabus Edmondi Tobia de la
Briscelagh gen̄ Margaře Tobin uxoris ejus
Item Thoma Tobin filii et heredis ipsius et
Joana Tobia alē Marrend uxoris ipsius
Thoma qui hic jacent et me fieri fecerunt.*

Anno Dom̄i 1634.

*Beatis mortui qui in Eō mortuuntur.
Mi quibus tumulo sanoque premente quiescam,
Tu tamen his requiem quam petere boles.*

“ The two last lines might thus be translated:—

Beneath this tomb, though they sleep in a silent grave,
Grant them, O Lord, the rest they did so often crave.

“ Briscelagh was the ancient name of the residence of the Tobin family at Kylenegranagh, the old foundation of which is yet extant, and is called by the neighbours ‘Shanaclogh,’ [Seánach] or old stone—it is situated opposite the front door of Mr. Patrick L. O’Halloran, of Kylenegranagh. I have also read, in an old Irish genealogical manuscript, of this family, that this Edmond Tobin was cousin-german to Tobin of Kilaghy, styled Baron Tobin. (*Vide Dalton’s ‘King James’s Army List,’ vol. ii., p. 411; and Lewis’s ‘Topographical Dict.,’ Kilvemnon Parish.*)

“ ‘ si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.’
“ Hor., lib. i., Epist. 6.

No. 2.

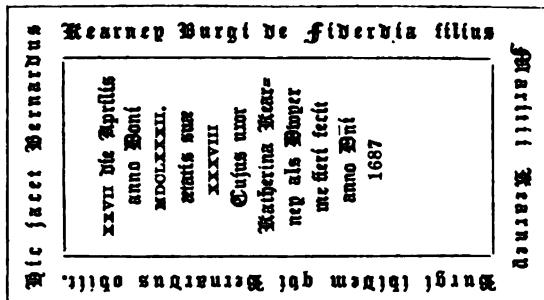
*Antiqvum hoc monvmentvm
Illvstrissimorvm Baronvm
De Dvnboyne*

*Nova hac fabrica restavravit D.
Ellina Geraldina Comitis Desmonie
filia Domina de Dvnboyne marito
svo per dilecto Edmondo Bvtlero D.
Baroni de Dvnboyne qvi obijt 17°
Martij 1640.*

Epitaphjvm.

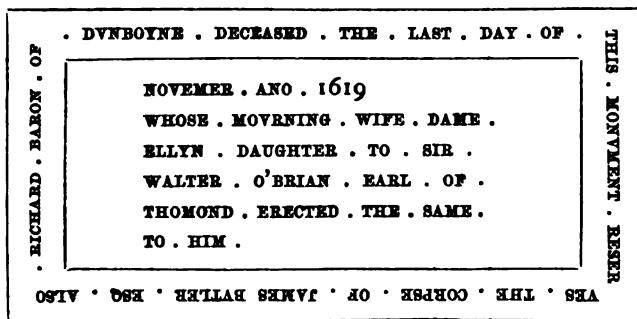
*Hic sitvs est Edmondvs id est svb marmore mvndus
Mondvs inest isto Totvs vbi iste jacet.*

No. 3.



"This Bernard or Bryan Kearney, and his father Maurice Kearney, are mentioned as burgesses and mayors of Fethard at this same period, and that one of them was then married to Mary Comerford of Modeshil. (Vide 'King James's Army List,' vol. i., page 133.)

No. 4.

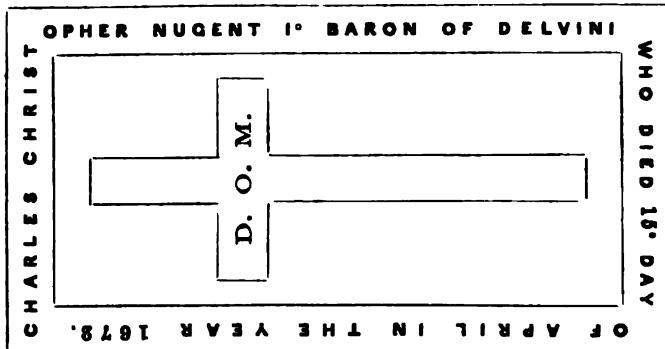


No. 5.

Hic jacent Ricardus Wall de Rathkenny
generosus et Catharina Wall alias
Carran filia Mathew Carran de
Mobarnane ejus uxor quae hoc monu-
mentum sibi et heredibus majoribus
de corpore eorum et parentibus ipsorum
que praesentibus fieri fecerunt.
Quorum animabus orate ad Dominum
Batum ultimo Februarii Salutis 1635.

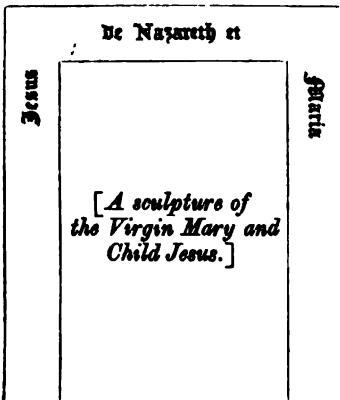
"The old house of Rathkenny is still extant in pretty good repair. No trace of this Wale or Wall family now exists, except one branch now in low circumstance. The Carran family of Mobarnane, now called Careys, are dispersed in the neighbourhood, and are very respectable farmers. The late proprietor of Mobarnane, Captain Jacob, also lost it, and by purchase it is now in the hands of E. Tennant, Esq. 'Sic transit gloria mundi.' This Mathew Carran is represented as highly respectable at that time. (Vide 'King James's Army List,' vol. i. page 134.)

No. 6.



"The errors which will be observed in the inscriptions, occur in the originals, which have been faithfully copied.

"There is an ancient stone in a garden in Cloran, near Fethard (Tip.).



It is placed near a large tree, which is a 'leacht,' or monument tree; there is an appearance of an old boundary inclosing about an acre of land, which was an old burial ground, and contained a chapel. There is no vestige of the building; but in digging the place the labourers turned up large quantities of human bones—the place is held in great veneration by the neighbours. On the front of the stone is represented the Virgin Mary holding the infant Jesus in her lap. Close to this relic are to be seen the broken ruins of the ancient residence and mansion of the family of the O'Shees, where now stands the present residence of our worthy neighbour, Mrs. Lucy Henderson, of Cloran."

The Rev. John O'Hanlon sent the following account of some discoveries on the site of the Priory of St. John, Dublin :—

"On May 23rd, whilst passing through Thomas-street, I dropped in to inspect the deep excavations at present making for the foundations of

a new Augustinian church, which is about to be built on the site of the castle and priory formerly belonging to the Knights of St. John. Projecting from the sides of a deep trench, at and under the foundation-walls of the castle, now in process of removal, I observed a large pile of skulls and human bones yet remaining in the earth, whilst other remains had been packed away in two large pine cases, or piled in a loose heap, awaiting a similar stowage for future re-interment. These remains were undoubtedly the result of a battle; not only from the evidences of their close and promiscuous position, but from the information afforded by one of the Augustinian fathers, engaged in superintending the operations of the workmen, who told me he had examined some of the skulls, and found not only perforations, seemingly caused by bullets, but even in one instance he found a leaden bullet lodged within some clay, with which the skull had been filled. I was also informed that several bog-oak coffins, with perfect skeletons lying at full length, had been discovered on the line of removed side-walls, forming the west boundary of John's-lane, and that there is reason to suppose further explorations would discover others, under the surface of the lane already mentioned. One of these skeletons had been accurately measured, and was found to be fully seven feet in length. The bones, as they now appear, are all quite blackish, and of various sizes. In cutting the foundations, which are very deep and wide, especially about the part whereon a new tower is to be built, the workmen came to a sewer, in which they found a perfect human skeleton. Some old persons were enabled to supply a traditionary and an explanatory account: that, about eighty years ago, no less than eight prisoners escaped from an old prison in that vicinity, through the sewer; four are said to have come up alive, whilst the rest perished, probably on account of breathing foul air. In a part of the trenches now cutting a barrel was found, within it a human skeleton, with bones broken, and from all indications, it would seem that the person therein enclosed must have met some unnatural and violent death. A few coins have been discovered, and it is probable other matters of curious interest may come to light with the progress of these excavations.

"In this connexion I may remark that, whilst the foundations for a new building were being cut, some years ago, within the enclosure of the South Dublin workhouse, and near what is termed the children's hospital, several human remains, of a very dark colour, were found heaped together in a promiscuous manner, some few feet under the surface of the ground. It would seem, that these remains had been thrown into a common pit for interment, for there were no indications nor traditions of the spot having been ever used as a cemetery."

The Rev. S. Hayman, of Youghal, sent the following paper:—

"In my last communication (pp. 100, 101, *supra*), I introduced a document, bearing date November 13, 1665. It showed that the Corporation of Youghal leased out the privilege of putting into circulation the local Tokens, and required an indemnity of the strikers. Further research among the archives of the municipal chest enables me not only to confirm this matter; but to supply some additional particulars. I found a large bundle of 'Mayors' Accounts,' extending (with sundry chasms) from the year

1623 to 1703, both inclusive. In these curious papers, each item, whether of municipal income or of municipal expenditure, was carefully entered. On the 'dr.' side appeared entertainments of lords lieutenant, nobles, judges of the land, and others who visited the town; the costs of the train-bands and militia; the repairs of the walls, gates, quays, and streets; the outlay on gunpowder, wine, beer, and bread, upon days of solemn observance, such as January 30, St. George's day, May 29, the Sovereign's accession, October 23, and November 5. Nor were wanting entries like the following:—'To a sparr for ye Duckinge-stoole,' 'for iron for the Stocks and locks for them,' 'paid two women for serching the woman yt was sopoased to bee a witch [witch].' But on these I may not now dwell. While I patiently plodded through the old-world jottings, and wearied my eyes with the dim faded ink-tracings, I was pleased to find, among the 'receipts,' items illustrative of the history of Tradesmen's Tokens. Richard Gillett was mayor of Youghal, from September 29, 1664, to September 29, 1665. Among his accounts, he gives:—

"Receaved for the Lycents of Pence and halfe-pence, vidz.,

from M ^r Vaghan, then widdowe,	002	10	00
from John Merrick,	. . . . .	002	00
from John Blewett,	. . . . .	002	10
from M ^r Richard Wandrick,	. .	000	15

"The accounts of Thomas Baker, Gillett's immediate successor, are lost; but, in the year following, 1666–1667, John Luther was mayor; and he gives us, among—

"The Corporacon Credits,

It. Rece ^d of Tho. Walters for y ^e Lycence his pence, .	000	10	00
It. Rece ^d of Ino. Hancock for y ^e Lycence his pence, .	000	10	00
It. Rece ^d of Rich ^d Wandrick for y ^e Lycence his $\frac{1}{2}$ pence, .	000	15	00
It. Rece ^d of Ino. Blewett for y ^e Lycence his pence, .	002	10	00
It. Rece ^d of Iohn Mericke for y ^e Lycence his pence, .	002	00	00

"To John Luther succeeded John Deacon, as mayor. He acknowledges to have—

"Receaved from M ^r John Blewet for his pence, . .	001	00	00
Receaved from M ^r Handcock for his pence,	000	10	00
Rec ^d from Alder. [Benjamin] Mordock for his pence, .	000	10	00

"The next mayor, John Hancock, has no such entries in his accounts. These were left by him in an imperfect state; for he died in the year of his office. After him, in 1669–1670, came John ffarthinge; and he gives, among his receipts—

"It. Rec ^d of M ^r Jno. Blewet for the passing of his pence for 2 years, ending the 24 June, 1670, att 20 ^o $\frac{4}{5}$ [annum],	002	00	00
It. Rec ^d of M ^r Hancock for 2 yeares passing her pence ending the 24 June, 1670, att 10 ^o $\frac{4}{5}$, .	001	00	00

"Among the individuals who thus paid to the Corporation an annual sum for their use of Tokens, are mentioned two of the aldermen, viz. John Blewett and Benjamin Mordock, or Murdock; but no specimens of their money have come down to us. There can be no doubt, however, but that such Tokens were really struck; and we are, therefore, warranted to add two, at least (for each striker may have had varieties) to the already large list of Youghal Tokens. These will raise the number to twenty; and I am happy to present the Society with a woodcut of the twenty-first—



"An unique specimen of this Token was found, May 9th, 1862, in Fitz Gerald's-lane, Youghal, by some children. I purchased it for a few pence, and have been permitted to deposit it in Dr. Aquilla Smith's cabinet. The Token is of brass, and weighs 16·7 grains. On the obverse we have, *EDWARD. LAWNDAY*, and a shield bearing the [London] Fishmongers' Arms, Azure, three dolphins naiant, in pale ar., finned and ducally crowned, or, between two pair of lucies in saltire (the sinister surmounting the dexter) ppr., over the nose of each lucy a ducal crown of the third; on a chief gu. three pairs of keys, endorsed in saltire or. On the reverse are the words 'IN YAVGHALL,' encircling the striker's initials, E. L. He was of a London family, who bore for arms, 'Ar. a cross counter-componée of the last and az. between four lions rampant ppr.' In all probability, he was born within the sound of Bow-bells; and having been admitted free of the Ancient Company of Fishmongers, he placed their heraldic insignia on his Token in preference to his own. Mr. Lawndey served as Bailiff of Youghal in 1669, and was three times chosen mayor, in the years 1671, 1672, and 1679. In 1672, 24th June, he leased from the Corporation a plot of ground near the Water-gate; and upon it he erected the Exchange of Youghal. In 1672-3, 26th February, he leased from members of the Ronayne family other pieces of ground in the vicinity, and built several houses upon them; and in 1674, 28th May, he took from the Corporation ground near the Exchange, reaching towards the water, and here he made a spacious quay. Dineley, in his Irish tour of 1681, when speaking of Youghal, writes:—

"The harbour is very sure and safe. The chiefeſt trader and ričhest Merchant of the Town is one M^r. Lawndy, who erected an addition^{al} Wharfe, and hath built and contributed much to the decoration of the Town by fair houses thereon towards ye Blackwater."

"Mr. Lawndey was drowned in his passage to England, 18th August, 1693. By Agnes his wife, sister of John Merrick, of Youghal, he left four sons. His widow, in administering to his affairs, deposed (as I find in a legal document before me), that he died 'seised of considerable real and personal estates.'"

The following paper was then submitted to the Meeting:—

¹ Burke's "General Armorie," sub nomine "Laundy (Youghal)."

NOTES ON KILKENNY INNS AND TAVERNS.

BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

As to preserve a suitable record of the architectural peculiarities of ancient buildings which have come down to us from the olden time, but are fast disappearing before the recently inaugurated march of improvement in Kilkenny, is one of the objects for which this Society was established, it behoves Kilkenny members to bestir themselves just now in the performance of that duty ; for within a very short space of time several interesting relics of the past have been demolished in their city. St. James's Gate—one of the few portions of the old mural defences of the town which remained to our day—was cleared away a short time since ; and although drawings and measurements were taken at the time, they have not yet received a place in the Society's Journal. More recently the old Elizabethan mansion in which the Confederate Catholics held at least one of their earlier assemblies, and which, from that circumstance, was popularly known as “The Old Parliament House of Kilkenny,” has been altogether obliterated, to form a site for a new general market ; and in carrying out the improvement of a narrow thoroughfare in the Irishtown, designated Bull-alley, a portion of an ancient hostelry, called “the Bull Inn,” and from which the appellation of the alley was derived, was removed, on the plea of its being in such a ruinous state as to be calculated to be dangerous to passers-by. I hope to be permitted, at the next meeting of the Society, to lay before the members a suitable notice of the second building referred to ; whilst at present I would ask permission, with the aid of drawings made for the purpose by the Rev. James Graves, to record in our “Proceedings” what the aspect and architectural features of the Bull Inn were, in the ruinous state in which it existed before being subjected to the crowbar of the grand jury contractor.

The Bull Inn, although dating only from the beginning of the seventeenth century, was perhaps the very first “house of call” which was ever established in the Irishtown, whilst there may have been, and probably were, older inns in the Englishtown of Kilkenny. In olden times the necessity which is modernly felt for having hotels to accommodate travellers and chance visitors to a town was not known. The monasteries and abbeys received, and afforded entertainment to, all who sought their shelter—in some cases, although apparently not as a general rule, the recipients of such benefits making, in return, a donation, according to their means and degree, to the

conventual funds; and it was not till after the suppression of monastic institutions that there began to be felt the want of inns, wherein a stranger might "take his ease" whilst sojourning in an Irish country town. Such a result was, indeed, foreseen at the time of the suppression of the abbeys; for on the 21st May, 1538, a recommendation was made to the King's chief minister, Cromwell, by Lord Deputy Gray, and the Privy Council of Ireland, that some monasteries, specified by name, should be suffered still to exist in this country, a principal reason adduced being—"For in thois housez commenly, and other suche like, in defaute of comen innes which are not in this land, the Kinges Deputie and all other His Gracees Counsall and officers, also Irishmen and others resorting to the Kinges Deputie in ther quarters, is and hath bene moste comenlie loged at the coastes of the said housez."¹ Of course, that, at the period when the abbeys did duty as the inns for travellers, there were taverns in which the natives of the town and stranger visitants were equally free to regale themselves, there can be no doubt; and the ancient records of the Corporation of Kilkenny contain frequent entries of the regulations which the municipal authorities framed, from time to time, for controlling the prices to be charged for the strong drinks which were retailed at such establishments. Amongst the earliest of these, set out in the "Liber Primus Kilkenniæ," are certain "ordinances made by John Eynow, Sovereign of Kilkenny and the Commons of the same, A. D. 1319," wherein the Assize of ale declares, that—

"When the quarter of barley sells for 2s., then four gallons of ale are at a 1d.; when at 2s. 6d., then seven gallons for 2d.; when at 3s., then three gallons for 1d.; when at 4s., then two gallons for 1d.; and so let it increase and diminish at the rate of 6d. But if alewives [braciatores] sell contrary to the assize of ale, let them be amerced, or suffer the judgment of the tumberell."

However, this sliding scale of prices was only arranged for those who retailed ale in their taverns. As to inns for the lodging and general accommodation of travellers, they seem to have been unknown in Kilkenny for several centuries after the framing of John Eynow's ordinances; or at least the municipal records allude in no way to establishments of the kind;² whilst every other trade or calling is frequently noticed, it having been the narrow policy of the times that the municipal council should interfere in, and dictate

¹ "State Papers" of Henry VIII., vol. iii., part iii., page 130. The monasteries of Kells and Jerpoint, in the county of Kilkenny, were two of those recommended not to be suppressed.

² However, there are allusions to the kinds of drink in use, and regulations as to the prices to be charged for them, amongst the records of the Corporation of Irishtown, in the 16th century, which

rules for the guidance and control of every inhabitant's business. It is not till the latter portion of the sixteenth century that the corporation of Kilkenny seems to have turned its attention to the necessity of providing suitable accommodation for casual sojourners in their town, the abbeys being all then suppressed. On the 13th January, 1591, as appears by the "Red Book," they granted "an annuity of 40s. per annum for the keeping of an ordinary for strangers," and also passed a bye-law that "all victuallers and other free-men of the town, shall provide clean bedding for strangers, on paine of 40s." But not content with this general rule, whenever letting houses, which were the property of the municipality, to victuallers, they introduced special clauses into the leases, imposing on the tenant the necessity of being suitably provided with accommodation for lodgers; as in the case of a lease made shortly after the date referred to, to one Richard Langton, of a house, orchard, and garden in "St. John's," at 16s. per annum, the Corporation as lessors, covenanted that the tenant should "keep two feather beds, four flock, and two chambers, with good sheets and furniture necessary, nomine *pœnae* 20s. *totes quoties*." It was such municipal regulations as these which, doubtless, gained for Kilkenny the character given it by one of the most indefatigable of our modern explorers of antique records,³ who states, that that "little city" was, "of all Ireland, according to ancient chronicles, 'the part most reclaimed from sluttishness and slovenry, to civility and clean bedding.'" But still a regular inn seems to have been a *desideratum* in Kilkenny which the previous arrangements of the corporation had procured no substitute for; and, accordingly, on the 12th January, 1609, they came to the resolution of granting "an annuity" (the amount is not stated) "to Adam Brid^r for keeping an inn and post house;" and

are curious. In 1545, amongst the rates of victuals and other commodities, arranged by the Corporation, are—"Ye best gallon of ale for 4d." "ye best quart of aquavite 12d." In 1560, "a pottle of good beere for 1d." and "3 pints of honnyed ale for 1d." In 1582, we have, "3 quartes of ale for two pence," and "a pottle of braged [a drink made of honey and spice] for a penny."

¹ The "Red Book" is not now known to be in existence—at least, it has been lost by the Corporation. The extracts which I supply are from a summary of its contents made by Alderman William Colles, who was treasurer of the Corporation from 1743 to 1750.

² Mr. John D'Alton, in "The Irish Penny Magazine," No. 13. Mr. D'Alton places the words between inverted com-

mas, as if he were quoting *verbatim* from some author. I have been unable to find the exact statement anywhere; but it resembles very much a passage in Campion's "History," which, no doubt, applies to Kilkenny, as the chief town of the Butlers' territory. The historian describes Margaret, wife of Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormonde, as A lady of such port that all the estates of the realm crouched unto her; so politic, that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice; man-like and tall of stature, very rich and beautiful, a bitter enemy; the only means by which, in those days, her husband's country was reclaimed from the sluttish and unclean Irish custom, to the English habit, bedding, housekeeping, and civility.—(Edit. 1633, page 110).

ten years later, under the date 11th October, 1619, we have the following record in the "Red Book," in which "mine host" is evidently the same person as above referred to, although a portion of the name became defaced:—"A pention of £5 per annum allowed to Adam B for keeping an inn to entertain the Lords Justices and noblemen and gentlemen coming to the city." On the same day it was ordered—"No inhabitant to keep any victualling house or ale house without the walls of the city." At this time the mere keeper of a tavern, instead of having the inducement of "an annuity" held out to him in addition to the profits to be derived from his guests, had to pay for the privilege of holding a license to retail strong liquors on his premises. In 1613, licenses to keep taverns in Kilkenny city were granted by the crown to Walter and Michael Ryan, merchants; Richard Rooth and Margaret his daughter; Nicholas and Thomas Ley; William Murphie, merchant, and Rosse (Rose) his daughter.¹ The most ancient inn and tavern which we can find any special reference to, are mentioned in the charter of Charles I., granted to the Corporation of Kilkenny, under the commission for the remedy of defective titles, in 1639, whereby the right of the civic body was confirmed in, amongst other matters, a rent of 13s. 6d., arising from a house near Kyran's Well, "anciently called Kettlersin," held by William Shee; and a rent of 3s. "from the house called Smulkin-tavern, in the Castle-street, held by Peter Archer." The former, in a docket of the Corporation leases of the time, is called "Kettler's Inne," and is stated to be held by William Shee in fee, at 18s. per annum. From the statement of the charter of Charles, that the house was "anciently" known by the appellation, this would appear to have been a very old hostelry—if, indeed, in so early an instance we should not take the term "inn" here as merely signifying a residence, as the Inns of Court—and it probably took its name from its original proprietor, one of the Kyteler family, who held a respectable position in the city in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the famous Kilkenny witch, Dame Alice Kyteler, or Keteler, flourished, and William Kiteeler was sheriff of the liberty of Kilkenny. The name, corrupted into Kelter, is still to be found amongst the humbler classes in the locality. This inn, from its description as neighbouring Kyran's Well, must have stood near the northern end of King-street, where, in the Corporation market, Kyran's Well is situated.² "The Smulkin Tavern" is frequently mentioned in the Corporation records—the earliest reference to it that I can find being in a lease made by

¹ Patent Roll, 11th James I., 2nd pars, mem. xlvi.

² The house, of which Mr. James Gregory is the tenant, adjoining Kyran's Well, in King-street, was, probably,

Kettler's inn. The upper portion of the building is of the Elizabethan period, but the basement story, which is vaulted, is obviously much older, and perhaps may be of the fourteenth century.

that body to Pierce Archer Fitz John, before mentioned, in 1615, whereby he covenanted to pay them 22*s.* per annum for sixty-one years, for "a messuage in Castle-street next to the Smulkin Tavern." Can it be that the name was a corruption of "smoking tavern?" If so, it would serve to show an extensive patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh's favourite "weed" at a very early period in Kilkenny. The Cromwellian settlers were not without establishing, at least, one inn and one tavern in Kilkenny. Richard Inwood was an innkeeper of the town in 1661, and was denounced by Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, a stanch Royalist and strict Churchman, as being a frequenter of a conventicle established there by "the fanatic limbs of the Beast," as he loved to designate the Cromwellians.¹ Inwood issued a penny token, bearing on the obverse the device of a windmill, which may, therefore, perhaps, be presumed to have been the sign of his inn, the position of which in the town I have been unable to discover.² At the same time, Thomas Talbot, a vintner, struck another token, with the device of the sun in full splendour; also, as I am led to suppose, the sign of his tavern,³ which, as appears by the Ormonde rental, was situated in High-street, adjoining Carrion-row, on the south side. "Thomas Young, innkeeper," was nominated one of the aldermen of Kilkenny under the charter of James II., in 1687, but I have been unable to trace the title or whereabouts of his establishment.

The earliest established inn which was still carried on and applied to the purposes of a hotel within the memory of persons now living in Kilkenny, was "The Sheaf," in Rose-Inn-street. The writer of "A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland" informs us that he "put up" at that house; and in a letter dated "Kilkenny, August 30th, 1775," in remarking on the good breeding and polished manners which distinguished the Kilkenny folk of every degree in that day, he observes:—"The cook belonging to the inn, the Sheaf of Wheat, wears ruffles; and though an old man, is as full of vivacity as politeness. He brings me every day, after dinner, some delicious pears, and says he keeps a few for the quality who resort to the house, and that he has done so for thirty years."⁴ In that case, "The Sheaf" must have been in existence as an inn in 1745; but, indeed, there is every reason to suppose that the establishment must have been opened at the very beginning of the century. Mrs. Reynolds, during whose proprietorship "The Sheaf"

¹ "Seven Treatises very Necessary to be Observed in these very Bad Days," &c. London: 1661.

² See a Paper on Kilkenny Tradesmen's Tokens, printed in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological

Society," vol. ii., part i., page 162.

³ Id. page 170.

⁴ "A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, in a Series of Letters to John Watkinson, M. D." Dublin: 1778. The author was a Dr. Campbell.

saw its palmiest days, became connected with the house in 1750, when it was already an inn in considerable repute, carried on by the Blount or Blunt family,¹ whose interest in it she purchased. The original fee-farm lease of the premises was taken from the Duke of Ormonde, as appears by the Ormonde rental in the Kilkenny Castle Office, on the 4th of September, 1702, by Mr. Thomas Blunt, an alderman of the city, probably with the object of at once fitting them up for the purposes of an inn. The description given of them in the rental is:—"The house and stable lately held by James Long, with the small house and stable adjoining thereto, lately held by the Widow Wright." Blunt paid a fine of £34 13s. 4d., and it was covenanted that he was to pay a yearly rent of £8 13s. 4d., "and four turkeys as acates, or 10s. in lieu; also to pay 6d. per pound receiver's salary, and 5s. *nomine paenæ* per barrel for what corn is not ground in the Lord's mill; to pay all taxes except quit and crown rent, and to do suit of court in the manor of Kilkenny." In 1715 a meeting of the leading Jacobites of the district, which was jealously watched by the Hanoverian party, took place in Blunt's house. A list of those who attended it is preserved amongst the Corporation muniments in the Town Clerk's office, with this heading prefixed:—"The names of such persons as were present at Mr. Thomas Blunt, sen., his house, being a publick alehouse, in the city of Kilkenny, on the 29th of April, 1715." An establishment in which the Bishop of Ossory of the day, the Viscount Ikerin, the eldest son of Lord Mountgarrett, the Butlers of Kilcash and Garryricken, and other distinguished persons amongst the local party favourable to the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne, attended a meeting, must have been one of respectability; and although slightly designated by the Hanoverian supporters as an "alehouse," no doubt we have here a notice of "The Sheaf," at an early period of its existence, as an inn of some note. The building is remembered by many as a quaint old structure, within wainscoted throughout with ancient oak, and externally having a high pitched gable to the front, and displaying over a porch—its principal entrance—a large and gilded representation of a wheat-sheaf, as its sign. In the middle of the last century it was the custom of all noblemen and gentlemen, when travelling, to bring with them a supply of bedding, to be used at the inns at which they should put up at night; but such was the fame of Kilkenny for "clean bedding," and of "The Sheaf" in particular for the order and propriety of its management, that travellers of rank would turn many miles out of their direct course in order to pass the night there, in preference to the

¹ A member of the Blunt family kept an inn in John-street in the end of the last century, but I have been unable to

ascertain its exact position, or what was its sign or title. Inns seem to have been then numerous in John-street.

inns of the neighbouring towns; and it was the proud boast of Mrs. Reynolds that no nobleman or gentleman ever thought of unpacking his own supply of bed-linen in her house, so well was its character for superior neatness and cleanliness established. It was still at the end of the last and beginning of the present century the head inn of the city, and frequent reference to it may be found in the columns of the earlier newspapers published in Kilkenny, illustrative of the convivial habits of the times, such as the following advertisement, appearing in the issue of "Finn's Leinster Journal" of February 10th, 1768:—

"The Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick, of the Principal Knot of the City of Kilkenny, are desired to meet at The Sheaf on Tuesday, the 16th Inst., to dine, and attend the President to the Play."

Or the following paragraph from the issue of that newspaper for the 20th July in the same year:—

"Last Monday night, on account of the Right Hon. John Ponsonby, and James Agar, Esq., being re-elected Knights of the Shire for this County, there were bonfires, illuminations, and great rejoicings in different parts of this City; the principal gentlemen were elegantly entertained at The Sheaf and other taverns; large quantities of wine, malt, and other liquors, were distributed to the populace, and this evening a grand ball will be given at the Tholsel for the ladies."

This inn, although it had many rivals, and gradually yielded its supremacy as the chief hostelry of the town after the opening of the present century, continued in existence till it became so old and dilapidated as that its removal was necessary; and the two present houses in which the late Mr. T. Lawrenson carried on the grocery business, as well as the adjoining one of Mr. William Hogan, were built on its site. Its last great and dying effort was the supplying of a public dinner on a vast scale given to the citizens by the late Honourable Charles Harwood Butler Clarke Southell Wandesforde, then Member of Parliament for the city, on the occasion of his being sworn into the office of Mayor of Kilkenny, at Michaelmas, 1816. Almost up to the last, however, its prestige as the leading inn was acknowledged by the billeting of military officers upon that house whenever regiments were passing through the town on the march,¹ and by the Dublin and Cork mail-coach office being con-

¹ A very melancholy occurrence took place in Kilkenny on the 5th February, 1809, in connexion with the billeting of military officers at "The Sheaf." The first division of the 66th Regiment, on the march from Dublin to Cork, to embark for Portugal, halted in Kilkenny, under the command of Major Charles Lloyd, who, with the other officers of the de-

tachment, received a billet for this inn. The major was accompanied by his lady, to whom he had been only married on the 14th October previously, and who joined him in the march, from her anxiety to enjoy his company to the moment of his embarking for the seat of war. The Cavan Regiment of Militia was then in garrison in Kilkenny, and the officers of

nected with it, and the coaches stopping at and starting from its door. The rate at which these conveyances travelled, and all the other particulars connected with them in the advertisements of the times, read oddly enough in the present age of railways and electric telegraphs. The following was the announcement concerning them in "Watson's Almanack," for the year 1768:—

"Two Kilkenny stage coaches set up with Wm. Stones, in George's-lane (Dublin). Set out at six in the morning on Mondays and Thursdays. Go in a day and a-half. Come in and dine in Dublin on Tuesdays and Fridays. Go by Rathcoole, Kill, Naas, Kilcullen-bridge, Ballitore, Timolin, Castledermot, Carlow, Leighlin-Bridge, and Royal Oak. Outside passengers and a child on the lap, at half-price. Persons taking a place and not going at the time appointed lose their earnest."

But a rival inn, established in the same street with the "The Sheaf," had connected with it competing public conveyances, which had been brought to such a rate of speed as held out the inducement of saving half a day in the summer months; and the first coach which made the journey from Dublin to Kilkenny in one day must have caused no small sensation on its arrival at "The Garter," or "Royal Garter," in the latter city. "Watson's Almanack" for 1768, informs us that—

"Sullivan and Mooney's four flying stages go in a day from 10th

that corps immediately invited Major Lloyd and his brother officers to dine at their mess. The invitation was accepted; but, as Mrs. Lloyd had to remain alone at "The Sheaf" during the time, her husband left the barracks the moment that dinner was over, the other officers of the detachment of the 66th remaining at the mess. It was a dark and stormy evening; heavy rain had fallen, and the Nore was flooded. Mrs. Lloyd waited in deep anxiety for her husband's return, till, at length, his brother officers arrived at the inn, and heard, to their amazement and consternation, that he had not long previously made his appearance. No trace or tidings of him could be obtained all that night or next day, or for the ensuing fortnight. Conjecture was busy as to his having been robbed and murdered in the dark streets, for there were no lamps then on St. John's Bridge. But as the Nore was much swollen, and there was a breach in the parapet wall towards the entrance to the Canal walk, it was deemed possible that he might have in the darkness mistaken the way, and, in place of going up Rose-Inn-street, have turned to the left, and have fallen into

the flooded river. His distracted young wife offered a high reward for intelligence of him, whether dead or alive, and most diligent search was made, the deepest concern and sympathy being felt by the citizens; but for eighteen days his fate remained a mystery. However, on the 22nd February, two men engaged in cross-fishing about a mile below the city, observed the scabbard of his sword glistening in the water; and having raised the body, he was found to have been drowned without the slightest mark of a struggle, his watch, purse, and other valuables being all upon his person, so that the conjecture as to his having accidentally fallen into the river through the breach in the parapet was deemed to have been correct. Major Lloyd was the son of Thomas Lloyd, Esq., of Winchelsea, in Sussex, and of Mary, daughter of Sir Charles Whitworth, K. B.; and having been born on the 14th of January, 1780, was only twenty-eight years old, and was a most promising officer. His widow, who was a daughter of General John Hale, of Gisborough, in Yorkshire, erected a monument to his memory in St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny.

April to 10th September, from the Black Bull Inn, in Capel-street, Dublin, to Kilkenny, viz. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday; and from the Royal Garter, in Kilkenny, to Dublin, on the same days, from 10th April to 10th September. But from 11th September to 9th April, the four stages set out from each place on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, and go in a day and a-half."

"The Garter Inn" is mentioned in 1770 in a book of arrears of ministers' money, due for the then united parishes of St. Mary and St. John, which document remains amongst the records of St. Mary's Church. There is a conflict of testimony as to its site in Rose-Inn-street. The late Major Madden, Treasurer of the Corporation, who died in 1845, being then in his seventy-third year, stated that in his memory the house now occupied by Mr. Hennessy, butcher, fronting King-street, was "The Garter;" and that when he was young the judges on circuit had their lodgings in that inn, whilst holding assizes in Kilkenny. On the other hand, Mr. John M'Creery, sen., and Mr. Patrick Gwynne, two of the oldest surviving citizens, but both considerably younger than Major Madden, declare that they remember "The Garter," at nearly the close of the last century, on the opposite side of Rose-Inn-street, between King-street and Sir Richard Shee's Hospital. Perhaps, after the establishment had sunk in public estimation and support, it may have been changed from the south to the north side of the street, where certainly it never could have afforded such accommodation as would have made it a suitable lodging for the judges, and must have degenerated into a mere public house. Its last proprietor was named Lindsay; and some of the old inhabitants still bear in memory the refrain of a metrical lampoon in which some local rhymster had attacked the inn, and its proprietor, when it was decaying, running thus:—

"Oh! luckless Lindsay, of the Garter Inn,
Where all's going out, and nothing coming in."

Another old inn in Rose-Inn-street, which survived till very lately, was "The Bush," situated within a few doors of "The Sheaf." The sign from which this establishment took its name was of very ancient origin—a branch of a tree being used, when hung over a door, to indicate that strong drink was sold within—a circumstance from which arose the saying, "Good wine needs no bush," i. e. where good wine is to be had, it will be found out without any necessity for a special announcement of its whereabouts. At the end of the last century and beginning of the present, "The Bush" was kept by a person named Hawkins, originally a waiter at "The Sheaf," and who was a non-commissioned officer of one of the volunteer companies established in Kilkenny in 1798, known as Captain Hamilton's Corps, or, in derision, "the Tombstone Rangers," as their

captain, being the son of the then Bishop of Ossory, used to have them paraded and drilled in the cemetery of the cathedral. The Cavan militia, when quartered in Kilkenny, early in the present century, established an Orange Lodge at "The Bush," which rendered its proprietor very unpopular, and Hawkins was made a constant butt for the pasquinades of "Watty Cox's Magazine,"¹ a precursor of "The Satirist," but having a more strongly defined political bias than the latter publication.

Rose-Inn-street seems to have been for a considerable time a favourite locality for the establishment of inns; and, in connexion with my subject, the question naturally arises, what was the origin of the name? The title of the street was certainly not derived from the present "Rose Hotel," therein situated; for the hotel was established in the year 1824, by its present proprietor, Mr. Thomas Hewitson, who seems to have taken the suggestion as to the name of his house from that of the street. But, was there a more ancient "Rose Inn" in the locality, from which the street took its designation? I am not prepared to say positively either that such was or was not the fact, and a very long and careful investigation of the matter has produced very negative results. An archaeological friend of mine had a theory which, at first sight, I found very taking, from its romantic aspect. The Ormonde family evinced a strong interest in the feud between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and bore their share in the "wars of the roses," one of the earls even laying down his life in the cause of the Lancastrians, fighting for which he was taken prisoner at the battle of Towton, and brought to the scaffold, at Newcastle, A. D. 1461, by the victorious Yorkists. There was little difficulty in supposing that, under such circumstances, an innkeeper of Kilkenny should take as his sign the "red rose," for which his feudal Lord, James, fifth earl of Ormonde, had forfeited his head; and that the street in which that sign was hung out should change its original appellation to Rose-Inn-street. But what was its original appellation? This is the difficulty. The most ancient existing burgage list of the corporation of Kilkenny, a parchment roll preserved in the office of the registrar of the diocese of Ossory, and bearing date the fifth year of Henry V. (1417), gives the title of every other street in the town, but there is no Rose-Inn-street, nor anything like it—in fact no street set down which could be fixed upon with any toler-

¹ Having been in a bad state of health for some time, he went to Dublin for superior medical advice, but returned evidently much worse than when he had gone, and, in fact, in a dying state. It was announced in the next issue of

"Watty Cox," in the Kilkenny intelligence, that "Ned Hawkins had come home to the Bush to be fired over"—in allusion to the military honours which he should receive at his funeral, as a member of Captain Hamilton's corps.

rable degree of probability as being it under another name.¹ In a manuscript preserved in the British Museum ("Cod. Clarend." tom. lv., No. 4796), which was a commencement of a history of the diocese of Ossory, believed with good reason to be from the pen of David Rothe, Roman Catholic bishop of that diocese in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the street is referred to, but it is only indicated as the way leading to St. John's. Speaking of Croker's Cross, which monument stood in the centre of the four cross-ways at the Parade, the author says, "it was erected where four ways meet—one side facing Patrick-street, another Castle-street (moderly, the Parade), a third looking towards St. John's ('tertiam ad St. Johannem'), a fourth to the High Town (High-street)." The first document, so far as I am aware, in which we can positively say that the street is given a name, is a grant under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, of forfeited property in Kilkenny, to James, Duke of Ormonde, enrolled 16th November, 1668, and it is there termed Rossin-street, more than once.² There is an entry in the Ormonde rental, of the granting of a lease on the 17th December, 1708, to Mrs. Mable Devereux, of "a stone house,

¹ The only denomination in the burgage roll of Henry V. that could possibly apply to the present Rose-Inn-street is that of "Lowe-street." That street is described as containing the holdings of only twenty-one tenants, amongst whom John and Roger Lombard are enumerated. The house in Rose-Inn-street on the west side of Sir Richard Shee's Hospital was known as "Lombard's Chamber," which may, perhaps, be deemed to afford some show of probability for that street being supposed to have been anciently called Low-street; but I have always believed that the present King-street, previously known as Back-lane, was the ancient Low-street, which name fully described its position in connexion with that of High-street; and we have evidence that at least it was in the seventeenth century called Low-lane; so that, unless there were a Low-street and a Low-lane in Kilkenny, one connected with the other, we cannot suppose that Low-street could be the ancient Rose-Inn-street. We find a "Croker's-street," a name now forgotten in Kilkenny, mentioned in documents of a more recent date than the burgage roll of Henry V., in which latter record no such name is contained, and its position must have been in close proximity to Patrick-street. Mr. Hogan, in his illustrations of Hocque's Survey (see "Journal of the

Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society," vol. iii p. 350), makes the lower part of Patrick-street bear the name of Croker-street; and I believe he is correct, at least so far as that the portion of the public way adjoining the site of the old cross, formerly known as Croker's-cross, was, after the erection of that building, called Croker's-street. This denomination may have taken in the part of Rose-Inn-street nearest the Parade, but not the entire street. I do not think the term Croker's-street ever applied to the entire portion of Patrick-street, from High-street to St. Patrick's gate, as Mr. Hogan's map would seem to show it.

² Roll 19th and 20th Car. II. 3rd Part, back, No. 6. This Roll, in the printed calendar, also gives the name in one place Rorin-street; but I think this is a mere typographical error, as in every other place the name is spelled Rossin-street. In the same grant Back-lane and Low-lane are both mentioned in different places, but both so described as meaning with "Rossin-street" and St. Mary's church, that there can be no mistake that either name is intended to designate the thoroughfare modernly termed King-street. We do not find any such denomination as Low-street used at so late a period as that to which this document belongs.

slated, built by John Flood, in Rossins-street." Again, on the map of Kilkenny issued by Rocque, shortly before the year 1760, it was set down as "Rozom-street." Rocque was a foreigner, and made mistakes in spelling the names of some other streets, such as "Watkin-street" for Walkin-street; but his Rozom-street is more like the Rossin-street of the grant of 1668, and the Rossins-street of the lease of 1708, than either is like Rose-Inn-street, and we often hear the street called by the lower order "Rosin-street" at the present day.¹ All this tends to cast some doubt on the imaginative theory of my friend anent the "wars of the roses;" but whether the name is to be really derived from a more ancient "Rose-Inn" than the present, or from a Frenchman named De Rosan, a speculation which I have heard indulged in, and which might be reasonable enough if any one of the name could be shown to have been settled in the city or connected with the locality; or from some connexion with rosin, a substance in which there can scarcely ever have been any large trade in Kilkenny, I am not at present prepared to decide. The house of Mr. Hewitson, although a private residence at the period immediately before his taking it for

¹ The name of the street was certainly printed in public documents in its present form of Rose-Inn-street before Mr. Thomas Hewitson established his Rose Hotel in 1824. The following paragraph, in which it is so given, was published in the issue of "The Kilkenny Moderator" newspaper for the 14th May, 1816; and it contains also a reference to "The Sheaf Inn," and affords an illustration of the defective police arrangements of the city at that time:—

"Yesterday morning a poor man, a foreigner, proceeding to the Dublin car office, at the Sheaf Inn, was knocked down, in Rose-Inn-street, by two ruffians, and robbed of a silk handkerchief and two tenpennies. The hat of the unfortunate stranger was completely cut through, and the villains were proceeding to greater acts of violence when they were alarmed by Mr. M'Creery, coach-maker, who called to them from his chamber window, on which they decamped."

The last reference to "The Sheaf" contained in "The Kilkenny Moderator" was in the issue of the 25th March, 1817; and, whilst it serves to show that, up to that time, there had been no footpaths in Rose-Inn-street, it also gives the name of that street printed in its present form. The paragraph is as follows:—

"We understand that it is in con-

templation to make a footpath from the corner of High-street to the gateway of the Sheaf Inn stables, in Rose-Inn-street, to protect it by substantial curb-stones from the encroachment of cars and carriages. Such an improvement will add greatly to the security of foot passengers in one of the most public streets in the city; and a few pounds could not be better expended at the present time, when so many industrious men are out of employment, and where the principal expense will consist in the hire of labourers. Any deficiency of such conveniences, besides the danger to the lives and limbs of his majesty's liege subjects, is a glaring defect to the eye of the stranger. Paris and most of the Continental towns are miserably deficient in such comforts. When Mirabeau visited England, in the year 1784, as he approached Canterbury he alighted from his carriage, and, kneeling on the footpath, thanked God that there was one country under heaven where the safety and comfort of foot passengers was not neglected."

But even fifty years before the date of the above paragraph, in 1768, the then Mayor of Kilkenny offered, in "Finn's Leinster Journal," a reward for the discovery of a person who had maliciously broken one of the public lamps in "Rose-in-street," which is pretty nearly the present spelling.

a hotel, was previously an inn within the memory of persons now living, but was not called after any sign, being known as the "Royal Mail Inn," from the mail-coaches at one time stopping before its door; or as "Lighton's Inn," from the name of its then proprietor. It was not an establishment of any note, its glory being quite overshadowed by that of its opposite neighbour, "The Sheaf."

Another old rival of "The Sheaf" was "The Swan," in William-street, formerly known as Bolton's-lane. Thomas Story, a well-known leading member of the Society of Friends in the beginning of the last century, in his account¹ of his struggle in 1717, against that "very high and lording prelate," the Right Rev. Sir Thomas Vesey, bishop of Ossory, which ended in the Quaker's triumphantly establishing his right to hold meetings and preach in Kilkenny, mentions that, during his stay in that city, except while he was placed in "the common jail of the town, among thieves in irons," he "lodged at the Swan Inn, Thomas Date, master." In my memory, and for some time previously, this establishment had sunk into a mere public house, and "carman's stage," and the rere of the "Monster House" premises now occupies its site. Also contemporary with "The Sheaf," were "The Munster Arms" and "The Brazen-Head," both in Walkin-street, then one of the most important streets in Kilkenny, although amongst the narrowest, as it was the entrance to the town from the Cork direction, and the Cork coaches drove through it. The former of these, kept by a person named Malone, and situated within three doors of the corner of High-street, on the north side of the street, was a second-rate establishment, frequented chiefly by the manufacturers of friezes from the counties of Tipperary and Cork, when they came to the Kilkenny frieze fairs, which, although long since disused, are still recorded every year in some of the almanacks. The "Munster Arms" decayed along with the fairs, and has long ceased to exist. The "Brazen Head," however, was a first class inn, the name of which appears to have been given without its having shown any corresponding sign. It stood on the opposite side of the street, where Mrs. Menton's hardware establishment now is. It was a competitor of "The Sheaf," and, under the proprietorship of Mrs. Devereux, when the latter was sinking, took its place as the chief inn of Kilkenny till the opening of "The Hibernian" or "Club House," the first establishment of the kind in the city which assumed the more high-sounding appellation of "hotel," in place of the old familiar term of "inn." The founder of this hotel was Mr. James Rice, who had been house-steward to the Kilkenny Fox Hunter's Club, established by the late Sir John Power, Bart., in 1797. The Club had its Club-house in Patrick-street, under the management

¹ "A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story," &c. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1747.

of Rice; but in 1817, at the time of the opening of the new entrance from the Cork road to Kilkenny, it was formed into a hotel, Mr. John Walsh entering into partnership with Rice, adding to the Club-house the adjoining house, which had been the residence of Archdeacon Helsham,¹ and whilst designating the establishment "The Hibernian Hotel," still having the patronage of the "Hunt Club," the members of which, however, of course had no longer any proprietorship or control of the premises, and only used them by special arrangement with Messrs. Rice and Walsh, whose superior system of management became famous far and near, owing to the numerous visitors from a distance attracted to the locality in the year after the opening of "The Hibernian," by the re-appearance on the stage of the celebrated Kilkenny Amateurs, after an interval of retirement from the court of Thalia. Before the era of the "gentlemen's plays," when the Kilkenny theatre, which was built by Owenson, the father of Lady Morgan, was used every year by strolling companies, the players generally lodged at a minor inn in the neighbourhood, known as "The Goat's Beard," in Castle-street².

¹ The new portion of the premises was that nearest to the Cork road. The portion adjoining the house of P. Watters, Esq., the present excellent town-clerk, had been the residence of Mr. Abraham Prim, upon whose removal to Gowran it was taken by the "Hunt Club" to form their Club House. Messrs. Rice and Walsh opened their establishment as "The Hibernian Hotel and Fox-Hunting Club," on the 4th August, 1817.

² In an article on the Irish stage, I believe from the pen of J. T. Gilbert, Esq., which was published in "The Irish Quarterly Review," in the year 1857, the following comic play-bill is given, which refers incidentally to the inn known as "The Goat's Beard":—

"BILL OF THE KILKENNY THEATRE
ROYAL.

By his majesty's company of comedians.

(The last night, because the company go to-morrow to Waterford).

On Saturday, May 14, 1793.

Will be performed, by command of several respectable people in this learned metropolis, for the benefit of Mr. Kearns,

THE TRAGEDY OF HAMLET.

Originally written and composed by the celebrated Dan Hayes of Limerick, and inserted in Shakspeare's works.

Hamlet by Mr. Kearns (being his first

appearance in that character), who, between the acts, will perform several solos on the patent bag-pipes, which play two tunes at the same time.

Ophelia by Mrs. Prior, who will introduce several favourite airs in character, particularly the 'Lass of Richmond Hill,' and 'We'll all be unhappy together,' from the Rev. Mr. Dibdin's Oddities.

The parts of the King and Queen, by direction of the Rev. Father O'Calaghan, will be omitted, as too immoral for any stage.

Polonius, the comical politician, by a young gentleman, being his first appearance in public.

The Ghost, the Grave-Digger, and Laertes, by Mr. Sampson, the great London comedian.

The characters to be dressed in Roman shapes.

To which will be added, an Interlude, in which will be introduced several sleight-of-hand tricks, by the celebrated Surveyor Hurt.

The whole to conclude with the Farce of,
MAHOMET THE IMPOSTOR,
Mahomet by Mr. Kearns.

Tickets to be had of Mr. Kearns, at the sign of the Goat's beard, in Castle-street.

* * * The value of the tickets, as usual, will be taken (if required) in candles, bacon, soap, butter, cheese, &c., as

Another inn, contemporary with "The Sheaf," was "The Red Lion," in Coal-market, which in 1768 was kept by Michael Keogh or Keough,¹ and the premises appear to have remained the property

Mr. Kearns wishes, in every particular, to accommodate the public.

N. B.—No person whatever will be admitted into the boxes without shoes or stockings."

¹ The proprietor of "The Red Lion" seems, in the year referred to, to have got into a scrape from being concerned in some electioneering tactics connected with the choice of a sovereign for the town of Callan, the right of acting as patron and dictator of the corporate body of which town was at the time warmly contested between the families of Agar and Flood. Keogh was a partisan of the Agar party, and the result of a stolen march of his into the heart of "the enemy's country" (Burnchurch), adjoining one of the chief seats of the Flood family (Farmley), is told in a series of conflicting advertisements in "Finn's Leinster Journal" of 1768, which read very strangely at the present day, but were in perfect accordance with the usage of the times, when men seem to have rushed into print, in the shape of advertisements, and thus kept up long and acrimonious disputations, on almost every conceivable occurrence in public or private life. The following is the discussion in this case:—

"*Kilkenny, October 4, 1768.*

"Whereas on Wednesday night, the 28th of September, Michael Keogh, of the city of Kilkenny, Inn-keeper, was attacked in a post-chaise, on the highway, in Burnt-church, in the county of Kilkenny, not far from the place where Thomas Westerman was lately murdered, and several shots were fired at said Keogh, one of which wounded him in the hand in a most desperate manner, and the said chaise tore and broke to pieces, by a parcel of ruffians unknown, without the said Keogh's giving any cause for such usage: Now I, the said Michael Keogh, do hereby promise a reward of £40 sterling to any person who shall, within three months from the date hereof, discover and prosecute to conviction any of the offenders concerned in said barbarous attempt, so as such offenders may be lodged in any of his Majesty's gaols. It is strongly suspected that the same person who encou-

raged Hanman to murder Westerman, encouraged the above persons to murder me.

"**MICHAEL KEOGH.**"

"Whereas informations have been given that a corrupt bargain (between a certain gentleman and a person belonging to Francis Knapp, of Burnt-church, Esq., in order to procure said Francis Knapp's vote in Callan) was transacted on the 28th day of September last, at the house of one Michael Keogh, publican, at the sign of the Red Lion in Kilkenny; and whereas it appears that in the night of the 28th of September last, to wit, the day before Michaelmas day, which is the day for swearing in the sovereign of Callan, the said Keogh was sent in a post-chaise to carry away the said Francis Knapp, by night, out of his house at Burnt-church; and whereas it appears that the door of the said Francis Knapp's house was attempted to be forced, and the windows of it broken open by said Keogh, or somebody employed by him; and whereas it appears that a case of silver-mounted pistols were given by a justice of the peace to the said Keogh, though a Papist, to enable him to carry into execution by force, and in the concealment of night, the said corrupt bargain; which pistols it appears the said Keogh, though a Papist, fired without provocation; and whereas it appears that the said Keogh then ran away, and left the pistols behind him; and whereas the said pistols have been since brought to the house of the said Francis Knapp: Now this is to give notice thereof, that the said proprietor of said pistols may be prepared to prove the same on trial, and to fix this infamous transaction on the real offenders. And whereas many persons, since the said transaction, have come at different times, at unseasonable hours, and in the dead of the night, alarming and besetting the house of the said Francis Knapp, and making use of bribes and threats to prevent the people best acquainted with the said corrupt transaction from bringing it to light, and to suborn false accusations against innocent persons: Now I do hereby promise a reward of £40 sterling to any person

of his descendants, although long since converted into two private houses, being that of Mr. M. Shortall, solicitor, and the adjoining house, till sold in the Encumbered Estates Court a few years since. After Keogh or Keough had retired from business, an eccentric citizen named Robert Evans became host, but changed the name of the establishment to "The Ormonde Arms." The first masonic

who shall bring to justice, and prosecute to conviction, any such offenders. Given under my hand, this 7th day of October, 1768.

"GEORGE HUSON."

"Having seen an advertisement in the 'Leinster Journal,' dated the 7th inst., and signed George Huson, wherein the barbarous attempt on my life, as advertised in the said Journal, is represented in a false and villainous light by said Huson, who, though a menial underservant, has had the impudence and ignorance to offer a reward of £40 for the discovery of some matter which he has not set forth; but if it means the intention of assassinating me, it is apparent from the words of his own advertisement that he was privy to and principally concerned therein; and as to any corrupt bargain, with the knowledge whereof I am falsely charged, the case ingenuously is as follows:—A woman who lives, as I am informed, in a state of prostitution with Mr. Francis Knapp, came to my house on the 27th of September last, and told a specious story that said Knapp had directed her to let Mr. Agar know he intended to go with him to Ringwood, and that he had been ill-treated by Mr. Flood, and would come to Kilkenny if a post-chaise were sent for him; in consequence of which said message, and of her intreaties, I accompanied her on the evening of the following day, in a post-chaise, to Burnchurch, where a large concourse of people were assembled, with a murderous design, being armed with fire-arms and other weapons, who treated me in the horrid manner set forth in my former advertisement; from which said bloody assassin the hand of providence rescued me and the poor affrighted chaise-boy (who was my only companion at the time of the said barbarous attempt); but I am now fully convinced that the scheme was laid by some persons of note, and said infamous woman fixed on to inveigle Mr. Agar to said place in order to murder him, which they would certainly per-

petrate had he gone there as they expected; and I vehemently suspect said Huson, for many reasons, to be principally concerned in said bloody attempt, as he hath been heretofore charged with very atrocious crimes, to which he was urged on the same principle; and I really believe that, as the said woman had a large sum of money at her very first entering my house, the same was given to her as a reward for conducting the said damnable plot, and of inveigling Mr Agar to be murdered; and therefore I promise a reward of 50 guineas to any person who shall discover and prosecute to conviction any of the persons concerned in said intended murder. Given under my hand, this 21st of October, 1768.

"MICHAEL KEOGH."

"A false and scandalous advertisement, signed Michael Keogh, and dated the 21st October instant, having appeared in the Leinster Journal, misrepresenting my condition in life, and tending to reflect infamy on my character; I am advised the author thereof deserves no other answer than such as may carry the punishment with the conviction of the falsehoods it contains: I shall therefore take that method which the law allows of proving my innocence, and of detecting and punishing his infamous slanders. 26th October, 1768.

"GEORGE HUSON."

An advertisement also appeared, of the same date, signed "Bridget Knapp," indignantly repudiating the imputation cast on her character by Keogh, and calling on the magistrates who had received a sworn information from Keogh in the matter to return it in proper form, in order that the case should come before the grand jury, "so as that the whole transaction may undergo a free and legal course of inquiry," and "the unspeakable villainy of the contrivers be seen in its true light."

I believe the affair terminated here; at all events, I have been unable to find anything more about it.

lodge established in Kilkenny, warrant No. 642, from the grand lodge of Ireland, was opened in apartments at this inn. But a rival "Red Lion," was opened at the other side of the town in 1768, when Robert Johnston announced, in "Finn's Leinster Journal," of Saturday, January 30th, that he had fitted up a house in John-street as an inn, with the sign of "The Red Lion;" and, the locality being near the old infantry barrack, intimated that he expected large patronage, but "in particular from the gentlemen of the army." The John-street "Red Lion" does not appear to have ever attained the celebrity of its Coal-market namesake, which had a more important competitor in its immediate neighbourhood, in "The George," kept by Roger Meighan, and which, from the following advertisement appearing in a subsequent issue of the same newspaper, would seem to have been a respectable establishment:—

"**G**— Mr. Meighan begs leave to inform the gentlemen, that the Ordinary on the Race Week will be at his house, at the sign of the George, in Coal-market, on Thursday the 7th, and Saturday the 9th July, 1768."

A more ancient "George Inn" existed in the Irishtown; but before the period referred to it appears to have been given up, as the premises, in an advertisement in 1768, of the property of a bankrupt named Gregory Newman, tanner, include that person's interest in "a house, formerly the George Inn, with a stable, malt-house, and yard in Irishtown." There was also at the time a minor inn of some repute in Coal-market, known as "The Eagle," kept by a person named Proctor. The house, still known as the "Eagle Inn," is situated between Evans'-lane and the ancient residence of the Rothe family, modernly termed "Wolf's Arch." "The Royal Arms," in John-street, bore on its sign-board, in my memory, the date 1800; but this would appear to have been but a revival of a former inn of the same or a kindred name, as "The King's Arms" is mentioned amongst the houses in arrear of "ministers' money" in St. John's parish, in 1770, in a document already alluded to, and is also frequently referred to in the columns of the newspaper then published in Kilkenny. It was kept at that time by Patrick Butler, and the premises must have been spacious, as many large public entertainments appear to have been given there. Among the announcements concerning "The King's Arms," in the "Leinster Journal," of 1768, is one referring to some festivities in the city, on the 20th of January, which states that—"At night George Ogle, Esq.,¹ gave a most elegant supper and ball, at the King's Arms, to a great number of the nobility and gentry of this city;" and on the 9th April, in allusion to the pending struggle for the representation

¹ The Right Hon. George Ogle, the celebrated politician and song-writer.

of the county of Kilkenny, after the passing of the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, when the previous representatives, the Right Hon. John Ponsonby, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and Mr. James Agar, a member of the Clifden family, were opposed, but unsuccessfully, in their re-election, by the great orator, Harry Flood, and the Hon. Edmund Butler, son to the Lord Mountgarret, it was intimated that "the friends of the Speaker and Mr. Agar intend dining at the King's Arms, in John-street, on Tuesday next, being the first day of the quarter sessions, to drink success to them and their election." Patrick Magennis, who appears to have re-opened this inn under a slightly changed designation, in 1800, had for a long time previously served John, Earl of Ormonde, as butler at Kilkenny Castle.

Another person, still remembered by his familiar appellation of Tom Clayton, who had been in the service of the same Earl of Ormonde, as his Lordship's valet, was for many years proprietor, although not the founder, of an establishment in Kilkenny, whose convivial repute was long famous in song and story throughout Great Britain and Ireland—not an inn, but a tavern, known as "The Hole-in-the-Wall." This tavern was the great supper-house of Kilkenny, at the end of the last and beginning of the present century, and was particularly patronized by John Butler, Earl of Ormonde, both before the period of his being restored to the peerage, when he was familiarly known as "Jack of the Castle," and after the revival of the ancient family title and honours in his person. The social habits of the times favoured the assemblage of parties every evening in taverns; no man spent the early portion of the night at home, but was to be found, during certain hours, amongst a certain club or company at "The Hole-in-the-Wall" and such like establishments, where they usually drank deep, and sometimes played high. The Earl of Ormonde of the day, as I have said, was a special patron of his former servitor, and so partial to the suppers which were provided at Tom Clayton's establishment, that he seldom missed a night's attendance there, and even habitually brought the company which had dined with him in the Castle to sup at "The Hole-in-the-Wall;" and under such auspices Tom Clayton's guests were numerous in the extreme, and generally of the most respectable standing in society: different classes and sections, however, having their respective rooms appropriated for the sittings of the coterie to which each belonged. Any one who may now inspect the premises wherein this once famous tavern flourished, must be astonished that so mean a building, and one so limited in size, could have ever had such a name and so high a patronage and "call." A narrow alley, fifty feet long, by six in width, opens under an archway between two houses in High-street, directly opposite the entrance to St. Mary's church; and at the end of this *cul-de-sac*, with the gable end presented to the passage which it blocks up,

the width of the approach leaving scarcely more than room for the door of admission, is a small two-storied building, which appears to have been originally a store or outhouse, a use to which it has now again returned, of one of the proprietors of the two shops in the street between which the alley opens. It was, however, made sufficiently comfortable within, with the aid of the good cheer which its kitchen and cellar afforded, to attract its nightly visitants in such numbers, that many persons living remember to have seen the narrow approach almost completely blocked up with the sedan-chairs, in which the company were ordinarily conveyed thither in wet weather.¹ The name given to the establishment was descriptive enough of its entrance through the street archway; but whether it had the honour of being the original "Hole-in-the-Wall," or had merely appropriated a title in use elsewhere, I cannot say. The name, at all events, is one since of very general application, and there are at present, according to the writer of a recent paper, under the title of "Signs of the Times," in "Chamber's Edinburgh Journal," no fewer, if I recollect the number rightly, than seven "Holes-in-the-Wall" in as many different parts of London; whilst there are, perhaps, few of the good people of Dublin who are unacquainted with the refreshment house, under that title, of Mrs. Nancy Hand, adjoining the Phoenix Park, to the rere of the Vice-regal Lodge. Historic names amongst the members of the Irish senate and bar, and dignitaries of the state, might be enumerated in the list of those occasionally forming the supper parties of the Earl of Ormonde in the Kilkenny "Hole-in-the-Wall;" those of Harry Flcod and Henry Grattan, Sir Hercules Langrishe and Sir Jonah Barrington, John Toler, Solicitor-General, afterwards Lord Norbury, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Peter Burrowes, afterwards Commissioner of Insolvency, are particularly mentioned; and we have the testimony of the great Captain of the age himself to the fact of his having taken part in those re-unions. The late much beloved and regretted Marquis of Ormonde, when presiding at one of the meetings of this Society, mentioned the effect of a conversation which the Duke of Wellington had had with him a short time

¹ The author of the "Philosophical Survey," writing in 1775, remarks of Kilkenny:—"It is much frequented by the neighbouring gentry as a country residence; has a stand of nine sedan chairs; and is not without the appearance of an agreeable place." Thus it would seem that, at the period, a town's importance was estimated by the number of its public sedan-chairs, a mode of conveyance which has since altogether been disused. Some thirty years since four or five sedan-chairs were still upon "the stand," in Kilkenny, at the Thoisel;

but they gradually diminished in number, till the last disappeared in the year 1840, on the occasion of the removal from the city of an old lady who alone had continued to patronize such a means of conveyance when she went abroad to pay visits, or to her devotions on the sabbath—a Mrs. Gore, widow of a previous proprietor of "The Sheaf." Some of the older citizens can still remember seeing the judges conveyed to court in sedan-chairs, at assizes' times, in Kilkenny. The sheriffs now always provide carriages for the judges at assizes.

before his Grace's death, respecting the agreeable recollection that he entertained of his sojourn in Kilkenny, at an early period of his military career, when serving on the staff in Ireland, and referring particularly to the pleasant supper parties at which he had met Lord Ormonde's grandfather at "The Hole-in-the-Wall." "I believe," observed the Marquis, "those were times in which it was the habit to sit late and prolong the festivity?" The Duke replied, in his characteristic manner,—"No, no; no dissipation, no dissipation."¹ The Great Duke's testimony notwithstanding, I must say the prevailing tradition is opposing in its evidence; and the character under which the tavern lives in song, even making due allowance for poetic hyperbole, supports the tradition—

" If ever you go to Kilkenny,
Remember 'The Hole-in-the-Wall.'
You may there get blind drunk for a penny,
Or tipsy for nothing at all."²

¹ "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society," for the year 1852 vol ii., part i., page 114, note.

² The number of duels which arose from quarrels occurring in their cups, amongst those frequenting "The Hole-in-the-Wall" in the olden time, also supports the tradition of the dissipation indulged in at that tavern; although, doubtless, the prevalence of duelling at that period under any circumstances should be made due allowance for. Some of the "meetings" occasioned by disputes in "The Hole-in-the-Wall" were most melancholy in their results, and arose from the most trifling grounds of disagreement. That in which two estimable citizens, M'Cartney and Young, shot each other, and died—one on the spot, and the other within less than an hour after his removal from the fatal scene—may be particularly referred to. M'Cartney was an apothecary, and a general favourite, from his joviality, ready wit, and kindness of disposition. Young was a hat-manufacturer—a man of much more grave and sedate deportment, but universally respected for his uprightness and amiability of character. They were both members of the local corps, known as the "Kilkenny Legion;" and in the year 1798, an alarm having been given that an insurgent force was marching on their city from Freshford, the "Legion" was ordered out to reconnoitre the various roads leading into the town from that direction. M'Cartney and Young happened to be doing duty

together; and after their return, without encountering any foe, they met at night, amongst a numerous company at "The Hole-in-the-Wall," where a quarrel arose between them on the question, whether a pitchfork sticking in a load of furze, which they had encountered during their day's patrol, might or might not have been a pike! The fatal meeting, to which they adjourned directly from the tavern, took place at Archer's Grove. An equally trifling cause of difference—a mere joke about a lump of sugar—led to the hostile encounter in which Barnaby Prim shot Lewis Watters. Watters had mixed the materials for their night's potation. One of the company declared that it was not sweet enough, whereupon Watters observed that he had put in a considerable quantity of sugar. Prim, who affected waggey, ventured on a bad pun, suggesting that "the sugar had lost its sweetness in coming in contact with Watters." This was resented as a personal affront, reflecting on the family name and credit of the subject of the poor joke, who immediately "sent a message" to its perpetrator. Every explanation was offered, but no apology would be accepted for the supposed insult. Watters was a professed duellist, who had frequently before "winged" his man. Prim had never discharged a pistol in his life. The former was a smart, dapper little person; the latter a man of great stature and corresponding bulk, who, under

However, men and manners have since undergone a complete revolution, and it is quite possible that much which would now be called dissipation would not strike many very estimable people in that light at the time the late Duke of Wellington was in Kilkenny; besides, it is but fair to say, that the character of the house, after the death of its noble patron in 1795, and as more domestic habits began to prevail in society, gradually sunk, till from the leading tavern of the city, frequented by peers, senators, and military magnates, it descended to the position of a public house of the lowest class, and ultimately the local authorities felt constrained to withdraw its license, and thus suppress the establishment as a public nuisance. But before it had thus descended to an infamous no-

these circumstances, was supposed to go to the ground a certain victim. They met at an early hour of the morning at Kilfera, and there, at the last moment, an effort was made to bring about a reconciliation; but Watters, who was an attorney, indignantly complained of such useless waste of time, observing that he had taken his seat for Dublin by the morning coach, as he had a bill to file there, and if the proceedings were further retarded, he would lose his fare. They fired, and, contrary to all anticipation, Watters fell, and Prim was unharmed. It was a *naïve* remark made by one of the seconds at this duel, on seeing that his principal was shot through the brains, the ball entering at the eyebrow, which led to the saying still often used in Kilkenny: "What a narrow escape his eye had!" With the same duelling pistol with which his grand-uncle shot Lewis Watters, Mr. Arthur Prim, a pay-clerk under the Board of Works in the famine period, killed, in the defence of his trust, one of the band of robbers by whom he was murdered, on the 15th March, 1847. But, to revert to the quarrels in "The Hole-in-the-Wall," one is still remembered occurring nearly half a century earlier than either of those above referred to, which, although not ending in a duel, is tragic enough in its character, and affords another curious illustration of the habits and manners of the times. In the middle of the last century, a Mr. Davis, of Bonnetsrath, a highly respectable gentleman, and a man of considerable property, had two sons, named James and Charles—wild, dissolute young fellows, who, living beyond the means allowed them by their father, became connected with a gang of high-

waymen, and took part in their robberies. They were long under suspicion before any legal proof of their delinquency was forthcoming; but they frequented the taverns of Kilkenny, and took part in the proceedings of the company which they chanced to meet on such occasions, without being challenged or objected to. On one night, however, one of the Davis's had a difference, at "The Hole-in-the-Wall," with a member of the company, named Watters; they came to blows, but were separated by their companions, and Watters left the room. It was supposed he had gone to find "a friend," to "take a message" to his opponent; but, instead of adopting that course, Watters contrived to possess himself of a table-knife, with which he lurked in the hall till Davis was leaving the house, when he rushed upon him, and inflicted a severe wound on his face, observing, as he did so, "You will carry that mark to the gallows." Not many months after, at the Kilkenny spring assizes, 1756, the two Davis's were brought to trial for complicity in the robbery of the house of a Mr. Lovett, at Purcell's Inch, in the liberties of the City of Kilkenny, and having been convicted on clear testimony, were sentenced to be hanged. (See "Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society," vol. iii., page 319.) When the melancholy procession was wending from the city gaol to St. John's Green, the place of execution, Watters took up a position on a doorstep in John-street, and, as the wretched culprits walked past him in the midst of their escort, he shouted—"Davis, I told you you'd bring *that* mark to the gallows!"

riety, during the days when tavern conviviality was still deemed respectable, if not any longer actually fashionable, the business of various public institutions was commonly discharged at meetings of the managing committees held at "The Hole-in-the-Wall," with an ample supply of "mine host's" decanters on the table to aid their deliberations. Thus the "Charitable Society," founded in the year 1740, for the relief of bedridden tradesmen, or their wives, and the "Benevolent Society," established in 1785, for the same humane purpose as regarded the labouring class of the town, had their special apartment at "The Hole-in-the-Wall" for the weekly assembly of members to discharge the business of the societies, in connexion with a jollification on their own account. The meetings of the societies in those days were much more numerously attended than at the present, where all is business, and no symposium follows.¹ When the character of the tavern was failing, the Charitable and Benevolent Societies withdrew their patronage, and removed their sittings to the house to which a Mrs. Purdue, who had for a short time succeeded Clayton in the proprietorship of "The Hole-in-the-Wall," had transferred her management. But before its fame had altogether fled, "The Hole-in-the-Wall" was not merely noted for its suppers; its breakfasts were also highly esteemed, and one of them has been wedded to verse, to which I would wish—for the sake of the

¹ It is right to say, that there could have been no deep drinking during the discharge of the actual business of the Charitable and Benevolent Societies at their weekly meetings at the tavern. The hour of meeting was 8 o'clock, P.M., and at 9 o'clock the president of the night called for the bill, when each member paid sixpence, out of which "the reckoning" was discharged, and the balance went in aid of the societies' funds. Business was then at an end, and anyone who chose might retire; but all who wished—and they were usually the entire meeting—might remain and drink as much as they thought proper to call and pay for on their own account. Each member, no matter of what degree, took the chair in turn; and thus, on one night, the Hon. and Very Rev. Joseph Burke, Dean of Ossory, might be seen presiding; on the next meeting night, perhaps, the Right Rev. Dr. Langigan, the learned Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese, took the chair; whilst the president of the ensuing meeting might be the humblest trader or tradesman in the town—his being a subscriber being the only necessary qualification. Good-will and kindly feeling amongst

men of various social grades and different shades of political and religious opinion was promoted by those sittings. At the later meetings of these charitable associations in the "Hole-in-the-Wall," something of the character of a debating society—but in which political or sectarian topics were avoided—was given to their assemblies, advantage being taken of the opportunity of discussing a question as to a breach, real or imaginary, of the rules of the societies, for making speeches, and some cleverness was displayed in these debates. One of the leading speakers on such occasions was the late John Banim, then a very young man, and as yet unknown in the character in which he afterwards took such a leading position, as a writer of fiction. His surviving brother, and literary collaborateur, Mr. Michael Banim, is at present, I understand, engaged on, and I hope will shortly publish, a tale likely to illustrate most interestingly the nights at "The Hole-in-the-Wall" with the Charitable and Benevolent Societies, and many other curious traits in the habits and manners of the Kilkenny folk in the days of his early youth.

picture it presents of the habits of the day—to give such immortality as its being printed in the pages of this Society's "Journal" can confer upon it. I must premise that it owes its origin to the arrangement made amongst themselves, about the year 1807 or 1808, by a number of young men—perhaps not one of whom, at the time, had reached his majority—who were members of the local volunteer corps, known as "The Kilkenny Legion," to form a "Breakfast Club." They assembled on one morning of each week for a little practice, in addition to their ordinary musters with the rest of the corps for drill. They fired at a mark, the arrangement being, that he who made the worst practice paid for a breakfast for all, which was previously ordered at the tavern, in anticipation of the result, and he who numbered the most hits within the circle was the hero of the feast. The breakfasts were given at the chief tavern of the city, and thus one who partook of a feast of the kind sung of its glories:—

" THE BREAKFAST CLUB.

"I sing—O Muse, assist the lay!—
The pastime of that merry day
When last our Club assembled, gay,
For Breakfast.

" Falstaff,¹ to thee the lot did fall—
Thine was the luck to pay for all;
So we met at the noted Hole-i'-the-Wall
To Breakfast.

"A fuller meeting never yet,
Nor droller chaps, nor hungrier set,
Since first our Club together met
To Breakfast.

"Brave Falstaff at the head was placed,
An ancient elbow-chair he graced;
The rest sat round—fifteen at least,
To Breakfast.

"And now, 'tis expectation round,
How teeth did water, hearts did bound,
As the waiters' steps up stairs did sound
With Breakfast.

" And quick two waiters bless our eyes,
With two tureens of monstrous size;
Twelve pounds of beef-steak ready lies
For Breakfast.

¹ Mr. John (more likely to be recognised as "Jack") Rutledge, subsequently the proprietor of the "Kilkenny Bazaar and Livery Stables," well known in the

earlier portion of the present century for his eccentricities and convivial habits, and dubbed "Falstaff" by his familiars from his excessive corpulency.

"Nor long they lay—they vanished quick.
Then Falstaff cries, 'Come hither, Mick!'
We shan't at beef-steaks always stick
For Breakfast.

"The pot of tripe I ordered, bring:
Tripe is a most delicious thing!
Whatever else you have, fetch in
For Breakfast."

"Then straight, at his command, were brought
Two platters large with tripe o'erfraught,
Which also vanished, quick as thought,
For Breakfast.

"Mutton kidneys next the board supplies;
A turkey, cold, of pretty size;
Six dozen eggs salute our eyes,
For Breakfast.

"Numberless plates of toast were spread
From foot of table to the head,
With prints of butter, loaves of bread,
For Breakfast.

"Oh! what a scene for Hogarth's view—
What scope for Hogarth's pencil too,
Could he see what those heroes do
At Breakfast!

"But, oh! what painting could express
(And words can do a great deal less),
To show how they devoured this mess
For Breakfast?

"O Harry, jun.,³ Edmonds,³ Louis,⁴
To treat of thy amazing prowess
What pen can write, what painting show us,
At Breakfast.

¹ Mick Scott was the name of the head-waiter at "The Hole-in-the-Wall," a famous humourist in his day. He had a crooked mouth, which gave an irresistibly ludicrous expression to his features when perpetrating a *bon mot*.

² The late Colonel Henry Anderson, superintendent of the invalid and infantry department, Fort Pitt, Chatham, who, shortly after the period of "the Breakfast," entered the Kilkenny Militia as an ensign, and having soon received a commission in the 68th Regiment, was present at the action at Merxem, the bombardment of Antwerp, the attack

on Bergem-op-zoom, and the general engagements at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, at which latter great battle he was severely wounded. He died in 1860, being, perhaps, the last survivor of the Breakfast Club. Amongst his youthful associates, this gallant officer was known as "Harry, jun.," to distinguish him from his cousin, Mr. Henry Anderson, sen., who was afterwards for many years consecutively one of the sheriffs of the city of Kilkenny.

³ The late Mr. James Edmonds, of Larch Hill, who died in 1854.

⁴ The late Mr. Louis Anderson, bro-

170

"O famous gormandising trio,
If you were absent how we'd sigh, oh!
What fragments would be then put by, oh!
At Breakfast.

"Nor, Watters," be thy fame unsung,
Nor Blakeney,¹ who the bell oft rung—
You play'd your parts, the lads among,
At Breakfast,

"Nor shall thy jolly funny face
Be here forgot, victorious Grace!
Still wear thy laurels—sorrow chase,
At Breakfast.

"Paris,² Jack Prim,³ and all the rest,
Whose talents we can well attest—
We'll set it down they did their best
At Breakfast.

"And then, as hunger would admit,
To hear the puns, the brilliant wit—
Belly and sides were nearly split
At Breakfast.

"Thy wit, O Falstaff, oft before
We've heard to make the table roar,
And now it resounded more and more,
At Breakfast.

"And thine, O Blakeney, funny wight,
Soul of good humour—thine, more bright,
Filled all our hearts with new delight,
At Breakfast.

"All, all contributed their share
To bring good humour, banish care,
And happier souls there never were
At Breakfast.

ther of "Harry, sen.," and, like him, one of the so-called "perpetual sheriffs" of Kilkenny. He died in 1847. Mr. Louis Anderson was himself the author of the lines which commemorate his "amazing prowess" at breakfast.

¹ The late Mr. William Watters, son of Mr. William Watters, then clerk of the peace for the city of Kilkenny.

² Mr. Peter Blakeney, then an apprentice to a solicitor in Kilkenny, and a great humourist. He left the locality soon after, and I know nothing of his subsequent career.

³ The late Mr. William Grace, for

many years registrar of the diocese of Ossory, whose strange, eventful history is locally well known. He was mayor of Kilkenny in 1835, and high sheriff of that city in 1846; and was murdered by a bushranger, in Van Dieman's Land, in the year 1855. The term "Victorious" is here applied from his having made the greatest number of "hits" at the target-practice of the morning.

⁴ The late Lieutenant Paris Anderson, of the Kilkenny Militia, brother of "Harry, sen.," and Louis.

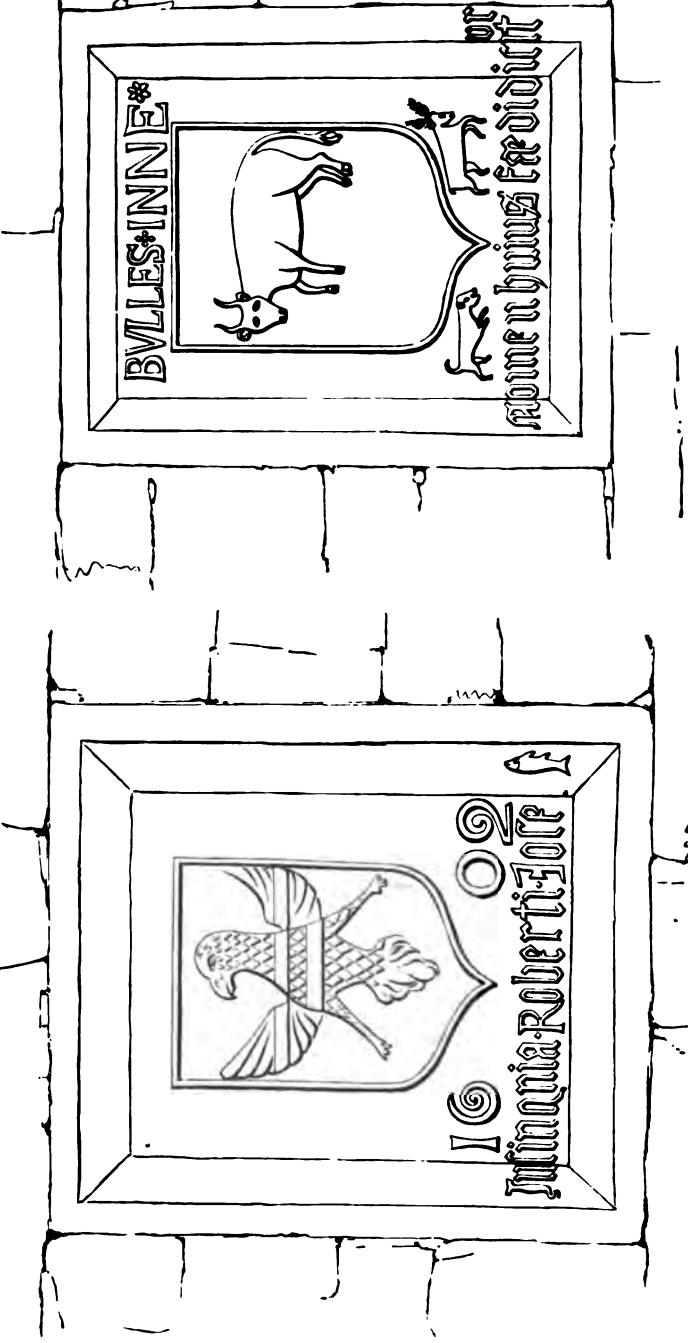
⁵ The late Mr. John Henry Prim, solicitor, who died in 1842.

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Sculptured Panels, Bull Inn, Tishtown, Kilkenny.

[Scale, one tenth of the original.]

"Health to you, Falstaff—ever may
 Such joy be yours, as was the day
 You lost and willingly did pay,
 The Breakfast.

"And often may we meet again;
 And may some worthier poet's pen
 Describe the joys experienced then,
 At Breakfast."

But the only existing remain of the earlier Kilkenny inns, from which we may judge of what their appearance, capacity, and pretension may have been, is the ruin of the "Bull Inn" in Irishtown. Of its internal arrangements we have no means of forming any accurate idea, as it has been unroofed, and all its doors and partitions removed as long as I can remember it; but externally it presented a high-pitched gable to the front, surmounted by a massive stone chimney. The door opened in the centre of the ground floor, but it has been modernly altered, and built up, and we can only conjecture that, in accordance with the style of the period, it originally was round-headed. At either side of the door was a large square window, divided by mullions into three compartments, and surmounted by a drip label. The second story also was lighted in the front by two square windows, each divided by a single mullion, being narrower but loftier than those below, and also having drip labels above. In the third story there were two narrow, flat-headed lights. To the rere the stone-framed windows were all extremely small in the ground floor, not being more than a foot square; but the stories above showed high, narrow, slit-like lights, of the character of, but not quite so large as, the two uppermost windows in the gable fronting the street. Between the two second-story windows in the street-front, two carved stone escutcheons present themselves, one charged with the arms of the builder, and the other displaying a rude representation of the animal from which the house took its name, and being, in fact, its sign.¹ The charge on the former escutcheon is an eagle displayed, over all two bendlets, with, at the base of the shield, the date 1602, and beneath, in old English letters, the inscription—*Rustagus Roberti Gose*. On the shield to the left, as I have said, a bull is carved, in relief, at the base there being a less prominent design, apparently intended to represent a dog pursuing

¹ I presume that stone signs of this kind were usual in the inns of the period in this country and in England. A friend of mine, who was in the town of Macclesfield, in Cheshire, in the year 1841, had his attention attracted by a quaint-looking old house in the market-place, the front of which displayed three stone

escutcheons, two of them charged with the Royal Arms. On making inquiry as to the history of the building, an old inhabitant told him he remembered the house to have been an inn, known as "The King's Arms," and that the stone escutcheons were always looked upon as its signs. They bore the date 1621.

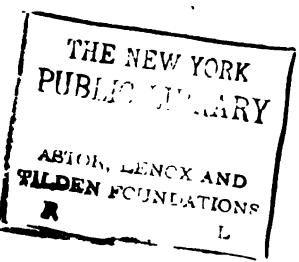
a deer. The inscription above the shield is, in Roman letters, **BULLES INNE**; and beneath, in old English characters, are words, in what schoolboys would term "bog Latin," reading thus—**nomen
hujus sedi dicitur.** This is obviously a bungle of the stone-cutter, who, from the mistake which he made in the word *insignia* in the other inscription, we have already seen can have known very little of Latin. He may, perhaps, have received instructions to cut the words "nomen hujus sedis dicitur," and, not understanding the language, made the mistake. If this interpretation of the intention of the founder of the establishment be correct, the inscription was meant to read, "Bull's Inn the name of this house is called," but, of course, this is a mere conjecture. In Burke's "General Armory," the coat given for the name of Joceys and Jocoyes is *argent*, an eagle displayed *sable*, over all a bend *gules*, nearly agreeing with the arms on the inn. Although I have been able to discover very little about Robert Jose, Joyse, or Joice, as his name is indifferently given in old documents, I can fortunately identify him as connected with the locality, and an improver of the Irishtown in another way beside the building of an inn. He appears to have been a clergyman, and a member of the Chapter of St. Canice's Cathedral, being, in fact, the prebendary of Kilmanagh, to which dignity he was collated on the 13th August, 1578. In 1614 he was procurator to the chapter, an officer modernly termed "the economist:" and in pursuance of the authority thus vested in him, he built the gate and flight of steps leading from Velvet-lane to the Cathedral cemetery, as appears by the inscription similarly cut on both faces of a stone over the gateway arch, so as to be read on either side as follows:—

Robertus Jose. procurator. hanc. Janum t' gratius. sumptibus. Ecclesie. adiuvauit. An'a. 1614.

The record of the Regal Visitation of the 13th of July, 1615, informs us of his age at the time, and the value of his benefices. It is as follows:—

Prebend de Kilmanowgh residens.	Robertus Joyse antiquus minister et statis oc- toginta annorum. Valoř 15 ^l . Tenet etiam Rec- toriam de Rathbeagh valoř viginti Mercarū, et vicariā de Rowar, valoris decem libraru.
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We are afforded still further information by the MS. **x. 3. 14. Trin. Coll. Dub.**, which, naming him Robert Jose, as in the inscriptions already copied, states, "hee is to have and hath ii dispensations; one for illegitimation [The other for a plurality of livings], Vicar of Kilmanagh, of the Rower, *et aliorum.*" Of course, as a cleric, Jose did not play the part of the host of the "Bulle's Inne;" but as he





THE BULL INN, IRISH TOWN, KILKENNY.

did not build it on the property of the Chapter, we must presume that it was a private speculation. The ground is part of the see-lands from which the Bishop of Ossory derived his revenue; and we must, in the absence of all documentary evidence—for I have been unable to discover anything of the kind—assume that Jose took a lease of the ground from the bishop of the day, and on it built the establishment which has since given name to the alley or street in which it was erected, for the purpose of setting it, to be used as an inn; and, being proud of his achievement in this respect, the founder of an inn appearing at the time, as I have before shown, to be deemed a public benefactor, he put up his armorial insignia, and inscribed his name thereon, to commemorate the exploit. I cannot find anything further connecting its founder with “The Bull,” unless that we may take it for granted—it is at least not improbable—that the inn was one of the two “stone houses” referred to in the following extract from the minute book of the Corporation of Irish-town, in 1603, the year after that in which the escutcheon bears date; the house in which he gave the dinner to the Corporation, too, is very likely to have been “The Bull,” for which James Archer may have been his tenant:—

“John Joyse and Pirs Joyse admitted freemē for the fine of 4*s.* ij*n.*
wax.

“The same tyme the pson Joyse, fath' to the sayd John and Pirse humbly made suite to the Portrive and Burgesses to admitt his children John and Pirse as free Burgesses and for the better inhabbling them thereto, he hath enfeoffed a stone house to ech of his sayd sons, and bestowed xx*s.* for a dynñ [a dinner] in James Archer his house uppō the Portrive and Burgesses.”

“The parson” seems to have traded in the taking of houses in various parts of Kilkenny, as I take him to be the “Robert Joyce” who, in 1610, was named in the minutes of the Corporation of Kilkenny as having obtained from that municipal body a lease, for 101 years, of “the moiety of a mease and half an orchard in the new Fryarn-street; at 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, with two hens, and other customs;” and in the Ormonde Rental a Mr. William Joyce is set down in 1703, as taking a fee-farm lease of a stone house, slated, with two small cabins in the court, in Pudding-lane, which had been formerly possessed by Robert Joyce. We have seen that he was a very old man in 1615, and he seems to have only survived a few years longer; for his prebend being vacant in the beginning of the year 1617-18, Abel Walsh was instituted thereto by the Crown. The name, in any of its forms of Jose, Joyse, or Joyce, no longer exists in connexion with house property in Kilkenny; and before the end of the century, and even while the sons of Robert may have been living, the proprietorship of the “Bull Inn” seems to have

lapsed to the head landlord, the bishop, and the premises themselves to have fallen into a ruinous state. Some of the stone window-frames, by their scaled appearance, exhibit tokens of having been subjected to the action of strong heat, and it is probable that the inn was one of the houses on the sea lands in Irishtown which Bishop Griffith Williams so bitterly complains of as having been burned during the Rebellion of 1641, and the ensuing struggle with Cromwell's soldiery. A transcript of a lease is preserved in the office of the registrar of the diocese, bearing date the 26th March, 1687, whereby Thomas [Otway] Lord Bishop of Ossory, "for and in consideration of the rents and reservations hereinafter expressed, as also for the laying out and disbursing of the sum of three score pounds sterling in the setting up of the ruins and repairing the house hereby demised," granted, set, and to farm let unto Francis Rowlidge, of Irishtown, near Kilkenny, gentleman, "all that, the stone house, with the ancient appurtenances, commonly called the Bull's Inne, in the Irishtown aforesaid," for the term of twenty-one years, the tenant agreeing to pay for the premises and five closes or parks in the west side of the Butts, within the burgagery of Irishtown, also included in the lease, "the yearly sum of seven pounds sterling, current and lawful money of England," and also binding himself and his successors, "at their own proper coet and charge, to build, repair, maintain, and uphold all the said stone house, stuf, staunch, and tenantable," a covenant which has been modernly neglected. The interest of Francis Rowlidge, or Rutlidge, in the premises seems to have passed to the Loughnan family, the present lessees of the premises, a renewal of the lease taken from the bishop by Mr. Connel Loughnan, of Irishtown, on the 3rd November, 1810, stipulating that the annual rent to be paid for the premises known as "The Bull Inn, in Bull-alley," should be £2 10s. From the smallness of the sum, we must presume that the old house was in ruins at the time, as it has been as long as I can remember it.

The accompanying engraving, from an accurate sketch made by the Rev. James Graves in the year 1841, will afford an idea of what the building is likely to have been when erected by the Rev. Robert Jose, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and what it actually was for many years lately, till the city grand jury, within the past twelvemonth, in widening the alley to which it gave name, also presented the old inn itself as a dangerous public nuisance, from the incline which the gable presented; and in order to prevent any evil consequences which might occur from its fall, took it down to within a few feet of the windows of the second story, in which mutilated condition it now remains.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 15th (by
adjournment from the 1st), 1862.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Most Hon. the Marquis of Westmeath; and the Rev.
William Gumley, Kilkenny : proposed by the Very Rev. the Dean
of Ossory.

The Hon. Mrs. Butler, Belvidere House, Sandymount, Dublin: proposed by John P. Prendergast, Esq.

Lieut.-Col. Villiers Latouche Hatton, J. P., Belmont, Wexford; Charles Tottenham, Esq., D.L., M.P., Ballycurry, Ashford, Co. Wicklow; Capt. Edward Tottenham Irvine, J.P., St. Aiden's, Ferns; Anthony J. Cliff, Esq., D. L., Belle Vue, Enniscorthy; Matthias Maher, Esq., J.P., Ballinkeale, Enniscorthy; the Rev. Charles Douglas Ogle, A.B., Clonmore Parsonage, Bree, Enniscorthy; Joseph Meadows, Esq., Wexford; William Cookman, Esq., M.D., J.P., Monart House, Enniscorthy; Capt. Lonsdale Pounden, J.P., Brownswood, Enniscorthy; George William Bolton, Esq., J.P., Coolbawn, Enniscorthy; Michael J. Carton, Esq., M.D., Coroner for North Wexford, Oulart; John Waddy, Esq., M.D., J.P., Clougheast Castle, Churchtown, Wexford; and Capt. Laurence Esmonde White, J.P., Newlands, Clohamon, Ferns: proposed by George C. Roberts, Esq.

Arthur Gerald Geoghegan, Esq., Collector of Inland Revenue, Londonderry; the Rev. Jeremiah Hogan, R.C.C., Wexford; James Craddock, Esq., Francis-street, Wexford; and Thomas Codd, Esq., Ringbawn, Kilmore, Wexford: proposed by Andrew Wilson, Esq.

Rowley C. Loftie, Esq., 13, Blessington-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. J. H. Reade.

William Patten, Esq., Sunday's Well, Cork: proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M.D.

William Trench Johnson, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 70, Harcourt-street, Dublin; and Jasper K. Joly, Barrister-at-Law, Esq., 38, Rathmines-road, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

W. G. Sheppard, Esq., Priorsland, Cabinteely; and G. H. Lowe, Esq., Solicitor, Coal-market, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. J. G. A. Prim.

Alderman John Buggy, Cantwell's-court, Kilkenny; and John P. Laffan, Esq., National Bank, Kilkenny: proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

, Mr. John Campion, Patrick-street, Kilkenny; proposed by J. G. Robertson, Esq.

The Treasurer's account for the year 1861 was laid before the Members by the Auditors, as follows:—

CHARGE.

1861.

	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. To balance in Treasurer's hands (see Vol. III., p. 346),	49 1 6½
Dec. 31. To Members' Subscriptions, including Special Subscriptions to Illustration Fund,	196 7 6
,, Life Compositions,	5 0 0
,, Subscriptions to "Annuary,"	2 0 0
,, Cash received from Members for extra Parts of "Journal," &c.	2 18 11
,, " " for Woodcuts sold,	1 17 6
,, Rent of land at Jerpoint,	1 0 0
	<hr/>
	£258 5 5½

DISCHARGE.

1861.

	£ s. d.
Dec. 31. By postage of "Journal,"	12 10 0
,, circulars and correspondence,	8 6 1
,, Illustrations of "Journal,"	12 14 3
,, Printing, paper, and binding of "Journal" for May, July, September, and November, 1860, and January and April, 1861,	125 9 8
,, General printing and stationery,	8 19 4
,, Petty cash account,	11 15 10
,, Books purchased,	6 0 6
,, Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey,	2 0 0
	<hr/>
Carried forward,	£187 15 8

DISCHARGE—*continued.*

		£ s. d.
1861.	<i>Brought forward,</i>	187 15 8
Dec. 31.	By Rent of Museum,	14 0 0
	“ Transcribing documents at State Paper Office,	7 7 0
	“ Balance in Treasurer’s hands,	<u>49 2 9½</u>
		<u>£258 5 5½</u>

Having examined the above Account with the vouchers, we find it correct, and that there is a balance of £49 2s. 9½d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

October 15, 1862.

J. G. ROBERTSON, }
P. A. AYLWARD, } Auditors.

On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Browne, seconded by Capt. Humfrey, it was resolved that the Report of the Auditors be adopted, and the accounts printed in the usual manner.

Mr. Graves reported that, although declining with sincere thanks the generous proposition of the Society to send him there free of expense, he had nevertheless joined the congress of archaeologists at Truro, and he should say that he had a very pleasant time of it. Independently of meeting many eminent men with whom he had from time to time corresponded, he felt bound to say that the attention and kindness of the Cornishmen to himself and the other strangers who attended the meeting, were most gratifying. As to the antiquities of the district, they were especially interesting to an Irish archaeologist; and he regretted very much that only two Irishmen were present—himself and Lord Dunraven. The stone forts, cromleacs, artificial caves (called in Cornwall *Fogou*), tumuli, and stone hut-circles of the aborigines, were, as might be expected, alike in both countries: but what chiefly attracted his attention was the fact that the stone huts and hut-circles were found clustered on the south-western hills and cliffs of England, just as we find them abounding on the western mountain sides and cliffs of Ireland. Here was proof that the race which built them, and fought in defence of them, were a race fighting against, and retreating before, an exterminating enemy, that they were finally driven across the Irish sea, found shelter in Ireland for a time, and were at last, it might be said, hurled over the cliffs of Kerry and Arran into the Atlantic. He thought it impossible for any one to stand on the Cornish and Kerry hills, and not have the same idea forced on him. He was glad to report to the meeting, that he had, on the part of this Society, established a friendly relationship and interchange of publications with the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. The publica-

tions of both had been presented to the Library so far as they were in stock. He trusted that the members present would ratify what he had done, and authorize the presentation of the "Journal" of the Society in return.

The interchange of publications with the associations named by Mr. Graves was unanimously approved of.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "Annual Reports" for 1838-46, 1848-61, and 1862, part 1; also "Notes on the Duchy Manors in Cornwall, and the Castles and Earth-works on them." By Henry M'Lauchlan, Esq.

By the Wilshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: "The Wilshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine," published under the direction of the Society, Nos. 1-2, 4-6, 11-21, all inclusive.

By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen: "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkeyndighed, &c., 1859," containing several papers on the ancient remains in the Duchy of Sleswick; "Inscriptions Runiques du Slesvig Méridional"—this treatise, by Professor C. C. Rafn, proves, that in the olden time old northern Danish (donsk tunga), was spoken in the Duchy of Sleswick to its very northern boundary; "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1850-60;" and the last published "Report" of the Society's Meeting, 1860-61.

By the Smithsonian Institution: its "Report" for the year 1857; also two pamphlets in defence of Dr. Gould, of the Dudley Observatory.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 7.

By the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: their "Proceedings," for the year 1860.

By the St. Alban's Architectural and Archaeological Society, the following tracts: "On some Roman Sepulchral Remains discovered in the church-yard of St. Stephen, near St. Alban's A.D. 1848," by M. Holbeche Bloxam: "Names of Places in Hertfordshire," by the Rev. H. Hall, M. A.: "The Martyrdom of St. Alban." Two papers read at a Meeting of the Society, being "Some Account of Relics preserved in a church at Cologne, considered to be part of the body of St. Alban;" and "Notice of a Bone Seal discovered at St. Albans;" "The Two Langleys," by Richard Gee, M.A.; and "Bricks and Brick-making," by the same author.

By the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 73 and 74.

By the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland: their "Journal," No. 21.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for August, September, and October, 1862,

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1014-27, inclusive.

By Mr. John O'Daly, Dublin: a transcript of a patent of the time of King James I., under the Commission for the Remedy of Defective Titles in Ireland, whereby was regranted to Richard Cosby, Esq., son and heir of Alexander Cosby., Esq., deceased, and nephew and male heir of Francis Cosby, Esq., deceased, the site and ambit of the Friery of Stradbally, the town of Stradbally, and a great number of townlands in the Queen's County. There was no date, the transcript being imperfect at the end. Also a number of ancient coins, including brasses, in good preservation, of Claudius Caesar and Nero, and some gun-money of James II.

By A. G. Geoghegan, Esq., on the part of Mr. John Bold: a flint arrow and spear-head, a large white glass bead, and an iron arrow-head. Also a curious but not very ancient Norwegian sailor's knife, and an impression in wax of an ancient thumb-ring of base silver, found at Mullaghadda, in the barony of Boylagh, bearing the device of a spread eagle or raven.

Mr. Bold had given to Mr. Geoghegan the following particulars relative to the articles presented:—

"I duly received your letter, and would have replied to it, ere this, but on sailing last week to Rutland Island, to consult with Bartly O'Boyle (the oldest inhabitant of the Rosses) on sundry particulars connected therewith, I found that the patriarch had departed in his yawl, to visit the Rev. Daniel O'Donnell of Kinkaslough. I accordingly left word that I wanted to see him; and this morning he came, accompanied by his private secretary (Eman Mac Devitt Mac Daid), who wrote down Bartly's directions as to the names of the places, &c., connected with the raid of the celebrated Grain na Uile into The Rosses.

"It appears that the chieftainess, after her visit to Queen Elizabeth, sailed northwards from Chester, and coasted the shores of Donegal on her way to Carrig a Hooley, in Mayo. On coming to Bessiskeign, in the Rosses, she steered in a long galley through Clogh Bannagh (two large rocks off Innisfree), to the sound of Islan Gollawn, a narrow channel between a reef of rocks, through which the tides rush like a mill-race. From thence she proceeded to Lackbeg, a fine sloping surface of flagstone, running from the mainland into the sea, in fact, a natural causeway; here she landed her men, who commenced ravaging the Rosses, in scattered parties.

"Meantime 'the country' gathered in force; and on Grace's embarking with the main body, they ('the country') fell on a detached party cumbered with spoil, cattle, &c., at Lackinagh, which means, according to Eman, the "flagstone of shrieking," and killed them all; one of Grace's men (Ruah), a red-haired pirate, got his back against a large rock, and slew several of the Mac Swines with his sword, and wounded others, and stood at bay amid a circle of foes, until one Hugh O'Boyle climbed up the back of the rock and threw down a large stone, which crushed him 'like a crab,' and the rest, darting in, finished him.

"Another small party were overtaken at Traigh na Corrawn (the strand of the hook or sickle), getting into boats to board the galley, from which more men were sent off to assist them. Some of these 'the country' killed; but the 'Connaught Rangers' stood to their arms like desperate men; and the aforesaid 'country,' having by this time got enough of it, like sensible fellows retreated; and the Ban Tierna, seeing this, recalled her boats, hoisted sails, and bore away south, round Glenn Head, and never again revisited The Rosses.

"Skulls and bones are often found to this day on, or in the sands, where the last skirmish took place; and the iron arrow-head which I sent you was found in a crevice of the rocks at Isalan Gollawn, through which Grace's galley sailed in her passage to the landing place at Lackbeg.

"All those events came off in the townland of Rutland, barony of Boylagh, county Donegal; and, although so many years have passed since this raid occurred, it is astonishing how vivid the recollection of it remains in the Rosses; and were you listening to Bartly O'Boyle, you would imagine that it was a faction fight of recent date he was narrating, and not an onslaught of nigh some three hundred years ago.

"The flint arrow and spear head were both found at the old fort of Dun Brennan, townland Dooey, barony Boylagh in county Donegal.

"The glass bead and small stone were picked up in Dooey sand-hills: what the latter was intended for (if ever intended for anything), I know not.

"I am happy to tell you that Bartly and his secretary really enjoyed their dinner, and a horn or two of malt after it; and in the evening they departed in their fast curragh, in great spirits, at half ebb, with a flowing sheet, and wind and tide serving well, and the last glimpse I got of them proved they were making good way to their island home."

By the Rev. Albert B. James, Ballynoe House, Rathlin Island: a rubbing from a monumental slab, lying in the churchyard of that island. The inscription in raised Roman capitals, was as follows:—

HIC. IACET. IACOB
V. S. BODIVS. AND
R E M E . L I S M O R :
E P I S C O P I . F I L I V S
C V M . V X O R E .
C H R I S T I N A . C A
M P R E B E L L A . Q U I .
O B I I T . N O N O D I E
D E C E M B : . A N
N O . D O M : 1665.

Mr. James stated that Andrew Boyd, Bishop of Argyle and Western Isles, was the natural son of Thomas, fifth Baron Boyd. He had been Prebendary of Glasgow, and was translated to the See of Argyle in 1613. He succeeded John Campbell in the bishopric, and died in 1637. The rubbing was admirably executed.

By P. Cody, Esq., J. P.: a penny token, struck by Peter Knaresborough, of Waterford, in 1671. The obverse bore a lion rampant, the arms of Knaresborough.

By Mr. D. Carrigan: a gun-money half crown of James II., struck in May, 1690, in admirable preservation.

By Dr. J. T. Campion: a silver groat of Elizabeth; and a penny token, struck by Michael Wilson, Dublin.

By Mr. Lawless: an old bill and receipt, from Mrs. Catherine Finn, proprietress of the "Leinster Journal" newspaper, to Robert Blake, Esq., Patrick-street, city of Kilkenny, bearing date 8th December, 1780, from which it appeared that the annual subscription for that publication up to 1774 was 8s. 8d., and from 1774 to 1780 it was 13s. per annum.

By Miss Fanny Prim, Ennisnagg: three play-bills of the famous Kilkenny Amateur Theatricals, for the 14th October, 1805, and the 17th and 20th October, 1810.

By J. G. Robertson, Esq.,: drawings of a gable cross and holy-water stoup, from the ruins of St. Michael's Church, Damagh, near Kilkenny. He mentioned in connexion therewith a curious custom observed by the peasantry of the district. On the patron-day, which is observed on the Sunday next after Michaelmas-day, the graves in the church-yard, being denuded of their usual grassy covering, are carefully sanded over by the relatives of the deceased, there being a rivalry as to who shall have the finest sand for the purpose, and that material being, therefore, often brought from very considerable distances. Mr. Robertson mentioned that on the occasion of his visit, last Michaelmas day, the dressing of the graves of the Kerwick family appeared to have excited the largest amount of admiration. He had, on a previous occasion, called the attention of the Society to the circumstance that a similar custom prevailed with respect to the graves in the neighbouring church-yard of Ballycallan on the patron day, the festival of St. Brigid.

Mr. Prim, on the part of T. L. Cooke, Esq., Parsonstown, exhibited a very curious old vellum-covered MS. volume, accompanied by the following explanatory remarks, sent by Mr. Cooke:—

"I send for inspection by the Society a small manuscript book 6½ inches by 3, bound in vellum, which was found a few years ago at Cloghan Castle, in the King's County. It looks as if the writer of the MS. either really was the originator of Moore's Almanack, so well known as a collection of prophetic absurdities, or that he was at all events entitled to compete with his worthy namesake. The title of the MS. is 'Garett Moore, his Almanack & Pockett Book, without beginning & without end 1699.' It contains rules for using a new perpetual 'card' or almanack, and similar matters; also quack receipts, and obscene ribaldry."

"At page 32 is drawn a quadrant, and between pp. 32 and 33 are

inserted the 'cards' to which the rules refer; they are circular, drawn on two pieces of strong vellum, 4 inches in diameter. One is signed 'Solomon Grisdall,' the other 'Garett Moore, An. 1699.' At p. 34-5 are field notes of a survey and a map of Oxmantown Green, Dublin.

"At page 30 occurs the following quatrain:—

"If any now offended be
with him, I say, y^t pend it;
Lett him, I pray, wi^tout delay,
goe take his pen & mend it.

"Garett Moore Philomath & Almanack Maker lately come from Germany after a very tedious study."

"But the greatest novelty, and certainly one which, if true, would be invaluable to an assassin, is the entry on p. 37, of which the following is a copy:—

"A SECRETT TO MAKE BULLETTS THAT WILL SCATTER LIKE SHOTT.—First, take one ounce of lead, and soe much of salamoniack as you can take between two fingers, and one ounce of quick Silver, melt all together and make bulletts—one bullett will doe execution in nature of shott.

"How to MAKE POWDER THAT WILL MAKE NO REPORT.—Take a charge of powder and putt itt in a pair of scales, and mix it with the like quan-
tity of burned alum, then charge y^t gun or pistol."

"In some parts of the book there are entries relating to the repairs of Cloghan Castle,¹ and the survey of townlands in the neighbourhood. Hence, as Cloghan Castle, which was then part of the county Galway, but is now included in the King's County, was granted to Garrett Moore (not O'More), in 1683, it is not improbable but that the writer of this MS. almanack in 1699, was the patentee of that and many other lands in several counties embraced in the same patent.

Mr. Graves said, that whilst looking over this very curious book, he had observed an entry which is worth giving, as it throws

¹ Cloghan Castle, and all the townlands about it in the territory of Lusmagh, were formerly part of the, district Siol Amnchadha, the country of O'Madden; and, as such, formed a portion of the barony of Longford, and county of Galway, although separated by the river Shannon from the rest of that district. The *territory* of Lusmagh has long been taken from Galway, and annexed to the barony of Garry Castle, in the King's County. It is improperly called the *parish* of Lusmagh on the Ordnance Map; for the parish of that name forms but a part of the *territory* of the same denomination, the remainder of which is composed of the parish of Kilmacunna, and part of the parish of Meelick, of

which the main body lies on the opposite or Galway side of the Shannon. Donell O'Madden (son of John) was the last chief who ruled Siol Amnchadha according to the old Irish system. In his time (A. D. 1595), Cloghan Castle was summoned to surrender to Sir William Russell, the Lord Deputy. The bold answer of the garrison was, that they would not surrender, even though all the private soldiers besieging them were Deputies. The castle was, therefore, set on fire the 12th of March, and its defenders either burned therein or put to the sword. Upwards of 140 persons of the O'Maddens were killed on that occasion. The O'Madden lands were forfeited during the war of 1641.

some light on its owner's identity. It occurred at p. 54, and was as follows:—

“Wee Edward Croe of Tullynedaly in the County of Galway, Esq., and Jasper Ousley of Doonmore in y^e said County Gen^t. doe by these p'sents for vs our Ex^{ors} ad^m and assignes Demise Release and for ever Quit Claime vnto Garrett Moore of Cloonbigny in the County of Roscommon Gen^t. and Bridgett Bodkin als Moore of Cloonbigny afore ⁴ their heires Ex^{ors} and adm^m all and all manner of actions, cause and causes of actions, Challenges and demandes wth wee or either of vs have to or against the s^d Bridgett Bodkin als Moore and the s^d Garrett Moore or either of them on the acc^u of Carronroe or any other acc^u whatsoever from the beginning of the World to the aforesaid day of May 1702. In witness where of wee have hereunto sett our hands and seales this sixteenth day of October 1704.

“Being p'sent,

“EDWARD BROWN,

“DANIELL SURREIDGE.

ED : CROW.

JASPER OUSLEY.”

There was also, at p. 87, an agreement to abide by an award of arbitrators in a case of dispute about tithes between Captain Roger O'Shaugnessy and Mrs. Allice Moore, dated April 10th, 1700; witnessed, *inter alios*, by “Ga: Moore.” At p. 88, the following curious entry, bearing on the value of stock and money, occurred:—

“June 14, 1703. Bought then of Dermott Carrony two dry Cowes for one pound eleuen shillings, one of them being a branded Cow and one brown heffer, the same day bought from him one black melsh Cow with a Cow Calfe for one pound, he is to find graseing for the s^d melsh Cow vntill May next in consideration of the milke wth he is to have. He is obliged to give me six shill for the Calfe next may if it be my choise or if any thing happens the s^d Calfe, he is to find graseing for the dry Cowes vntill Micaselmas next.

“The particulars of the mony p^d him:—

One ginn. att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	03	0
2 plate Cobes att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	09	6
2 Milled Crownes att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	10	10
1 perru Cob att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	04	06
1½ plate att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	02	04½
1 Scotch shiff att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	00	10
One ½ penny att,	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	00	00½

£2 11 1

“The sum, 2 11 0

“Over paid, 00 00 1

The items relative to the Castle of Cloghan alluded to by Mr. Cooke, occurred at p. 130, and were as follows:—

" Led for the Castle of Cloghan. The Norwest flanker 6 foot long and 3 foot in breadth.

" South west flanker 3 foot long 3 foot breadth.

" Nor est & South est each flanker is 6 foot long and 3 in breadth, 4 pipes for the 4 flanke, each pipe 2½ foot long and 13 inches in breadth. A sheet of 5 foot long and 3 foot in breadth will make y^e pipes."

At p. 46, was the following meteorological entry:—

" On the 20th of May 1704 fell a shower of Blood in the Est side of the Suberbs of the town of Loughreagh in y^e County of Galway w^{ch} was visible on the stones and dockes for a good while after."

It may also be of interest to some persons to give the headings of "the Use and Explanations" of the circular card almanack inserted in the book:—

" 1st. To finde y^e key day and leape yeare for euer.

" 2d. To finde y^e Epact for euer.

" 3d. To know y^e number of each month & ye day of ye month for euer.

" 4th. To know y^e Age of y^e Moon for euer.

" 5th. To find Easter for euer, and consequently all ye mouable feasts.

" 6th. To find y^e begining & end of y^e Law Terms for euer.

" 7th. To find y^e Immoveable feasts & other Emenent dayes for euer.

" 8th. To find the Suns rising & setting with y^e length of y^e day and night for euer.

" 9th. To find y^e Suns place in the Ecliptick any day for euer.

" 10th. To find y^e time of y^e moones southing any day for euer.

" 11th. To find how long y^e moon shines any night or morning for euer.

" 12th. To find y^e time of heigh water for euer at certain places named [63 in number, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and on the Continent.]

" 13th. To find y^e moons riseing and setting any time of her shineing for euer.

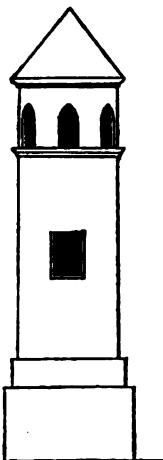
There are also, at pp. 22–30, rules—

To find y^e Golden Number. To find y^e dominical letters for euer. To know when it is Leap year for euer. To find y^e Roman Indiction for euer.

The following paper was sent by Mr. Hodder M. Westropp, Rookhurst, Cork; by whom also the illustrative woodcut had been presented to the Society:—

" Mr. Fergusson, in his 'Handbook of Architecture,' remarks that Dr. Petrie's argument with regard to the round towers only removes the difficulty one step further back, as he does not attempt to show whence the Irish obtained this very remarkable form of tower, and adds, that any one who has seen the towers must feel that there is still more room for any amount of speculation regarding such peculiar monuments. In reading De Caumont's 'Cours d'Antiquites Monumentales,' vol. vi., I have

been struck with a remarkable analogy between the Irish round tower and what is named in De Caumont a 'fanal de cimetiere,' a 'beacon of a cemetery,' and also 'lantern of the dead,' which has led me to add another speculation to the already long list, and to infer that the Irish round towers derive their origin from France, and that they were erected in cemeteries as memorials of the dead, and were used as beacons to guide funeral processions to the church-yards, the light in the tower serving also as a signal to recall to the passers-by the presence of the departed, and calling on them for their prayers. The following is De Caumont's description of the fanaux :—'Fanaux de cimetiere are hollow towers, round or square, having at their summit several openings, in which were placed, in the middle ages (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), lighted lamps, in the centre of large cemeteries. The purpose of the lamp was to light, during the night, funeral processions which came from afar, and which could not always reach the burial-ground before the close of day. The beacon—lighted, if not always, at least on certain occasions, on the summit of the towers—was a sort of homage offered to the memory of the dead, a signal, recalling to the passers-by the presence of the departed, and calling on them for their prayers. M. Villegille has found in Pierre de Cluni, who died in 1156, a passage which confirms my opinion. These are the words in which he expresses himself with regard to the small tower of the beacon of the monastery of Cherlieu : 'Obtinet medium cimiterii locum structura quadam lapidea, habens in summitate sui quantitatem unius lampadis capacem, que ob reverentiam fidelium ibi quiescentium, totis noctibus fulgere suo locum illum sacram illustrat.' M. Lecointre Dupont remarks that these towers or beacons are found particularly in cemeteries which were by the side of high-roads, or which were in greatly frequented places. The motive for erecting these beacons was, he says, to save the living from the fear of ghosts and spirits of darkness, with which the imagination of our ancestors peopled the cemeteries during the night-time; to protect them from that '*timore nocturno*', from that pestilence '*perambulante in tenebris*' of which the Psalmist speaks; lastly, to incite the living to pray for the dead. As to the origin of these sepulchral towers, and chapels surmounted by towers (these I shall mention further on), nothing certain is known. Le Cointre thinks that they are of very ancient origin, and can be traced perhaps to the early periods of Christianity. Without disputing this opinion, which would require to be confirmed by authorities which I am not in a position to produce, I think that it was about the twelfth century, consequently about the time of the crusades, that the greater number of these structures were built; for, among those which remain, I know of none to which an earlier date can be assigned than that of the end of the eleventh century, and many are of the thirteenth century. Some of these which were rebuilt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries took the form of a high tower; such



FANAL DE CIMETIERE.
De Caumont, 'Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales, Atlas
to vol. vi., page lxxix.

is at Bordeaux the tower of Peyberland, not far from the cathedral. This very high tower was commenced in 1481, and finished in 1492 ; but it has succeeded or was built on a sepulchral chapel; for it is known that in 1397 the base on which it was built was used as a sepulchral vault, and that over the sepulchral vault was a chapel in which canons celebrated mass. The belfry of St. Michsel, of the same town, which has a sepulchral vault at its base, and which is of the fifteenth century (1480), has been perhaps also built over some sepulchral vault; it is detached from the church, and is in the midst of a plot of ground which formed the ancient cemetery. De Caumont then describes one of the towers at Antigny, near St. Savin, department of Vienne : ' It is in the middle of a square before the parish church, which evidently formed part of the ancient cemetery, for it is almost completely paved with tombstones. Four square windows, turned towards the east, west, north, and south, open, under its roof, at the summit of the tower ; it was there the light was placed ; the door was at some distance from the ground.' He then mentions others : ' The fanal of Fenioux is in the cemetery of the village, at a hundred paces from the church, opposite the south door. The fanal of Estreès occupies nearly the centre of a large plot of ground, to the south of which is the ancient road from Buzançais to Palluan, and to the north of which are the remains of the parish church of Estreès, a building of the eleventh century, the choir of which is still remaining. This plot of ground was formerly the burial-ground of the parish. This tower is built on an octagonal basement ; its height is 8 metres 30 c. The fanal of Cirou is 150 metres from the church of the village, and, like that of Estreès, is in the centre of a vast cemetery. The fanal of Terigny l'Eveque was also in a cemetery, about 300 paces from the church, near which passed the ancient road, which, according to M. Damazy, was the ancient way which led from Mans to the Roman camp at Songè. It is terminated by a conical roof ; its four windows are towards the four cardinal points ; its height is 11 metres 70 cent.' He adds : ' I could also mention several towers pointed out by different authors, which ought to be assigned to this class of building which I have pointed out.'

" This description, it must be allowed, bears a very striking resemblance to everything that is characteristic of the round towers, and would, I think, lead to the conviction that there must be a connecting link between the fanaux and the round towers in their almost identity of purpose. They were both used for sepulchral purposes ; they were erected as memorials of the dead in cemeteries ; they were placed in church-yards unsymmetrically, at some little distance from the churches ; they were built in much-frequented places, such as Clonmacnoise, Glendalough ; their four windows at the summit face the four cardinal points ; they are also of the same period, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and never later than the thirteenth ; finally, there is a tradition they were used as beacons. I cannot but think that there is a similarity in principle, at well as in form ; for we find in the dark ages the same customs were practised in different countries ; for the early Christians, particularly those who were converted from paganism, frequently adopted and introduced, as has been the case in Italy, pagan customs and practices into the Christian religion ; and it would be but natural to suppose that the

custom of lighting a lamp in a tower in honour of the dead (for this was a pagan custom) was imported into Ireland from France ; and, as Dr. Petrie argues with regard to the use of lime cement in religious edifices, a knowledge of this custom may have been imparted by the crowds of foreign ecclesiastics who flocked to Ireland as a place of refuge in the fifth and sixth centuries. We know that St. Patrick was a Frenchman, and was educated in France ; a great number of St. Patrick's disciples were also foreigners. St. Declan, who it is said built the tower at Ardmore, travelled to Italy. St. Columbanus also travelled in France. Vergilius, in the eighth century, was born in Ireland, and, like most of his countrymen at that period who were distinguished for learning, left his own country and passed into France. St. Malachy consecrated several cemeteries, and rebuilt several structures, 'post ejus reditum e locis transmarinis.' In fine, there was in the early periods a constant inter-communication between Ireland and France, particularly with regard to religious dogmas and practices.

" That the towers were erected in Irish cemeteries too as memorials of the dead, we have a kind of evidence from an apocryphal document of the fourteenth century. In the Registry of Clonmacnoise, translated for Sir James Ware, we find O'Rourke ' hath for a *monument* built a small castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish *Claighrough*, as a *memorial of his own part of that cematarie* ; ' its being called here a steeple is, of course, in conformity with the common opinion. A tower as a belfry would be very little to the purpose, but a tower as a monument and memorial in honour of the dead would be in its proper place in a cemetery. It is not surprising to find two round towers and several sepulchral chapels in that cemetery, for Clonmacnoise was celebrated as being the burial-ground of several Irish chiefs. Dr. Petrie also admits that we will find it difficult to resist the conclusion that the towers would be used at night as beacons to attract and guide the benighted traveller or pious pilgrim to the house of hospitality or prayer. *Their fitness for such a purpose must be at once obvious.* He then quotes the opinion of Dr. Lingard to the same purpose, that they were used as ' beacons to direct the traveller towards the church or monastery. Lights were kept burning in them during the night ; at least such was the fact with respect to the new tower at Winchester, which, we learn from Wolstan, consisted of five stories, in each of which were four windows, looking towards the four cardinal points, that were illuminated every night. Dr. Hibbert Ware also considers this the only rational theory on the subject. Dr. Petrie adduces a further evidence in the description of a pharos, or beacon tower, of the Irish monastery of St. Columbanus, at Luxovium, now Luxeuil, in Burgundy, mentioned in Mabillon's 'Iter Germanicum' : ' Cernitur prope majorem ecclesiam portam pharus, quam lucernam vocant, cuius omnium consimilem vidi aliquando apud carnutas. Ei usui fuisse videtur, in gratiam eorum, qui noctu ecclesiam frequentabatur.' Mr. Fergusson, when mentioning, in his 'Handbook of Architecture,' the round towers which are described in the plan of the monastery of St. Gall, remarks the similarity of their position and form to that of the Irish round towers, which he suggests was in compliment to the Irish saint to whom the monastery owed its origin. He adds, no mention is made of bells. I can never

accede to the theory, that the towers were built for belfries; in the first place, on account of their unsymmetrical position with regard to the churches they are near; secondly, at Brechin, in Scotland, there is a round tower near the church, and also a belfry in its usual position near the church-door. At Swords also there is a round tower and a belfry; and at Lusk there is a round tower, with a steeple close to it. If the round tower was built for a belfry, what would be the purpose of building a belfry close to the tower at a later period? I must say that I cannot but agree with Dr. O'Connor in thinking that the cloictheaghs, or belfries, mentioned in the Irish annals, quoted by Dr Petrie, could not be the round towers, which were built of stone. The cloictheaghs, from their being so frequently burned, must have been of wood, like the oratories. Dr. Petrie admits that the custom of building oratories of wood was continued in Ireland even to the twelfth century; 'but,' he adds, 'the strongest evidences in favour of this conclusion, that the *dúirtheachs* were usually of wood, are those supplied by the Irish annals, which so frequently record the burning of this class of buildings by the Northmen, while the *daimhliags* (stone buildings) escaped the flames.' If we apply similar reasoning to the frequent burning of the cloictheaghs, we must be led to the conclusion that they also must have been of wood.

"**SEPULCHRAL CHAPELS.**—De Caumont describes these chapels in the following words: 'Sometimes the fanaux have been replaced by sepulchral chapels, surmounted by a hollow tower and a beacon. Sepulchral chapels were evidently for the same purpose as the towers, for they too had beacons at their summit; they could be also used for the purpose of exposing the bodies of the deceased before burial, to celebrate mass, and for other purposes, the memory of which has passed away. I know but one in a state of preservation, that of the ancient cemetery of the nuns of Fontevrault. It is square. From the summit of the stone roof of the building arises a hollow tower of four or five metres high, bearing a lantern at its summit; each face of the lantern is pierced with an opening; a conical roof covers the whole; in the interior the chapel is vaulted. The date is 1223.' St. Kevin's Kitchen would seem to answer this description; and thus, if the analogy which I have suggested between the two be correct, St. Kevin's Kitchen would be a stone-roofed sepulchral chapel, surmounted by a tower, which was used as a beacon for the same purpose as the *fanal de cimetiére*, or beacon of the dead; and further, I should be inclined to consider the several churches built by Irish kings and petty princes at Clonmacnoise as sepulchral chapels.

"**CROSSES OF CEMETERIES.**—In De Caumont's work I remark a further analogy to Irish antiquities in his description of crosses of cemeteries, which, I think, is an additional proof that there was some connecting link between France and Ireland with regard to these towers and crosses. His words are: 'Crosses of cemeteries.—Crosses erected in the centre of church-yards are also objects deserving of study, when they are ancient; for I am persuaded that in the middle ages they have, in many burial-grounds, taken the place of the towers of which I have spoken: at the present day they have taken their place in many sites. The most ancient I know of are of the twelfth, or about the end of the eleventh

century. They are the most frequently simple crosses, enclosed in a circle, and raised on a square or cylindrical pedestal. In Brittany crosses have been erected on which are sculptured rather complicated groups of figures, and of a workmanship the more remarkable as they are in granite.' Crosses like the first-mentioned are found in several old church-yards in Ireland. The cross over the door of the tower of Antrim is of this description. Crosses like those in Brittany are to be met with at Monasterboice, Clonmacnoise, &c.

"We cannot but be led to the conviction that there must have been some connecting link between France and Ireland with regard to these towers, oratories, and crosses; for how otherwise are we to account for this singular coincidence, that in ancient Irish burial grounds we frequently find a group composed of a round tower, an oratory, and a cross, and that in ancient French cemeteries we find an analogous and corresponding group, composed of a fanal or tower, a sepulchral chapel, and a cross? Some may suppose that the idea of these towers may have been received from Ireland by France; but I think this suggestion could not be admissible, as it is more in uniformity with the course of events that the tide of knowledge should flow from the south towards Ireland, than that the stream should run backwards. It is a singular fact that Dr. Petrie designed a round tower, an oratory, and a cross for the tomb of O'Connell in the Glasnevin cemetery. A round tower as a belfry would be very little to the purpose; but I think the group, considered as a tower or beacon of the dead, a sepulchral chapel and a cross of a cemetery, would be in its proper place."

Dr. Campion read the following paper, entitled "Old Schools and Seminaries of Kilkenny City":—

"As a fair contrast to the old *synns* of the city of Kilkenny, may be noticed some of the old schools and seminaries, classical and otherwise, which existed in days gone by, and are still remembered with yearning affection by many an old inhabitant, either from familiar associations connected with them, or from having received the rudiments of their early training within their walls.

"Burrell's Hall stands out in bold relief amid this class of scholastic edifices; and as the writer of this paper spent many a happy and busy day therein, it is but a labour of love to summon back the past, to afford some amusing speculation for the present.

"Burrell's Hall! I see it vividly before my mind's eye, with its ivied walls, swinging windows, huge wooden gateway, an indescribable architecture—a something like Noah's ark (as depicted in quaint woodcuts and imaginative illustrations), but without the boat underneath.

"It stood upon the exact site of the new Catholic cathedral—its private entrance being beneath the great illuminated window over the altar, with a grass plot in front, flanked by iron palings painted green, and a little iron gate leading to a gravelled walk up to the hall door.

"A school entrance was at the end next Black-mill—a wooden gateway, large yard, a spacious garden to the left, generally containing vegetables,—many and many a pitched battle have I witnessed there, with the

combatants ranged along the winding pathways, and the offensive weapons, clay and cabbage stalks. Those wild and illegal forays usually took place before the school hour, and the two distinctive parties were the 'boarders' and the 'day boys.' The sudden arrival of some of the teachers—usually clergymen—always ended the war, by bringing the ringleaders to justice, and frequently punishing them in a very summary manner. A long hall, perforated with several small windows, on the sills of which were deposited hats, caps, cloaks and umbrellas, led to the school-room—a low but very spacious apartment, boarded with springing boards which creaked ominously and warningly, as many a truant youth came late to school, and sought to steal in, unheeded and unnoticed by the vigilant eye of the professor. Very often, too, some wicked urchin within helped the loiterer to his fate, by tapping with their heels upon the floor, to call attention to the approach of the stealthy visitor. There were book-lockers buried in the walls all around, of which the boarders generally held the keys, and appeared very proud and consequential thereupon. Flat long tables occupied the middle of the rooms for the students in writing and arithmetic, whilst others were ranged along the walls, some furnished with lock-up desks, for the accommodation of ecclesiastical students, and others forming the several gradations of classes, which were cited, hour after hour, by the many teachers and ushers.

"In this famous old school of Burrell's Hall most of the priests of Ossory figured, either as teachers or pupils—and most of the men professional and otherwise who are now the parents, guardians, or friends of the Catholic population of the city. Many who made a very sorry business of it, indeed, in the hall, have since turned up in the world—wise, active, energetic, and prosperous; whilst, on the other hand, many who promised a great deal, by precocious intellect and shining gifts, have never fulfilled the promise of their spring. Many have strayed away into foreign lands, and many gathered to the homes of their fathers; and with them, at last, have the old walls of their early school-house been shuffled off the scene; as the ship parts company with the shipwrecked, never to come together any more.

"Two distinct pursuits have long held marked and universal sway in the marble city—the one 'music,' to which all classes of the community seem passionately attached, and which is always sure of eliciting public approbation and public patronage—the second, 'the drama'; and this taste I may, with perfect truth, attribute to the influence of our literary Noah's Ark, for every year brought on its public examinations, rivalries, and prizes in old Burrell's Hall, and every year its select *dramatis personæ*. Here many a fond parent flocked to see their beloved offspring exhibit their rising talents to a crowded house of their fellow-citizens; and as each little urchin presented himself upon the stage, out rang his familiar name upon the ear, and a thousand encouraging plaudits welcomed him into the realm of Thespis. But the closing scene was the proudest of all—when the youths who won the prizes in the examinations were led forth by the several professors and presented to the audience; when their merits were glowingly extatified upon in their presence; when the premiums were publicly presented to them; and when, amid thunders of uproarious applause, urged to the front of the orchestra,

with the lights a full blaze, and the trumpets sounding a triumphal flourish, every youth was crowned by his excellent preceptors with a wreath of shining laurels. No wonder then when such scenes occurred, without interruption, for a number of consecutive years, that a taste for the drama should have been established amongst the people, and perpetuated to the present time.

"I have ventured so far upon the time of this Society, in bringing back to memory a vision of this once very remarkable seminary, as being the principal Catholic one in the city, and as being a reminiscence of the olden town which I am sure will create a sunshiny halo about many of my readers' hearts, when they are thus induced to recall the days of their boyhood, and the *thousand and one* events in which they themselves were the actors or spectators—a look back after a lifetime—a summing up of the past—a contrast between the gentlest phases of existence and the turmoil of mature life.

"So much for the seminary that once stood on the site of the new cathedral—old Burrell's Hall. Here is its birth and parentage, which come fittest after its death and burial, and at the time of its anniversary and elegy.

"Burrell's Hall claimed to be the first Catholic seminary in Ireland after the battle of the Boyne. The building took its name from the family of Burrell, settled in Kilkenny in the seventeenth century, and by whom it is said to have been erected as a residence. The portion of the premises subsequently used as the school-room is said to have been added in the early part of the last century, for the purpose of a wine store, by a descendant, in the female line, of that family, named Burrell Rutledge. This man's son was living in the beginning of the present century, and is remembered by many persons in this city to this day.

"Tradition says that the hall was originally inaugurated as a seminary by Bishop Dunn, the predecessor of De Burgo; and about the year 1752 or 3, Bishop Dunn left Ireland, and died on the Continent in five or six years subsequently. How long the seminary survived him I have not been able to ascertain; however, it must have been closed before Father Magrath opened his celebrated academy in St. James's Park. The Right Rev. Dr. Lanigan lived in Burrell's Hall for some time after his consecration, as we learn from an advertisement in 'Finn's Leinster Journal' of 1792, where we read: '*The house in James's Green, lately occupied by the Right Rev. Dr. Lanigan, is to be let.*' It was at this period that Dr. Lanigan fixed his residence in the parochial house, in the old chapel-yard, where his successors have since continued to reside. Dr. Lanigan never looked with a favourable eye upon Father Magrath's academy, and soon after his removal to the present bishop's house he reopened the seminary of Burrell's Hall. As a sequel and illustration of this short paper, I may be permitted to take a glance at the professors officiating in this seminary in 1827, during my own novitiate:—

"The superior was the bishop of that time—the Right Rev. Dr. Marum—a mild and dignified prelate, as remarkable for his piety and humility as for his deep and general lore, divine and scholastic. He established the ecclesiastical college of Birchfield House. Dr. Marum generally presided at the examinations held at Burrell's Hall, and to this

hour I remember the rapture of my young heart when he awarded me the first and last silver medal I ever had the good fortune to secure in my schoolboy days.

"Rev. Nicholas Shearman resided in the Hall as president. He was a rigid and severe moralist, but a polished gentleman and most painstaking preceptor. A good English and French scholar, he inculcated the rudiments of both languages thoroughly into his pupils, and established a moral code of training so firmly within the house, that the least divergence from it was punished with the most unexampled severity. He was afterwards appointed parish priest of Patrick-street, and, in the absence of the bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Kinsella, had the high honour of laying the foundation stone of St. Kyran's College, upon St. Kyran's day, in the year 1836, which beautiful edifice was afterwards carried on and completed by the present revered Catholic pastor, Right Rev. Dr. Walsh.

"Father Gerald Foley was a profound scholar and a kind and gentle instructor. He shone as a classical teacher, but as a disciplinarian and manager was far inferior to the Rev. Nicholas Shearman, whose successor he became in the presidentship. He was greatly loved and respected by all the pupils, lay and ecclesiastical. He died a parish priest in this county.

"Rev. Kyran Bergin—a sound classical teacher, gentle as a child, kind, benevolent, and loved—as much a boy as the boys he instructed, fondling the studious and painstaking, and quarrelling and arguing with the idlers—sometimes utterly falling out with them, *in toto*, and giving them the rod unsparingly, or rather the cat o' nine tails,—an extraordinary and fanciful instrument of punishment, fabricated by himself, and composed of some twenty or thirty strings of whipcord, attached, very clumsily indeed, to a broken ruler, or butt of a birchen rod. Poor Father Bergin! he retained his gentle simplicity of manners to the close of his days, and died as he lived,—honoured, respected, and regretted.

"Rev. Mr. Doran—the patron and friend of his classes, very careful in his person—an elegant translator of the classics, full of genial humour and nice feeling; he entered into companionship with his pupils, who returned his warm sympathy with increased application to their studies, and the tenderest attachment to the teacher.

"In another paper, I hope to have the honour of introducing to the Society a second school of note and name in our city, and which created no small sensation in its day—I mean 'the English Academy'—the first school of my childhood, and which John Banim, the Irish dramatist, novelist, and poet, has immortalized in the pages of 'Father Connell.' "

The Rev. James Graves said, that, in order to elucidate the meaning of the name of the parish of Kiltennel, near Courtown Harbour, county Wexford, in reply to the Earl of Courtown's query at p. 145, *supra*, and having, through that nobleman, ascertained that, although the patron day of the Wexford Kiltennel is forgotten, the patron of the parish of the same name in Carlow is still held on the 25th of June, if that day happens on Sunday, or

if not, on the next Sunday following, he had submitted the question to Dr. Reeves, and had received the following reply:—"On looking to my Calendar, I found at the 25th of June, *Sincheall og*, ab. *Glinne Ucháidh*—Sinchell the younger, abbot of Glenn-achaidh, who, I make, no doubt, is the patron of the Wexford Kiltennel also. *Cill t-Sinchill*, 'Church of Sinchill,' will exactly make the name by the elision of the letter S, and also account for the transition into the modern form—*Cill t-Sinchil*, Kil-tinchill, Kil-tinhil, Kil-tinnil, Kiltennel. The 25th of June being the patron-day, the nearest Sunday following is chosen for the 'pattern,' as being the most festive and disengaged day. SS. Sincheall, elder and younger, are also the patron saints of Kill-Achaid, or Killeigh, in the parish of Geashill, King's County."

The Rev. George H. Reade sent the following paper, descriptive of the ancient interment lately discovered at Dromiskin, in the county of Louth:—

"Dromiskin (Druminisclain) is situated in the territory of Muirtheimhne, which comprised that part of the present county of Louth extending from the estuary of Dundalk to Drogheda, in which the parishes of Fochard, Iniscaein, Killuinche, Drumineasclainn, and Monasterboice are situated, formerly the estate or property of Cuchullain, whose place of abode is now called 'The Folly.' The ancient inhabitants of this district were called Conaille Muirtheimhne, and the privileges of the king are thus given in the 'Leabhar-na-g-Ceart':—

" Six drinking horns,
Ten ships, ten steeds, ten tunics.'

According to the poem of Benean—

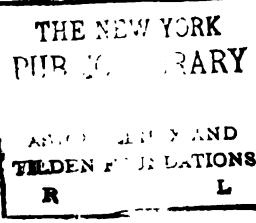
" Entitled is the king of Muirtheimhne, the hero,
To six drinking horns full of ale,
Ten ships from the hero of Ealga,
Ten steeds, ten red tunica.'

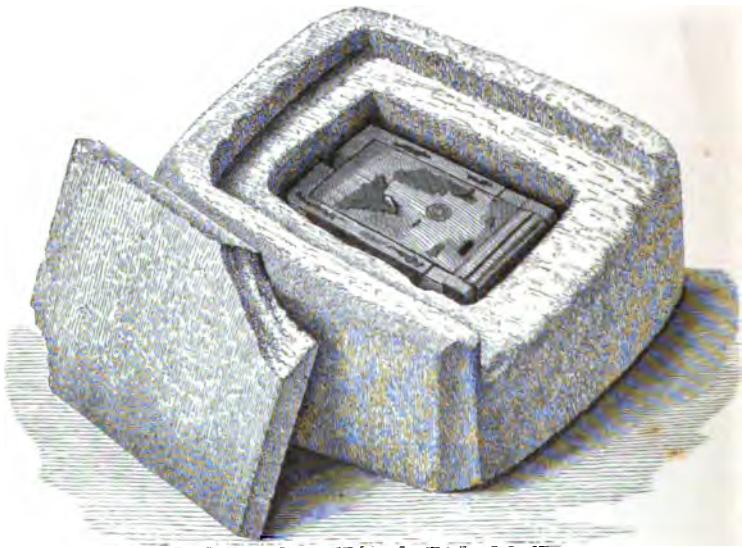
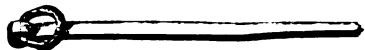
"Early mention is made in the Irish annals of the ecclesiastical buildings of this place. All that remains of them at present is a portion of the round tower, about forty feet high, which has a conical roof, but of a modern date; the door-way is very perfect, formed of large thorough stones, with a semicircular arch composed of five large stones. There is also a portion of the monastery wall lying due east from it, but now built into the garden-wall of Dromiskin House.

"It was probably built late in the ninth or very early in the tenth century, and by the celebrated Colman, who aided Flann, son of Meailseachlainn, in building the cathedral of Clonmacnois: as we find in 'The Annals of the Four Masters'—'The cathedral of Clonmacnois was built by Flann, son of Maeilseachlainn, and by Colman Consillech, A. D. 909. This Colman, son of Ailill, abbot of Clonard and Clonmacnois, died A. D. 924. He was of the Conaille Muirtheimhne.'

" 'The Annals of Ulster' relate that, A.D. 911—'Muiredhach, son of Cormac, abbot of Druim Ineasclainn, and the heir apparent of Conailli—i.e. Gaerbit, son of Maelmordha, were destroyed by fire in the refectory of Druim [Ineasclainn].' He was probably partaking of the hospitality of the monastery endowed by his family at the time, trying the quality of the ale of the 'six tall drinking-horns' above mentioned; or, it may have been by a sudden incursion of the Danes, as further on is stated, A.D. 971, 'Ceallach Ua Nuadhat was slain by the Danes in the door-way of the refectory.'

The ground between the monastery and the round tower was evidently once a burial-place, being composed of a rich soil, raised much higher than the surrounding lands. Some time since about five feet deep of the soil was removed by the owner of the farm, as manure, and thus the kistvaen, now under notice, was brought within reach of the plough-share. It is very probable that there are many more of these kistvaens about the spot, as I observed in one or two places beside, human bones had been turned up by the plough. This kistvaen lies in the west corner of the field, only divided by the road from the burial ground of Dromiskin, and almost under the shadow of the round tower; its length is five feet eleven inches, lying east and west; the bottom, which was composed of small transverse flags, is about two feet from the present surface of the field; the sides were formed of small flag-stones, of the stone of the district—greywacke. In some places, where the side-flags were not high enough, it was levelled by small stones laid in the usual way of building; a quantity of charcoal had been placed on the flags at the bottom, as they were stained black in one part, and several small pieces of wood charcoal were found when searched for by my direction, the grave having been roughly shovelled out before I saw it. The small stone box was found beside the head, which lay towards the east, it was quite perfect; the portion broken off the lid was by the spade of the finder; a small box, made of timber, was placed within that of stone, and was nearly perfect when opened, but shortly afterwards crumbled away; the lid of the wooden box was covered with leather, and appears to have had a spring fastened in it, so that much pains and care were taken to preserve its contents; these were, the small pin with ring, and some very unctuous charcoal, but how much of the latter I could not learn, as it was thrown out in the eager search of the discoverers: however, I found in it two small portions like charcoal and grease mixed into the consistence of paste—perhaps the remains of the heart of the owner of the pin, probably a female. The accompanying Plate represents the box and its contents, so far as preserved. The depth of the kistvaen was twelve inches; the covering flags were from twenty-seven to thirty-six inches long. Only a few of the bones remained when I saw it; they were very much decayed, and none of them whole; the skull, unfortunately, has lost the greater part of the bones of the face; it is large and long, with a very low forehead, but very largely developed behind, indicating, if phrenology be true, a very bad character, exhibiting much energy in all that was evil. The following observations are by David Leslie, Esq., M. D., of Kiltybegs, Carrickmacross, a member of our Society, and who has liberally aided in the illustration of these interesting relics, as well with his purse as his pen:—





BOXES, SKULL, and BRONZE PIN, found in a Kistvaen at Dromiskin, Co. Louth.

"The skull, the subject of the present article, measures as follows:—From the nasal suture to the occipital protuberance, 13 inches; from same to the superior angle of occipital bone, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches; superciliary ridge prominent; supra-orbital arches small; height of os frontis, from nasal suture to the line joining the superciliary ridges, 2 inches; breadth of os frontis, between the external angular processes, 4 inches; between mastoid processes of temporal bones, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; squamous portions of temporal bones greatly depressed, showing great muscular action; a line connecting the meati auditorii externi, passing over the vertex of the cranium, measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches; length of sagittal suture, 6 inches; orbits small. The cranium evidently belongs to a race in which intellectual development was very low, and, if the development theory be true, very ancient. Causation is small, veneration and benevolence defective, self-esteem and firmness large; the whole head manifests low intellectual and great animal development,—the state of man in the early part of his history, before the modifying influences of intellectual cultivation manifest themselves on the brain. The few following observations on development, it is hoped, will not be considered out of place here. Development is purely a phenomenon of vitality: material phenomena are always the same; crystalline forms never change, they make no progress. Development implies change of form and is connected only with vitality. The moment life is added to matter, development begins: organic forms are geneomorphic. Inorganic forms are automorphic. Vitality gives to matter new and progressive forms. There are two morphic developments,—organic and moral; there are two kinds of sensibility,—organic or unconscious, or conscious or moral sensibility. There was a period in the world's history when conscious sensibility began, when moral beings appeared. Moral or conscious sensibility is productive of a new power, a creative faculty,—a generator of new forms, moral morphisms, such as a statue or a house.

"There are, therefore, three morphisms:—First, the automorphic, crystalline, not progressive, consequently not developmental—not vital. Second, the simply organic, possessing unconscious sensibility, the result of vitality—progressive. The third, moral or creative, the action of mind on matter, the result of conscious or moral sensibility—progressive. The three morphisms are represented by a crystal, a flower, and a house. These views were first published by the writer in the Edinburgh Medical Journal (August, 1861). With regard to human development and morphic changes in man, there is no doubt but the brain is modified by intellectual action, and becomes changed by time, and that the mental faculties progress by intellectual cultivation, producing corresponding cerebral changes, which are called developmental.

"Felix A. Pouchet states, that the inferiority of the Australian man arises from the Australian continent having been upheaved later than other parts of the world; and that man being there more modern, he has not yet obtained the high development of the Asiatic and European races.

"The marsupials of Australia, the next step to placental mammalia, existing only on the Australian continent, is a strong fact in support of this theory.'

" This find is, I believe, unique. Mr. Windle, in reply to an inquiry by the Rev. James Graves, says, ' I have no recollection of any kistvaen discovery similar to that mentioned by you. The only things in any way approaching this mode of sepulchre are the ancient deposits in the Eastern Topes and Dagobas, as detailed in Wilson's ' Arcana,' and Cunningham's ' Bilsa Topes,' and, I think, in Tennent's ' Ceylon'—small reliques in petty caskets, out of all proportion to the great structures which enclose them. I have read much of, or on, sepulture, but nothing like what you point to occurs to me. I think Nevill's ' Saxon Obsequies,' Roche Smith's and Bateson's works, will give no assistance. Your deposit, therefore, seems to me rather unique.'

" The Rev. James Graves has also favoured me with the following extract:—

" ' In each of the urns was found, among the bones, a minute bronze pin. . . . These were most likely the reliques of women, and will remind the classical student of the *Sagum spind concertum* of Tacitus.—Report on researches in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in 1859, by John Young Akerman, Esq.'—' Archæologia,' vol. xxxviii. p. 334.

" As these reliques seem important in an archæological point of view, and will help, perhaps, with future discoveries, to throw light on the modes of ancient sepulture of which so little is known, I think they should not be in private hands, and I beg to present the cranium to the Kilkenny Archæological Society. Lord Clermont, to whom the Rev. Mr. Stubbs gave the boxes and pin, has informed me that he will present them also, as they should not be separated.

" So many and great are the differences between the members of the human family, not only in their language, dress, customs, and religious belief, but also in the physical conformation of their bodies, the colour of the skin, the nature of the hair, the form and shape of the skull and other parts of the bony skeleton, that many persons have been disposed to consider that the races that differ from our own belong to a distinct species, and could not all be derived from the same parentage; and, indeed, when we place together two skulls, one of the highly intellectual class, as the European, and the other the degraded prognathous skull of the Australian or Boesiman, there does appear much ground and reason for the supposition, the mere inspection of them showing a far greater difference between them than between the Australian and the Ape; but, without referring to Holy Writ, all these differences between any one human being and another, even in the most discordant specimens, are found to be, by careful and comprehensive survey, traceable from one to another, connected by a long series of links, and the transition so gradual, that it is impossible to say where the lines are to be drawn between them. That the influences of the habits of life, continued from generation to generation, fully account for the different forms of skull, &c., even in the most extreme case, has been shown by Dr. Carpenter in his ' Principles of Human Physiology.' He gives one remarkable instance, which sets the question at rest (p. 880):—' The Turks at present inhabiting the Ottoman Empire are, undoubtedly, descended from the same stock with those nomadic races which are still spread through central Asia; the former, having conquered the

countries which they now inhabit eight centuries ago, have settled down to fixed and regular habits, and made corresponding advances in civilization, whilst the latter have continued their wandering mode of life, and can scarcely be said to have made any advance during the same interval. Now the long since civilized Turks have undergone a complete transformation into the likeness of Europeans, whilst their nomadic relatives retain the pyramidal configuration of the skull in a very marked degree.' And again (p. 892):—"All the most learned writers on Asiatic history are agreed in opinion, that the Turkish races are of one common stock, although at present they vary in physical characters to such a degree that in some the original type has been altogether changed: those which still inhabit the ancient abodes of the race, and preserve their pastoral and nomadic life, present the physiognomy and general characteristics which appear to have belonged to the original Turkomans, and these are decidedly referable to the so-called Mongolian type; the branches of the race which, from their long settlement in Europe, have made the greatest progress in civilization, now exhibit, in all essential particulars, the physical characters of the European model, *and those are particularly apparent in the conformation of the skull.*" Dr. Carpenter also proves, 'the absence of any definite line of demarcation in regard to physiological character between the Negro race and one of those which has been hitherto considered to rank among the most elevated form of the Caucasian variety.'

"It is impossible here to enter into the proofs and learned reasoning of Dr. Carpenter; but there is little doubt that his conclusions must greatly modify the deductions of ethnologists, as they go to prove that the form of the skull is derived from long continuance in a particular mode of life—that the highest so-called Caucasian form may thereby be degraded into the lowest Australian, and *vice versa*; so that, in the discoveries made in the various tombs—exhibiting different classes of skulls—it strikes me, that the conclusion thereby legitimately arrived at is not, that such a race was Caucasian, Mongolian, or Ethiopian, but that the race to which the different specimens belonged was, in each case, either of those who lived only by hunting, and upon roots and herbs, or those who were, in addition, warlike and rapacious, or those whose intellects had been somewhat cultivated, and who had therefore progressed as far as the nomadic form, or to have become cultivators of the ground, and occupied in peaceful arts. And this, perhaps, will prove a more interesting point of view for us in considering the various forms of skulls from time to time discovered in Ireland, as exhibiting by their form, and the relics entombed therewith, unto which of the great waves of immigrants the specimens belonged, and what must have been their occupation and mode of existence. It will also give a more definite idea of the man and his times, than any reference of the specimen under consideration to one of Blumenbach's five varieties; and more to be depended upon, when we remember the distinct proof which has been given of the fallacy of Blumenbach's types of cranial conformation, even in that which he has designated as most perfect and the most distinct—the Caucasian. For, in the first place, neither the Georgians nor Circassians give the *most perfect* form of the oval type—that form of cranium being presented with greater beauty and symmetry by the Greeks; and it is almost certainly determinable, says Dr. Carpenter, by the evi-

dence of language, that the Georgian and Circassian nations are really of Mongolian origin.

"That the greatest and most strongly marked differences in skulls is not a proof that they are of different races, is the opinion of Professor Huxley, in his examination of two skulls, known as the skulls of the Engis and Neanderthal caves, presumed to be the oldest vestiges of man. He says—'It would be difficult to find any other two which differ from each other more strongly, but I am not willing to draw any definite conclusion as to their specific variety from that fact. I inquire, rather, are not the variations amongst the skulls of a pure race *to the full as extensive?* I take the pure Australian as an example for this inquiry; and here we may observe how great is the variation in that pure race—the Engis skull may be easily matched by an Australian—the following table shows how closely the measurements approximate:—

	Horizontal circumference.	Vertical arc.	Transverse arc.	Length.
Engis, . . .	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Australian, . .	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

"With the Neanderthal skull we shall not find much more difficulty—one or two of the South Australian skulls in the College of Surgeons are wonderfully near the degraded type of the Neanderthal skull; the differences are inconsiderable; and, except that in the supra-orbital ridges and the occipital ridges the Neanderthal skull retains characters of degradation, which go beyond those of the South Australian skull, the resemblance is perfect. Seeing the variations of conformation in a pure race,—such as the Australian, are so great, it cannot be safely inferred that these two skulls, which vary very little more, are *even of different races.*'

"It would be a very easy generalization if we could say that the successive waves of population which appear to have passed over the earth increased regularly in the intellectual form, from the degraded prognathous type to the elevated high organization of the orthognathous and brachi-cephalic: the relative ages of the skulls might then be ascertained at a glance, and a near approach made towards fixing the period at which they existed. 'The Danish archæologists, who have examined very carefully the cranial character of the remains of the people of the stone age, have found, that they belonged to a much rounder-headed people than those of the succeeding period—the workers in bronze—these persons are characterized by weapons of stone, flint, &c. They buried their warriors in the tumuli sitting, each provided with his heavy axe, ready to meet the foe. These skulls are rather below the average bulk; they are somewhat rounded, the transverse amounting to eight-tenths of the longitudinal diameter; *the jaws are large*, but not prognathous—these characters belong to all the skulls of the stone epoch.' That very ancient and wonderful race which once existed in the valley of the Mississippi, and constructed those great mounds, replete with proofs of an older civilization, were a round-headed people. Probably, then, it would be safer to discard those five varieties of Blumenbach, as exhibiting distinct races of men, and to confine the inquiry simply to the two types of skull to which all the races

of men more or less approximate—that in which the longitudinal diameter greatly predominates, called the dolicho-cephalic, or long-headed, and that type called the brachy-cephalic, or round-headed—and to bear in mind that, as the occupation of the people varied for ages and generations, there was a corresponding approach to one or other of these types. The habits and occupation of the owner of this skull, and his ancestry, may thence be nearly determined—he was a mighty hunter; while the period of his burial is fixed by the kistvaen, the cremation, and the relics found in his flag coffin, at or about the introduction of Christianity into Ireland."

The Rev. James Graves said that the sepulchral remains described by Messrs. Reade and Lindsay were so singular, and it was so necessary to establish the facts of the "find," that he had asked Mr. Reade to make further inquiry as to the circumstances, and had received assurances from inquirers made by Mr. Parker, the tenant of the land—1st. That the father and brother of Mr. Parker, the present tenant, had removed five feet of soil from that portion of the field, but that it was most unlikely the kist had ever been covered by a mound or tumulus. The field had previously been tilled by a Rev. Mr. Pratt, for the first time within memory, in the year 1799. 2nd. Several small particles of charcoal still remained in the bottom of the kist in March, 1862: samples of these were forwarded by Mr. Parker. 3rd. The kist was 6 feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. 4th. It is certain on the united testimony of all the men present at the discovery, that the skull sent to Mr. Reade, and described in his paper, was that found in the kist. 5th. The little wooden box was perfect when found, but broken in the handling, being saturated with damp. 6th. The pin was found, just as it is, in the wooden box when opened, and there was no cross or reliquary of any description found in the box or kist. Mr. Parker adds: "You may rely on the above as a faithful return; but if you wish I can give you a list of the persons who were present at the finding, who are ready to take oath it was as described. I tested them separately, and all their statements agree. I am fully convinced that the returns made at first are perfectly true." He (Mr. Graves), ventured to add a few observations, suggested by an inspection of the objects described by Mr. Reade. 1st. The stone box was of hard, close-grained grit, the cover, of green-stone, rubbed into shape. The following were the exact dimensions of the stone box:—Height of stone box at one end, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height at the other end, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; mean height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; length at one side, 4 inches; at the other, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; mean length, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; breadth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth of cavity in stone box, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; breadth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It will be observed that the box is irregular in form, except in the breadth, which is very nearly parallel throughout. The cover, when unbroken, fitted closely into the rabbet made to

receive it, but was not so constructed as to slide into its place beneath a dovetail. 2nd. The timber box was formed from a solid piece of yew, and when perfect must have nearly filled up the cavity in which it was found ; the bottom was half an inch thick ; the sides averaged three-eighths of an inch ; the ends half an inch. The original height of the box would appear to have been about an inch, but the bottom and lower part of the sides were broken into small fragments. The upper part of the sides and ends, and the cover, were tolerably perfect. The cover slided into a dovetailed rabbet, and was, besides, kept in its place by two straps of bronze riveted to the sides of the box, which (the straps) passed over the cover at either end, and one of which concealed the spring when perfect ; the ends of the straps and the rivets remained at one side, and the rivets at the other. It would appear that the box was made expressly to contain this pin, as when closed the spring was kept extended by the strap, and the box could not be opened except by breaking away the latter. The spring was ingeniously contrived so as to close the box when the cover was slid home. The cover was lined on the outside with thin leather (of which portions remained), so as further to conceal the spring-fastening and its rivets. 3rd. The pin (which was engraved full size), was of bright yellow bronze, and had evidently been broken¹ when deposited in the box, as its fractured end showed. When perfect, the box would not have contained it. 4th. The skull, of which the measurements are already given, did not strike him (Mr. Graves), to be of so low a type as Mr. Reade inferred ; the forehead, though not lofty, was by no means retreating, on the contrary, it was, to a certain degree, intellectual, as might be seen by Mr. Oldham's faithful engravings. He (Mr. Graves) had submitted these engravings, together with the measurements of the cranium, to Dr. Thurnam, of Devizes, the joint author with Mr. Davis of the great work² on the crania of the various races of the British Islands, in course of publication :—The following were the observations received in return :—"I have been much interested with the cuts of the skull, and the curious objects found with it. The skull unfortunately wants the bones of the face—the lower part—thus rendering it a much less interesting specimen. So far as I can judge from the engraving, and the measurements you have sent me, it is that of a male ; and is of full or even large size. It seems to be a well-developed Celtic skull of the shortened-oval, or brachycephalic type." The bones of the skull were hard and well preserved.

The Rev. James Graves brought under notice another of those important Ogham monuments, in which Wales is so rich. He observed that it seemed to be reserved for that country of a kin-

¹ The Rev. C. S. Barnwell, Hon. Sec. of the Cambrian Arch. Soc. informs me that the stone celts, and hammers, found

in kistvaens in Brittany are frequently broken, evidently with design.—J. G.
² "Crania Britannica."

dred race to supply the key to unlock the mystery which has so long hung around both the age and the interpretation of the more numerous Ogham inscriptions of Ireland. He had already, by the kindness of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, laid before the members accurate engravings of two bilingual Ogham monuments from Wales (see "Journal" vol. iii. new series, pp. 233, 303). The present example differed from those to which he alluded in being inscribed with a cross of very ancient fashion, as well as with inscriptions in Roman letters and Ogham characters. The stone was discovered during the lately effected restoration of the church of Trallong, near Brecon, a small building of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Having stated thus much he would leave the remainder to be told in the words of that indefatigable explorer of the early archaeology of Wales, the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, as printed in the "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. viii., third series, pp. 52-56 :—

" When one of the windows of the old church came to be taken down, the lower stone of the splay, on the inside, was found to bear a cross with an inscription, and a series of Oghamic characters on one of its edges. This inscription had, by a happy coincidence, been built inwards; so that its existence was totally unsuspected, until it was thus suddenly brought to light. One end of the stone had been broken off long ago, and some of the Oghamic characters had been injured; but on the whole it was in a state of excellent preservation. The clergyman and the parochial authorities, with praiseworthy judgment, and fully aware of its archæological value, have taken effectual means for its future preservation; and the stone is now kept inside that portion of the church which is screened off at the west end for a vestry.

" This stone is about six feet long, one foot six inches wide at the upper end, but tapering down to a point at the lower; uniformly about six inches in thickness; and is from one of the hardest beds of the Old Red or Silurian series. The annexed engraving, carefully reduced from drawings and rubbings, and made on the scale of one foot to the inch (which we have now for some time past adopted in all our delineations of inscribed stones, when the size of our Journal admits of it), has been rendered with great fidelity by the engraver.

" The cross is one of the simplest,—contemporary, we are inclined to think, with that at the neighbouring church of Llanspyddid, which we lately laid before the Association. It is incised, as well as the letters, in fine thin lines, cut with great precision, and even now sharp on the edges of the grooves. It has been cut with very little hesitation, the material being such as greatly to facilitate the operations of the sculptor, and render his task one admitting of more firmness than if he had had to work on the intractable porphyries of Pembrokeshire, or on the rough, uncertain granites of Cornwall.

" The inscription is thoroughly legible, and runs as follows:—

**CVNOCENNI FILIVS
CVNOCENI HIC JACIT**

The characters are carefully formed, evenly spaced, of nearly equal size, not much debased. Their paleographic character is closely similar to that of the SAGRANUS stone at St. Dogmael's;¹ and it may be assigned to a period between the fifth and seventh centuries.

"One peculiarity immediately strikes the antiquary. We have here the word *FILIVS* in the nominative case, put in apposition with the word *CVNOCENNI*, apparently in the genitive, and immediately followed by the same word in the same case. Either, therefore, some false and debased Latinity is to be found here, as patently as in the last word of the inscription, *LACIT*; or else we have here a proof that the first word, though ending in *I*, is in reality a nominative case,—the name of a person in its original orthoepy, and indeclinable: and if this be the fact, then this stone solves difficulties which have so often been met with in similar inscriptions now familiar to members. We incline, however, to the former supposition, and think that the Latinity of the sculptor has been at fault here no less than his orthography; for in the second line the omission of *N* in the name can hardly be reconciled with its occurrence twice over in that of the first line on any other supposition.

"The inscription, then, with its faults, being quite clear and determined, we must endeavour to interpret the Oghamic marks on the edge. Here we have recourse to the alphabet employed by Professor Graves, and we find it reading off, as usual, in an opposite direction from that of the inscription, thus:

CVNACENNI FI IL FFETO.

It is to be observed that all the Oghams on this stone are remarkably clear and well defined, except the first two of those which we have considered as representing *L*. At these spots the edge has been somewhat worn or injured; and though we think there are good grounds for the reading we have adopted, we have put a mark of uncertainty above them in order that the attention of future observers may be directed to their more exact determination. It is perfectly certain that no Oghamic mark for *L* now occurs between the second and third *I*, whereas one does come immediately after; and, if conjecture were of any avail in such a matter, we should suppose that the sculptor of the Oghams had not been more careful in his spelling than the sculptor of the letters. We do not offer any suggestions as to the meaning of the five last Oghams; we will only remark that they are cut with unusual precision, and that those which stand for *F* are singular in not touching the sharp edge of the stone by nearly half an inch.

"The first word of the Oghams is to be taken note of, because it presents a peculiarity similar to one of the words on the SAGRANVS stone. In that instance it will be remembered the name *CVNATAMI* of the inscription is rendered by *CVNATAMI* in the Oghama. So here, too, *CVNO-CENNI* of the inscription is translated as *CVNACENNI* in the Oghams; the *O* in the inscription being replaced by *A* in the Oghams. Otherwise the words are identical, for they are both spelled with a double *N*. The

¹ See this stone illustrated in the "Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society," vol. iii., new series, p. 233.—ED.



Inscription at Trallong, Brecknockshire, in Roman and Ogham characters.

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Oghams extend lower down the stone than does the inscription; so that when this monument was placed upright in the ground, over the tomb of the deceased personage, some of the Oghams were most probably concealed by the earth.

"The way in which the inscription, in this case, is reproduced by the Oghams, makes this stone of the same value as those commemorating SAGRANVS and TRENACATVS,¹ with which the Association is already well acquainted.

"We now come to the question as to who CVNOCENNVS may have been: but here we have nothing to fall back upon except the dim traditions connected with the Welsh saints of the period from which this inscription probably dates. The occurrence of the cross, perhaps, indicates that he was an ecclesiastic; and, if so, connected with the church. He may have been its founder, or the first holy man who built an oratory here in what was then part of the great forest of Brecon. His own name was the same as that of his father; and he may have been related to CYNOG, who is said to have met with his death at MAETHYR CYNOG, a few miles off; and whose name, in characters of the same date as this, is commemorated on a stone unfortunately built during the late restoration, with the name inwards, into the arch between the nave and tower of the church at Llandefaelog Fach."

Mr. Graves said he hoped, on a future occasion, to bring under notice a very interesting Ogham monument lately discovered in Devonshire, the country of another branch of the Celtic family. Cornwall and Devon—the country of the Damnonii—as well as Scotland, owed their conversion to Christianity chiefly to the zeal of Irish missionaries. The early Welsh Church was intimately connected with that of Ireland; and many early Irish saints were schooled in Wales. It was his opinion that this extension of Ogham writing to Britain, and the fact that it was there found to be coincident only with the area of early Celtic missionary exertion, must have a bearing, not be slighted or put aside, on the question as to whether the branches of the Arrian race which formed the earliest settlements in these islands were acquainted with this mode of writing in Pagan times. If the Pagan Celts of Ireland used Ogham writing, there is no reason why their brethren of England should be ignorant of it; and that monuments inscribed therewith should be confined to Ireland, Wales, the south-west of England, and that part of Scotland colonized from Ireland.

The following papers were then submitted to the meeting:—

¹ See for engravings of these stones the "Journal of the Kilkenny and South-

East of Ireland Archaeological Society," vol. iii., new series, pp. 233, 302.—ED.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF FLORENCE MAC CARTHY.

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS), ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. III., New Series, page 295.)

THE tidings of Florence Mac Carthy's certain return to Ireland, which Donel-na-Pipy had brought with him from the court, and communicated to the Bishop of Cork, sufficed to occasion absolute consternation amongst a large community of undertakers in Munster. Roused by the shrill alarm from the episcopal trumpet, his old enemies, headed by the fiercest of them all, David Barry, the Lord Viscount Buttevant, rushed with renewed fury upon their foe ; the first shaft, winged more directly, and with most of malice, at the heart of the common enemy, was shot from the bow of Barry. Florence appears, through life, to have been able to keep his personal dislikes in a wise subordination to his political requirements : in all cases *except* the single one of this Lord Buttevant. His enemies were countless ! for they included every man who had a chance of deriving benefit from his ruin, every man injured by a Mac Carthy in Munster, every man who lived by inventing or discovering anything that would prove him to be dangerous, or disaffected, Spanish in heart, or popular in Desmond, every man who hated his religion, or coveted his possessions. Donell, his wife's base brother, Mac Carthy Reagh his cousin, Browne, with his convulsive clutch upon Molahuff, and David Barry, were the great captains in this army of evil wishers. Towards none of them, save Barry, does he appear to have entertained any rancour which could not be put aside when occasion required. His contention with the Brownes we shall see conducted with temper and decorum ; of Donell he speaks invariably rather with contempt than with acrimony ; and with his cousin of Carbery we shall see him before long holding confidential counsel "in the bay window of Kilbrittain Castle" his birth-place ; but Barry was the solitary object of his especial detestation ! and in *his* instance alone did he permit himself to use language unbecoming his own high breeding, and the dignity of the Privy Council to whom his letters were addressed. What had been the original cause of this rancorous feud we know not for certain ; it had, in all probability, arisen out of the Desmond rebellion, in which Florence and his father, and Barry and *his* father had taken opposite sides. Whatever may have been the cause, the quarrel itself was long-lasting, and bitter. To Florence's secret handling of the bands of desperadoes who found asylum in the Earl's country, Barry attributed the frequent incursions of those robbers upon his lands ; whilst to Barry's "inventions and false suggestions to Sir Thomas

Norreys," at the time of his marriage, his adversary ascribed his imprisonment. The rumour of Florence's return set half the pens of Munster into motion ; whilst Browne hastened to kindle alarm in the mind of Sir Edward Denny, the old enemy of Herbert, an undertaker like himself—Barry with similar purpose bestowed upon the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, a spirited chapter of the biography of Donell, which must have forcibly reminded that eminent judge of the adventures, and the companions of his own youth. Popham needed little solicitation to induce him to exert any influence he might possess to injure Florence. He, and his son-in-law Rogers, as the reader will perceive presently, had been disappointed in their endeavours to place themselves as undertakers in Carbery ; we shall at a later period see them making a fresh and equally unsuccessful attempt upon Florence's patrimonial estates.

"1589. March 4.

"John Popham placed himself at Mallow being but 6000 acres, and at the earnest request of Sir Thomas Norreys and sundry of the Gent. undertakers left it unto Sir Tho^o. Norreys, who expecting to have been placed at Imokilly, and finding no place there, for that it is all claimed as chargeable lands, sent his people to the Bantry, where Edward Rogers, Esq^r. was to have been placed ; and finding there in all not passing 4000 acres, the place being far off and dangerous, and all the rest thereabouts claimed by others of the Irish, is driven, and the same Edw⁴. Rogers also, to return all their people, saving some few that of themselves are contented still to stay there. John Beecher hath the one-half of Kinalmeaky passed unto him by patent; he sold not, nor yet doeth enjoy it quietly, in respect of Mac Carthy Reagh, and the O'Mahons, although the titles were this summer adjudged against Mac Carthy Reagh, and therefore not many people are there as yet. Hugh Worth hath the other moiety of Kinalmeaky, who hath received the like disturbance, and therefore hath had few there.¹

"J. POPHAM."

The undertaking of lands in Ireland, some of which were declared forfeited by royal decree, others by a less ceremonious process of the undertakers themselves, may not have been without its risks, but certainly it must have had also its attractions to have retained so enduring a hold upon the mind of this great legal functionary. When filling the high office of Her Majesty's Attorney-General, he had found time to visit Ireland, and make a personal survey of the lands of several of the native chiefs, which, though not yet forfeited by their owners, nor formally distributable by royal letters, were looked upon as in effect available to any one with sufficient capital to occupy them, and sufficient interest to secure

¹ The spelling of this document has been modernised.

their possession when occupied. Upon that occasion Popham had contracted friendship and alliance with men of similar appetite for Irish lands; hence when the terrors of Donell Pipy, and the Bishop, had spread amongst the entire body of the undertakers—"the lead men" who had scandalized Herbert—Barry at once invoked the influence of Popham for the common cause. Two years later we shall behold him making himself the medium of a renewal of every suspicion and accusation that had been current against Florence for years; at present he contented himself with laying Barry's letter, without any commentary of his own upon its contents, before the Privy Council, who were in anxious deliberation how best to put an end to the troubles of Munster, without sending thither the man who was seemingly alone qualified to do it. "Donel, the natural son of the Earl of Clancar, was playing the Robinhood worse than ever:" the enemies of Florence attributed this to "his malicious instigations, very secretly sent to him." Florence had the address to persuade Cecyll that no one but himself could put an end to these disorders; but the distrust of the Queen was not so easily overcome; she still hesitated to give her consent for his return to Ireland. Matters got rapidly worse: "the Bastard was out with some forty swords." "Browne was yet living in hopes of his head;" but that wicked head was still safe, and full of evil devices "against all men who wore hose after the English fashion." "Good Sir Thomas," nearly at his wit's end, suggested to the minister the policy of giving him a free pardon, and taking him and his loose men into the Queen's pay and employment; but in the mean time he assisted Browne with what means he could, to hunt him further into the wilderness. Sir William Herbert also, forgetful of former quarrels, made common cause with the chief assailant of the common nuisance. In return "Donell robbed Herbert's man of seven pound and his weapon." The next tidings of this restless spirit that reached the Privy Council, and quickened their deliberations, was that "he had spoiled and preyed the Abbey of Bantry." Other exploits of his are duly set forth by Barry, who little suspected that his narrative could have brought upon him the very evil that he was striving to avert.

"*Endorsed, 1593. March 22. The Lord Buttevant to the R^t. Hon^{ble}
and his good Lord Sir John Popham, K^t. L. Chife Justice of Englande
gave this.*

"R^t. Hon^{ble} Having ben bolde to trouble y^r Honor wth sundry my former tedious l^{rs}, and having receivid that contynall favur att y^r hands as I cannot well tell howe to requite the same, yet never the lese I shall and wilbe to the uttermoste of my power att y^r commandment, and therefore psuminge the more upon the contynuance of y^r Hon^{ble} fav^r, I thought good to advertise you of certaine rebellious attempts offred here lately by

Daniell, the base son of the Earle of Clancarty who, wthin this moneth, by meanes of certein directons and adutisements of Florence Mac Cartyes sent hither very secreatlye unto him, as I understand, The said Daniell hath hanged a man belonginge to Mr. Nicholas Browne, and to his father¹ Sir Owen O'Sullevan, and hath also murthered one Patricke Garland, both good servitors, and besids geven two onsets to kill Sir Own is eldest soñ; and diuers other bad attemptes hath ben by him geven. His company is not great, not above fortie, and therefore the more dangerous, What mischieves may ensue by him, to avoide tediousnes, I refer to y^r L^r; but to be briefe wth y^r Honor, I do assure you, yf the said Florence do once escape from thence, and have any scope, considering what practize the said Florence formerly used wth Daniell Graney, for his rebellions in Kinelmeaky, and delivering him his own weapon to attempt those bad enterprises that he toke in hand, it cannot be, but that he will powe run to farr more dangerous dealings, whereby may ensue chardges to Her Ma^r, and great losse and ruine to this poore comonwealth; to w^h as I knowe y^r honor to beare a zealous fav^r, so wth this smale caveat, taking my leave, I humbly betake the care thereof to y^r Ho^r, and y^r Ho^r to Goddes tuicion

" Barries Courte, the 22^d of Marche, 1592.

" DAVID BUTTEVANTE."

Notwithstanding the military promenade of the Earl of Clancarty to his off-lying lands of Clandonell Roe, referred to in a previous page, and the excesses of his son, which Barry called "rebellious attempts," the province of Munster was unusually tranquil; discontent indeed there was, and, considering the behaviour of the undertakers, "the indiscreet and lewd men" whose association was so revolting to Sir William Herbert, it was, to use that gentleman's words, "wonderful they were so quiet as they were;" abundant rumours of brooding rebellion there also were; but, except within the unapproachable wilds and bogs of Donell's country, every part of the province was in obedience. The same complaints respecting Donell which Barry had sent to the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Norreys had written to Lord Burghley; that some remedy was urgent for disorders so scandalous, practised immediately under the eye of the Vice-President, became manifest to the Privy Council. The first tidings of the remedy about to be tried, the first proof which my Lord Barry received of the effect of his letter to Popham, must have fallen upon his perception as something utterly fabulous, and incredible. Florence continued to urge his suit to be allowed to return to Ireland; he was now driven, besides, to petition for "some means for his support, and for money to satisfy his creditors." Out of the complaints of Barry, and the disorders of Donell, the ingenuity of Elizabeth, or of her ministers,

¹ Father-in-law. Browne had recently married Sir Owen's daughter.

or the far more fertile mind of Florence himself, extracted the motive, and the resources for the acceding to both of his petitions. Florence had at last succeeded in persuading the Queen, as he had persuaded her ministers, that no man but himself was competent to deal with the turbulent Donell; but to effect such a service without money was more than even he could undertake; and to draw money from the Queen's Exchequer for any purpose merely Irish, was nearly a hopeless attempt. Florence was far too prudent to essay it; his ingenuity discovered an alternative, which he could scarcely have proposed, without a smile, or Lord Burghley, who was, as Camden informs us, "a man of reverend presence, and undisturbed countenance," have listened to with that gravity for which he was admired in his generation. It happened that on the death of Barry's father, in prison, for his participation in the Desmond rebellion, great interest had been needed to save the blood of the son from attainder, and his estates from forfeiture; these misfortunes had only been averted by the imposition of a fine of £500. Many years had gone by; and as no measures had been taken to enforce the payment of this sum, Barry and his friends had long looked upon it as a mere bond for good behaviour. That the man whose contemptuous marriage he had been amongst the first to make known to Sir Thomas Norreys; whose rebellious practices he had been incessantly occupied in watching and reporting; whose wife's brother's enormities he had so recently exhibited in all their black details; should have found any loyal man to listen to him in reviving the faded recollection of that fine, may have reasonably surprised him. How much greater surprise was in store for him, let the reader judge! Early in November, 1593, Florence MacCarthy landed in Ireland; on the 9th of the same month was the following extraordinary letter, signed by the hand of Her Majesty, presented by him, together with another by Lord Burghley, to the Lord Deputy.

"FLORENCE M^CCARTY

"*Rot. Mem. 34-45 Eliz. Inrolment at request of florence M^cCartie Gent.¹*

"ELIZABETH.

"Right trustie and welbeloved wee grete youe well Whearas the Viscount Barry havinge in the last rebellion associate himselfe to the late traitor the Earle of Desmonde was afterwardes receved to his submission in the time of the Goveremt. of the Lo. Graie our late Deputie in that

¹ For this inrolment the author is indebted to the kindness of Herbert F. Hore, Esq., whose competency, and readiness, to assist any effort to elucidate the history of Ireland are well known. In Her Majesty's "State Paper Office"

is preserved the original letter to, the Lord Deputy, the one, probably, which Florence took with him to Ireland. It is characteristic of Florence's extreme wariness that he should have caused it to be thus officially inrolled.

Realme upon condicōn of a fine acknowledged by him for his said offences to our said Deputie and Councell of the soſme of five hundred pounds to our use, the paient wherof hathe since been respited. Wee let youe understand that knowinge noe cause whie wee shoulde anie longer forbear the same, and havinge wthall a disposicion to relieve florence M^cCartie a subiecte of that our Realme who hathe deserued to have ſoſme gracious conſideraſon to be had of him, Wee are pleased to bestowe on him the benefitt of the ſaid fyne of the Viscounte Barries, wherefore wee will and comaunde you that upon the Receipte herof youe cauſe the Record of the fine to be ſougt out and therupon to pcead by eſtrete or other peces of our Exchequier to extend and recover the ſame. And beinge recovered to give Warraunte to the officers of our Exchequier theare to make paiem^t therof to the ſaid florence M^cCartie or his assignes as of our free gift and liberalitie without accompte impreſte or other chardge to be ſett upon him for the ſame, And theare our lrēs ſhalbe to youe and to them ſufficient Warraunte for the doinge herof.

" Geven under our Signett at our Castle of Windesore the viijth of August 1593 in the xxxvth yeare of our reigne.

" To our right trustie and welbeloved Sir William fitz Wilms Knight our Deputy of our Realme of Ireland, or to anie other Deputie Justice or other Governor of our ſaid Realme that herafter for the time ſhalbe."

Had a thunderbolt fallen upon the Baronial residence of Barriescourt, or upon the Episcopal palace of the Lord Bishop of Cork and Cloyne; had her ſacred Maſteſty ſuddenly bestowed the fiercely conteined ſignory of Molahuff upon Donell the baſtard, greater aſtoniſhment could not have fallen upon their ſeveral owners than was occaſioned by this ſtarling letter of the Queen! Her Maſteſty knew no cauſe why Barry ſhould not pay his fine! nor why ſhe ſhould not bestow the ſame upon Mr. Florence Mac Carthy, "who had deſerved to have ſome gracious conſideration to be had of him"! Had Florence been allowed, himſelf, to prepare the draft of this epiftle, he could ſcarcely have ſelected language better ſuited to confirm the opinion entertained by his own people of the influence he possessed at court; nor could he have found phrases more contemptuous towards the man whom, upon all occasions, he emphatically styles "myne adverſary." Needy as he was, it is probable that he would not have ſold this £500 fine for double the ſum counted out of Her Maſteſty's Exchequer. Barry might—as indeed he ſeems to have done—have conſidered the incident a mere ſpiteful pleasantry; but Browne, and a hoſt of others, could not fail to interpret it as it was plainly meant; the Privy Council was about to attempt a new experiment in the government of Munster; Florence was the author of this novel policy; he was to be conciliated; Barry was to pay this £500 to indemnify him for his long imprisonment, and to remind that importunate correspondent that the earlier paſſages of his own life were not forgotten; Browne

and others might take warning from the fate of Barry. It may be doubted whether the Lord Deputy himself was less surprised, or better pleased, than the enemies of Florence, when the Queen's letter was handed to him. Barry had of late been ostentatiously loyal, he had been owing this money for ten years to the Queen, and, as he with much ingenuousness acknowledged in one of his letters, "he had always looked upon it rather as a warning to the rebellious people of his own country than as a sum ever seriously intended to be exacted from him." To pay it at all, to pay it to Florence MacCarthy, seems at once to have fixed itself in his mind as a sheer impossibility. When invited by the Lord Deputy to pay the money, his reply was prompt and emphatic.—"He had it not." The consequence might have been foreseen; Florence claimed and received security on the lands of his adversary to the full amount of the fine, and the Deputy reported his proceedings to Lord Burghley.

" 1593. November 10. *The LORD DEPUTY SIR W. FITZ WILLIAM to BURLEIGH.*

" It maie please y^r Lo. I receavid yesterdaie two l^{rs} from y^r Lo. by Florence Cartie, the one of the 26th of August in his favor generallie, and the other of the 14th of Septembre pticulerly to expedite unto him her Ma^y graunte of the Lo. Barries Fine of £500; besides her Majesty's allowance of him, and remittall of his concealed offence; whereunto I am ever in dutie to applie my likinge. It is, and while I live shalbe a motive sufficient to me to knowe that y^r Lo. doth favor him, and so will I make it appeare to him and all others, as y^r Lo. hath by y^r contynuall favors bound me: accordinglie I did forthwith upon the readinge of your l^{rs} touchinge that fine, give direc^cn to Mr. Chief Baron, a gentleman so earnest, &c. &c. &c.

" WM. FITZ WILLIAM."

" 1594. January 20. *FITZWILLIAM to BURLEIGH.*

" Havinge receaved by Mr. Florence M^o Cartie y^r hono^rable l^{rs} on his behalf for the recovery of the some of £500,—due by the Lo. Barry for the Fyne of his pdon in the golument of the Lo. Grey, wch yt hath pleased Her Moste Excellent Maty to bestowe on the said Florence, So yt is that havinge called the said Lo. Barry to aunswere whie the same shold not be paied I have so farre proceeded as there is band of recognisance taken for payment of the said Some at four sevall payments; the first whereof beinge for £125 is payable the 2^d. of Feb^r. next, and so quarterlie till the whole be paied within 9 monethes, wch in answere of yo^r Lps favourable l^{rs} on his behalf I have humblie thought good to make knowne to your Lp. And so wth harty prayer for yo^r prosperous success in all your affayres do take leave from Dublin the 20th of Jan^r. 1593."

Phrensicd with rage and shame at "the disgrace put upon him,"

Barry rushed, without license from the Irish authorities, to court; thereby forfeited his sureties, and Florence, without delay, was put into possession of about a third of his lands. The contest for this fine, though in its early stages sufficiently curious and amusing, trained itself on into a languishing tediousness, in which the vivacity of its commencement is forgotten, and which only now and then sparkles into fleeting brilliancy by its grotesque intrusion into letters upon subjects wholly foreign to it. Between the grant and the payment there was destined to be a long interval, and the revenge proved in the sequel as costly as it was sweet. Quickly following Barry in his flight to England sped a letter from Florence, which is too remarkable to be laid before the reader without a few words of introduction. In it the writer pleads earnestly for his fine, as indeed he seldom fails to do in the multitude of letters, which, from this time forward, he is constantly writing to one or other of the ministers, or to the Privy Council. He alludes with much address to the minister's friends, Goring, Norreys, and others, whose pecuniary interests must suffer damage by the retention from him of the Queen's gracious gift, and then passes to matters which show at once the nature of the conditions on which he had obtained permission to return to Ireland. The severest struggle which England ever had to retain her hold upon Ireland was preparing. O'Neill and O'Donell felt their strength, and were already making essay of it by occasional outbreaks from their unassailable dominions upon the subjects of the Pale. Munster was evincing unmistakeable evidence of sympathy with the northern chiefs, and Florence perceived, opening before him, a career worthier of his influence and abilities than the pursuit of his revenge upon Barry, or the harassing uncertainties of litigation. He seemed on the point of commencing his political life; for "at the same moment the Vice-President desired his help in Munster, and the Lord Deputy contemplated using his services in the North." The cloud, however, passed away from Ulster for the present; Munster, in ominous sympathy, subsided into its usual state of sullen submission, and Florence fell back upon his lawsuit. That Florence MacCarthy was in truth better able than any man living to secure the peace of his province, and to ensure to the Queen's government the adhesion of the powerful sept of which he was the most distinguished member, was a fact which the English authorities had full opportunity of knowing; and could they have safely trusted him to aid them in subjugating his own people, he might have named his own price for his services: but they not unreasonably required "some imprest of previous service," before they would wholly relax their hold upon him. That the Queen's government could more effectually ensure to Florence the great prize which his heart coveted—succession to the inheritance of MacCarthy Mor—than any alliance with the northern chieftains could

do it, he perfectly well knew ; and could he have trusted the men who put so little trust in him, he might perchance, as his father Sir Donogh had done, have kept for the remainder of his days every member of his race in obedience ; but he, in his turn, naturally required "some imprest of previous benefit." Of this the only earnest yet offered to him was, that he had been allowed to return to Ireland for a prisoner's holiday ; subject at any moment to a ministerial order to repair again to England, and to the Tower itself, had the Queen so willed it. The result could scarcely be satisfactory to either party. Crippled loyalty was rendered in exchange for crippled liberty. It may be well, before proceeding further, frankly to encounter a question which probably the reader has already desired to ask, and which assuredly, as this life advances, he will be anxious to have answered. Was Florence Mac Carthy true to the Queen? true to his fellow-countrymen ? or true only to himself? It was the opinion of all men in his generation, both English and Irish, friends and foes, that he was "a Rebel!" To the reader of the *Pacata Hibernia* it would seem that he had failed his party in their extremity, and left the Sugane Earl to be crushed when he might have saved him ! Uncertain whether praise or blame may attach to the first of these charges, the writer will prefer to leave it as it stood with his contemporaries ; the reputation of any mere Irishman may tolerate the accusation of disloyalty to Queen Elizabeth, without any fatal detriment ; at the same time we may safely assert—for it was asserted by Carewe and Sir Robert Cecyll at the time—that he had done nothing for which the law could touch him, nothing but what he had ministerial warrant for doing. That James Fitz Thomas did repeatedly urge him "boldly to cease temporizing, and join him in attacking the forces of the President ;" and later, when his followers were falling from him, piteously call upon him for help, is true—if the letters published by Carewe were genuine, as doubtless they were ; but he does not appear to have understood that the temporizing attitude of Florence paralyzed the arm of the President, and was alone between him and his destruction. In alarm for the safety of his own force, which he had not the skill to handle with effect, nor latterly even to keep together, the earl seems to have forgotten that at that very time Florence had watchmen upon the mountains of Desmond looking landward for the arrival of the northern earls, and seaward from the battlements of the "Old Head of Kinsale," for the coming of the Spaniards. Carewe understood the tactics of Florence better, and chafed against them as fretfully as Fitz Thomas could do. To expect to see him rush openly into action the first moment that a national banner was raised, to proceed as undisguisedly as did the northern chieftains, whose persons and possessions were beyond the reach of the English power, or like men of the stamp of Donell the Bastard, or even the younger sons and

brothers of the chiefs in his own country, men of little repute or consequence, and with no lands to lose, were greatly to misconceive his character. Florence was by nature more wary than any man of his age; he frequently received hard names from the various English authorities with whom he came in contact, men who distrusted him, and yet failed to convict him of any violation of law; and this most prominent feature of his character was the one that invariably attracted their notice; by some he was called ambitious, by others dangerous, by others mere Spanish, but one and all described him as subtle and cunning. His friends, Ormonde and Stanhope, referred to the same peculiarity in his nature, when they, with more politeness, termed it "his great prudence and wisdom." This quality, whether cunning or wisdom, acquired immense development by his experience of the English character as it was exhibited in Ireland. Had the life of Florence been written by native writers, we should probably have seen the question of his duties to the Queen considered from a point of view different from any taken by the correspondents to whom we are indebted for the uniform decision that he was an ungrateful rebel. It is likely that her Majesty would not have admitted the propriety of any reasoning upon such a subject; nevertheless there were views taken of the duties and rights of an Irish chieftain different in some important particulars from hers, and it was with these views that the Irish mind was the most familiar. Florence was the son of one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the native chiefs. His father had been pronounced by Sir Henry Sidney, an altogether "special man and good subject." He had fought for the Queen, and been graciously allowed to marry the lady of his choice, although that lady was the sister of "James Morrice the Arch Traitor," without bringing upon himself for it eleven years of exile and captivity. It is, therefore, likely that he trained his son in the prudential principles of loyalty. Unfortunately Sir Donogh died when his son was scarcely fifteen years of age, and thus there may have existed some want of completeness in his discipline as to this and other matters; but Sir Donogh undoubtedly taught his son the full measure of the rights of an Irish chief, and, as we have seen, encouraged him to enforce them at the early age of twelve years, sending him out against refractory tenants "with a train of horsemen, galloglass, and kerne, to take meat and drink with force and extortion, and to levy sums of money called cowe, not only against the will of the freeholders, but even of the cessor of the county." In Sir Donogh's days the undertaking of Irish lands had not yet been heard of; needy Englishmen, ravenous for Irish plunder, there were indeed in plenty upon the staff of the Vice-President of the province, but none of them appear to have trespassed upon the lands of Mac Carthy Reagh, hence Sir Donogh left no precedent to rule the loyalty of his son in his treat-

ment of undertakers when they came. With his education perfect upon the one subject of his rights, Florence had to trust to his own observation for its extension to many others. His experience of English views as to the use of Ireland, gained by his visit to the court, and his observation how these views were carried out by the undertakers, those indiscreet men who measured conscience by commodity, and law by lust, greatly advanced his education in a new direction; and the knowledge he eventually acquired of the worst parts of the English character gave a forced growth to that "subtlety and cunning"—prudence and wisdom—which men discovered to be the most prominent qualities of his nature. Whatever other lessons might be wanting to him upon minor points circumstances had gradually supplied. His exile and imprisonment on account of his marriage, and the invasion of his property by a swarm of undertakers and others, must have defined in his conscience with great distinctness how much of loyalty he owed to the Queen. The time came when the English ministers, rather than allow Munster to set all Ireland in a blaze, chose to make a bargain with Florence Mac Carthy. Her Majesty would make over to him an old claim, upon a man of questionable solvency, for £500; would probably pardon the offence of his marriage; probably give him his entire liberty; and probably otherwise benefit him at the death of his father-in-law; if he would assist in establishing English authority over every chieftain in Ireland, and enable her to break up, and distribute the estates of the native lords amongst such adventurers as would pledge themselves to introduce English religion and English law into his native country. The reader will scarcely need again to inquire whether Florence Mac Carthy was a loyal subject. It may appear from the letter immediately following, that Florence was playing the part of informer against his countrymen; for he tells the minister, confidentially, that several of them were likely to be discontented, and might be dangerous, and that sufficient sureties should be taken from them for their good behaviour; and prays that it may be kept secret that he had given such advice. Let the reader be assured that this was no treachery to the parties named; but a simple demonstration of the writer's great prudence and wisdom; the undertakers and the law were daily provoking these men to rebel, and Norreys and Cecyll knew, as well as Florence could tell them, that they were discontented, and likely to grow desperate; to take sureties from them might keep them from blundering prematurely into rebellion, bringing ruin upon their own heads, and thus rendering them powerless to help in the great struggle that was coming. The facility with which, after an absence of six years from Ireland, Florence could at once raise 400 men of his own people for any cause, even for the Queen's, and that without himself so much as going amongst them, can scarcely have escaped the keen observa-

tion of the Secretary. But Florence's services were not required ; the northern chieftains were not yet ready ; the danger seemed to have been overrated, and for a time matters became again tranquil. Four years more were to pass by before Florence's political life should begin, and it needed that full period to enable him to overcome the distrust of the English Privy Council, and to obtain the Queen's authority to enter upon the inheritance fallen to him by the demise of his wife's father.

" 1594. March 16th. FLORENCE MAC CARTHY to BURGHLEY.

" Right honorable, and my most approved good Lo. My humble and bonden dutie remembered; having deliſd the Lo. deputie yo^r lops: letters, concerning myself, and the fine of v. hundred^d due of the Lo. Barry, wth yo^r Lop. obtained of her Matie for me, wherupon I found his Lop. very willing to fauor me, And synding in the rowles of the Chauncery, the fiant of the sayd Lo. Barry is pardon, wherein he acknowledged the sayd fyne, and also his recognizance, in the councell book for the paime^t. thereof I received therupon (by order of the Lo. Deputie and councell) sufficient assurance for the paiment of the sayd fyne; yett notwthestandinge the Lo. Barry hath not onely broken his promess wth the Lo. Deputie and coun-
cell, but also forfeited what assurance he made, and is gon ou^t into Eng-
land, contrary to the Lo. Deputie and councells pleasne and to the Vice-
president of Mounsters comaundermēt, wherefore I humblie beseech yo^r
Lo^r (as I have alwayes found you my most hono'able good Lo. and
chefest frend) that it may please yo^r Lo^r now to be a mean, that the sayd
Lo. Barry may not obtaine any thing that may hinder or preudice me in
my sayd suit, nor in the benefitt of the recognizance wth he hath forfeit-
ed, and which is myne by an order out of the Excheq^r, the rather that
he hath by his going ou^t in that sorte disobeyed her Ma^d lawes and plea-
sure and contemned the state here, wherein yf he be borne w^thall, it shall
be a great example and occasion of disobedience to all this realme, as the
Lo. Deputie and councell hath at large enformed now by their letters, he
beinge also one that was with the Earle of Desmond in all the last rebel-
lion, whereby he deserves the less fauor : beseechinge yo^r hono'able Lo^r
therefore that you will as well consider myne imprisōmēt. and troble
these vj. yeres past by the said Barry is malicious meanes and misinforma-
cōns. Her Ma^d havinge bestowed this suite uppone me to help to satis-
fie my creditors for my charges dureinge my sayd troble; as also what
great charges I have bene at for this matter, hauinge folowed Her Ma^d
for it since I was discharged at Cicester in the last progress, untill yo^r
L^r got it signed at Her Highnes last being at Windsore, and since my
coſninge into Ireland (I protest unto yo^r L^r) it coste me aboue £200 in
lawe and othewise, and was neu^r able to see my wife and contrey since
my coſning, being not able to absent myself from Dublinge by reason of
this matter. After all which charges, trobles, and loss of time I assure
yo^r L^r (on my faythe) yf the sayd Lo. Barry shold obtaine anythinge to
hinder or preudice me in this matter, I haue no other meanes to live, or
satisfie my crediters (hauing already in my troble morgaged and leased
what living I had to Sir Thomas Norreys, Mr. George Goreing and others)

but to folow Her Ma^{re} againe untill yo^r Lo^r do obtaine som meanes of Her Highnes for me whereby I may recouer my self, for the w^{ch} I wold have repaired now into Engeland, but fearing that I shold have som important occasion to serve Her Ma^{re} here by reason of the suspicōons which is conceived upon the behauiors of the Earle of Tireowen and O'Donell, who although they have bene lately wth the Councell at Dundalk yet notwithstanding som of them are holden very varyable; being also edgged forward by all the people and knaves of those parts, who are growen to be very bold, whereby yf there be anything to be don against them I do purpose to goe thyther wth three of four hundred men of myne owne, for I have divers who knowes all that contrey very well, hauinge (dureing my troble) served in all those parts, and are of very great estimacion there: Also the Earle of Clancarty is bastard, having remained in action against Her Ma^{re} since the last yere, doth still kepe in that contrey, and because his company is so few as he may not be cutt off by service, because he doeth but lurk among som of his secrett frends, wherby nothing cann hurt him but frendship; by reason whereof Sir Thomas Norreys requested me to goe thyther, where I am going now at this p^sent to see what I may do in that case, and whatsoever I may do eyther in the North or in Mounster, it shall not cost Her Ma^{re} anythinge; Her Highness hauing alreadie bene so gracious unto me, as I shall hardlie be able to deserve it whyle I live, neyther do I desire any better reward but that Her Highness and yo^r Lo^r shall fynd that ye are not deceived in the good opinion w^{ch} Her Ma^{re} and yo^r Lo^r was pleased to conceave of me, for the w^{ch} I will assure yo^r Lo^r of one thinge w^{ch} is that no inconvenience shall grow in Mounster but that Her Ma^{re} and yo^r Lo^r shall understand it in time; and for that I haue bene (as I am sure yo^r Lo^r doth remember earnest with yo^r Lo^r for Dermod M^cOwen M^cCarthy the yong M^cDonogh, who hauing obtained letters there came hyther, but the Lo. Deputie and Councell hauing referred him to the law, wherby I take him, and Sir Owen O'Sullevan to be greatly discontented and very desperat, therefore I take it very necessary that in the next letter concerninge matters of state that yo^r Lo^r and the Councell do write hyther the Lo. Deputie, or Sir Thomas Norreys be willed to cause those two aforesnamed to fynd sufficient sureties, w^{ch} they may doe very easiley, for the Lo. Roche, M^cCarthy Reogh, the Lo. Barry, and all the chefest men for the most parte in Mounster are their frends. Lett those sureties be taken of Sir Owen and his iii. eldest sonnes, for these rumores in the North wold greatlie stirr discontented and desperat men to evill. Thus craving pardon for my tediousnes, the rather that I think it necessary to aquaint yo^r Lo^r at large w^{ch} these circumstances w^{ch} I leaue to yo^r Lo^r honora ble consideracion, and do humblie take leaue this xvij. of March 1593.

“ yo^r Lo^r most humble and bonden

“fflor: M^cCARTHY.

“ I humblie beseche yo^r Lo^r not to aquaint anie with these thinges that I wrote to be my doinges.”

Poor Sir Owen, the Lord of Carbery, was not going to occasion any further uneasiness to Minister or Deputy. About the time this

letter was written there passed, with little notice, from the troubled world of Munster, this man, "so specious in show, so badly bent, this malicious papist." As in the case of his predecessor Sir Donogh, the opinion recorded of him by the annalists of his own country differs widely from that entertained of him by his English contemporaries! What indeed could Sir Warham St. Leger, or the men immortalized by Sir William Herbert, be likely to know of Sir Owen's piety and hospitality? Words certainly have many significations; and St. Leger's words, quoted above, may perhaps have borne a meaning not widely different from that with which his character was sketched by the Four Masters: "Malicious Papist," may have meant "pious and noble minded man!" And "badly bent" may bear the interpretation of "truly hospitable"—to men out of favour with this rough writer.

Thus is the demise of Sir Owen Mac Carthy chronicled by the Four Masters:—

"Mac Carthy Reagh (Owen son of Donell, son of Finin), Lord of Carbry died. He was a sensible, pious, and truly hospitable, and noble-minded man. Donell, the son of Cormac-na-Hoine, took his place."

We have extant a letter written by Sir Owen Mac Carthy to Lord Burghley; this letter has a postscript, and both are now presented to the reader. The style of the letter may perhaps have been suggested to Sir Owen by "his agent, the bearer," as suited to the dignity of the great minister for whom it was intended; but no agent surely assisted in the composition of that irresistible postscript! The document bears pleasing proof of the flourishing state of Sir Owen's finances; it shows also the peculiar signification which the writer attached to the office of the "Lorde High Treasurer of the Realme of Englande;" but what is of most consequence, both portions of the epistle tend to prove the justice of the character given to him by the Four Masters, that "he was a sensible man! and truly hospitable."

"1587. December 23. From SIR OWEN MAC CARTHY (REAGH) to the
R^t. HON: and his singular good Lorde the LORDE BURLEIGH, Lorde
High Treasurer of the Realme of England.

"R^t. Hon: and my veray goode Lorde, my humble duetie don to yo^r
good L^r. It may please yo^r Hono^r to understand, that (havinge spent so
much money as I thought would suffice duringe myne aboade here, and
remayning nevertheless in debt of one hundred pounds) I have been
emboldened by your L^r favourable inclyna^cón towards me, to direct the
bearer myne agent, humblie praing yo^r Honor to deliuier unto him, in
Loane for me, 2 or 3 hundred li. for which I will passee a bande from me,
to see it repaiied either to the Deputie or to the President of Mounster
within two moneths after my landing in Ireland. And so (acknowledg-
ing myself bonde unto y^r L^r during life) I humbly take leave.

"From my Lodgings at Westmystre this 23^d of December 1587.

"I humbly besech your Hon: Lp: to respect my p'nt extremytie,
and to suply my want with the Loane of one fortie ponds to refresh me
theis holydayes.

"Your Hono'able L^r obedient at Comma"ndment,

"OWEN CARTY.

Sir Owen had been true to the family agreement; he had not turned aside the Captaincy of Carbery from the Tanist, in favour of his own sons; and Donell Pippy, when he "took his place," took it under assurances of £10,000 to leave the usage of Tanistry as he found it. How this engagement was eventually kept the reader will see later. By the death of Sir Owen MacCarthy, Florence became Tanist, or heir apparent of Carbery; and thus seemed approaching the fearful day, foreshadowed by Sir Warham St. Leger, when he would become MacCarthy Reagh, and MacCarthy Mor, and thus reunite in his own person the vast inheritance which had been divided since the days of Donel Mor-ne-Currah.

Barry in the mean time had repaired to court, where he complained loudly of injustice done to him by the Lord Deputy and the Vice-President, whom he accused of having made over "all his lands" into the hands of Florence. He then fell fiercely upon his adversary, whom he openly charged with treason against the state, and declared that he could bring witnesses to *prove* his assertions. In spite of Florence's prayer to Lord Burghley not to listen to anything that Barry might say against him, charges so grave, and made so openly, had their effect; and the minister obtained from the Queen a new order to the authorities in Ireland, to suspend for the present any further proceedings in the matter of the fine, and to call Florence before them, and examine him upon the charges which the Lord Barry would make against him.

(*To be continued.*)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS
OF
THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FOR THE YEAR
1863.

FIFTEENTH SESSION.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these linea, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. IV.—PART II.

NEW SERIES.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR MEMBERS ONLY.

1863.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

OR

THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST OF IRELAND

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1863.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments,
William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 7th,
1863.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society,
in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Captain Thomas Henry Ponsonby, Sion House, Kilkenny :
proposed by Barry Delany, Esq., M. D.

Thomas Newenham Deane, Esq., Architect, 3, Upper Mer-
rion-street, Dublin ; and the Rev. Robert Stavely, Vicar of Reynagh,
Banagher : proposed by Charles H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

Robert J. Mooney, Esq., J. P., the Doon, Ballynahown, Ath-
lone : proposed by the Rev. James Frazer.

Arthur Ussher Roberts, Esq., J. P., Glendine House, Arthurs-
town : proposed by Richard Long, Esq., M. D.

Rev. James Gaffney, R. C. C., Malahide, County Dublin : pro-
posed by the Rev. John O'Hanlon.

William Hunter, Esq., Head Inspector of National Schools,
Kilkenny ; proposed by Mr. Prim.

Mr. Michael Deady, Jerpoint Mills, Thomastown : proposed by
J. G. Robertson, Esq.

Samuel Shaw, Esq., Andover : proposed by the Rev. James
Graves.

The Report of the Committee, for the year 1862, was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows—

"In an undertaking such as the formation and continued working of a Society like ours, the chief difficulties to be contended against by its executive appertain not so much to the work of initiation, as to those of its vital action. If our natural bodies become incapable of renewing the waste of daily life, they perish; and such is also the inevitable fate of every body politic. It may then be allowed that your Committee should, with laudable pride, look back on the past life of our Society, and lay before the members a few of its 'vital statistica.'

"That at the commencement of the fifteenth session of an association it should be found still in vigorous action, implies that it must have more than renewed its list of supporters within the period. The roll of Members who have paid their subscriptions for the year 1862, or are not more than that one year in arrear, comprises the goodly number of 608. Your Committee are happy to say that by far the greater number belong to the former category, but nevertheless have to report that 96 laggard Members required to be written to a *third* time for their subscriptions, *and are still in arrear*. It is to be hoped that the greater part of these lazy folk will save trouble to themselves and your Treasurer by at once forwarding the subscriptions for 1862, and those of 1863 (now also due in advance) in one sum, with some addition to indemnify the Society for the cost of the postages of repeated applications. The wasted labour imposed thereby on your Treasurer cannot, of course, be so easily recuperated. He must pay that penalty of his position, and he informs us that his only hope is that the Members may for the future be more merciful to him. This your Committee feel sure will be the case, when the Members recollect that the sending out of even the first call for subscriptions and returning receipts for payments imply the despatching of 1200 letters.

"The growth of the Society during the past year has been satisfactory. 89 new Members have been elected. The unsparing excision of defaulters causes, however, the apparently stationary condition of the roll. Did these gentlemen pay what they honestly owe, and so acquire a right to be reinstated in the list of 'live men,' its numbers would of course be considerably increased.

"The vitality of the Society is at once demonstrated by a brief review of its progress since its foundation. 1405 members have been elected from April, 1849, up to the end of the year 1862. Of this number 749 have fallen away, having resigned, died, or become hopeless defaulters; in this last discreditable list must be placed 134 persons, who, having received the 'Journal' of the Society, have dishonourably detained from its funds nearly *one hundred pounds* (£92 8s.) None of them can plead forgetfulness of their obligations, as they have been reminded of them over and over again by the Treasurer, in the last instance by private letter; so that they have not an excuse to plead, which is common with careless people, that, as they never look at *circulars*, they are ignorant of their debt to the Society. The recent rule which precludes the supply of the 'Journal' to those who are a year in arrear, will for the future reduce the loss to the

Society arising from this discreditable course to the lowest possible amount.

"It will be seen that the Society has more than renewed its 'body politic' since its birth; the 'dead' Members thrown off amounting to 797, and the 'living bone and muscle' to 608.

"Having gibbeted the defaulters so unsparely, your Committees cannot but give the credit due to the great body of the Members for the punctual payment of their subscriptions. Your Treasurer, as appears by his accounts, which have been duly audited, and published in the Society's 'Journal,' has received, from the year 1849 up to the end of the year 1861, the very large sum (considering the small amount of the annual subscription) of £2066 9s. 11½d., which, with the exception of a balance of £49 2s. 9½d., has all been expended solely in carrying out the objects of the Society's formation, not a single officer having received payment for the valuable services rendered. For this sum the Members, besides the outlay necessary for the working of the Society and the support of its Museum, have received, in addition to the Parts for 1862, and a volume of the 'Annuary,' now all but finished, six large royal 8vo. volumes of 'Transactions.' These volumes, printed in close type, contain a great mass of valuable matter, and are all indexed for more facile reference. The two series of the Society's Journal extend to 2980 pages, and are illustrated by 279 plates and woodcuts, executed in as good a style of art as those produced by any provincial publishing society in Great Britain. But in future a great improvement may be looked for in this respect, as the list of special annual subscribers to the 'Illustration Fund' now extends to 136, and the sum contributed for the year 1862 has amounted to over £50. Several wood engravings, by the best artists, are in hands, and will appear in the 'Journal' during the coming year. Were the Members, as a body, to respond to the appeal made for this purpose, our 'Journal' would soon take rank with the first of its class.

"Several zealous Members of the Society are, however, dissatisfied with this mode of procedure, and have warmly advocated, instead, a general raising of the annual subscription from 6s. to 10s. in order to effect the object desired, and simplify the accounts. Your officers are decidedly in favour of this move, and hereby solicit the opinions of Members on the subject. Should a majority prove to be in favour of it, your Committee will have no hesitation in recommending its adoption at the next Annual Meeting; but until they are thus enabled to ascertain the feelings of the Society in general, they are not prepared to advocate this increase *as a compulsory measure*, however much it would improve the funds of the Society and lighten the labours of its officers. Your Committee, then, earnestly request a communication from each Member on this subject when paying his subscription for the current year.

"Your Committee have sought to calculate the number of letters written by your Secretaries and Treasurer, since the formation of the Society, incidental to its mere working and the collection of funds, and quite irrespective of the labour of editing the 'Journal.' They found, however, that the sum would appear incredible—to be, in fact, counted by *tens of thousands!* They are, therefore, content to leave it to the ingenuity of those Members who have a taste for statistics, and who will find in the published

accounts of the Society full data for the work. The mere fact, already stated, that the first call for the annual subscriptions implies the posting of 1200 letters as the very lowest amount of official correspondence for a year, and the lamentable certainty that many Members must be applied to from *three to six times* before the paltry six shillings is paid, will give an idea of what the sum total must be. Your Committee are sorry to say that they have in this way been forced to contribute a very large sum to her Majesty's revenue, without any corresponding benefit to the Society. The remedy for this, however, is in the hands of Members, who can, if they only *will do so*, pay their subscriptions when due, in advance, on the first of January in each year.

"The Society has to lament the death of several zealous Members during the past year. The greatest blow it has received, however, is by the loss of the Very Rev. Richard Butler, D. D., Rector of Trim, and Dean of Clonmacnoise. Dean Butler was a Kilkenny man (having been the second son of the late Dr. Butler, Rector of Burnchurch), and a warm friend of the Society from its birth. His fame as an antiquary and historian is placed on firm grounds by the works which he so admirably edited for the Irish Archaeological Society, especially the '*Annals*' of Clynn and Grace, the authors of which having been monks respectively of the monasteries of St. Francis and St. John, in the city of Kilkenny, Dean Butler seems to have entered on the task of editing, for the first time, their labours with the zest of a compatriot. It is to be regretted that he did not apply his great knowledge and abilities to the composition of a history of the Anglo-Norman conquest and settlement of Ireland. The specimen of his powers which he has given in the able preface to the '*Annals*' of Clynn and Dowling shows plainly what we have lost by that disinclination for the work which his great natural modesty rendered insuperable.

"Although in some degree foreign to the scope of this Report, your Committee cannot refrain from adding their voice to the general lamentation which the death of Professor Eugene O'Curry spread over Ireland. Occurring so soon after the demise of O'Donovan—his friend, and fellow-labourer in the rich field of our national language and history—the loss of O'Curry, Ireland's greatest Gaelic scholar and scribe, saddened every true-hearted Irishman's thoughts. As 'star after star' decayed, the gloomiest forebodings seemed likely to be verified, and the study of our national literature, to all appearance, received a blow from which it can never recover. On Dr. Todd, Dr. Reeves, Dean Graves, and Dr. Petrie, now rest our only hope. Let them work for Ireland as they may, and that promptly, for the night soon cometh, and the '*gloomy days*' sung of by our national poet seem otherwise inevitably at hand!"

On the motion of Captain Humfrey, seconded by Mr. Duffy, it was resolved that the Report of the Committee be adopted and printed.

On the motion of the Rev. William Gumley, seconded by Dr. Campion, it was resolved that the Officers and Committee of the past year be re-elected for the present year.

The following presentations were received :—

By the Author: "Addenda" to the "Earls of Kildare," by the Marquis of Kildare.

By the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, United States: its "Report," for 1860.

By the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, United States: their "Report and Collections," for the years 1857 and 1858, Vol. IV.; also the "Report of the Geological Survey of the State of Wisconsin," Vol. I.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Report and Communications," No. 12.

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: their "Proceedings," Vol. I., No. 6 and 7. Second series.

By the Surrey Archaeological Society: their "Collections," Vol. II., part 2.

By the Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester: their "Reports and Papers," for the year 1861.

By the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the County of Buckingham: "Records of Buckinghamshire," Vol. II., No. 7.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "Archæologia Eliana," part 19, new series.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for November and December, 1862, and January, 1863.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. IX., part 2.

By the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool: their "Proceedings," No. 16.

By the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland: their "Journal," part 22.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Journal," No. 8, new series.

By the Glasgow Archaeological Society: their "Transactions," part 2.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1028-1039, inclusive.

By Richard Kelly, Esq.:—"Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiastico-rum in Hibernia: or the First-Fruits of all the Ecclesiastical Bene-fices in the Kingdom of Ireland, as taxed in the King's Books: with an account showing how this Royal Fund, vested in Trustees, hath hitherto been disposed of." Dublin, 1740.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archae-ology," No. 35.

By the Rev. W. Gumley: a Box ticket for the Gentlemen's Plays, Kilkenny, 1818, with the seal and signature of the Honorary Box Keeper, "John H. Prim."

By W. D. Heinphill, Esq., M. D.: several large and beautifully executed photographs of the ruins on the Rock of Cashel, viz., No. 1, Bishop's palace, south transept and central tower of Cathedral; No. 2, Cormack's chapel, south front; No. 3, Entrance to Bishop's palace, St. Patrick's cross, &c.; No. 4, Choir of Cathedral, internal view looking east; No. 5, Monuments in choir, tomb of Malcolm Hamilton, &c.: also the East window of the Dominican Abbey, Cashel, showing the insertion of a 15th century flamboyant window into a 13th century triple lancet: East window (flamboyant) of St. Mary's church, Clonmel: Cahir castle, external view.

By Francis Currey, Esq., the following photographs of great excellence:—No. 1, Head of the magnificent ancient crozier in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; Nos. 2, 3, and 4, ancient Irish tombstones existing at Lismore Cathedral;¹ No. 5, Head of cross, with Irish inscription, preserved at Lismore.²

Mr. Curry, on the authority of the late Dr. O'Donovan's "Irish Grammar," p. 228, stated that the inscription in Irish characters on the crozier runs thus when written fully:—

OROIT DO NIAL MAC MEIC AEDUCAIN LAS A NERNAD IN
GRESA OROIT DO NECTAN IN CERO DO RIJNE IN GRESA

Translated as follows:—"A prayer for Nial, son of Mac Aeduan, by whom was made this ornament. A prayer for Nectan, the artist who made this ornament." Mac Aeduan (or Macgettigan) was Bishop of Lismore, and died in 1112.

By Richard Kelly, Esq.: a silver six shilling piece of George III.
By John Turner, Esq.: a London penny of Ed. I.

By Richard Long, Esq., M. D.: a Waterford Tradesman's Token, which has been thus described for the Society by Dr. Aquilla Smith:—

Obv.—WATERFORDS . SAFETY . WISHED ; in the field a shield bearing a castle or tower.

¹ Engraved in "Journal," first series, vol. iii. p. 200.

² Engraved in same volume, p. 412. These ancient Irish inscribed stones are so admirably represented, that it makes one long to see a record formed, by means of photography, of the invaluable collection at Clonmacnoise, and other ancient Irish ecclesiastical establishments. In any other country but Great Britain this would be effected at the expense of government. Here, if done at all, it must be by the exertion of private zeal, and the expenditure of pri-

vate funds.—Ed.

³ With reference to the Waterford token presented by P. Cody, Esq., J. P., at the last meeting, Dr. Aquilla Smith sent the following observations:—

"The description of the token in p. 187, *supra*, is very erroneous. The coin is identical with one in my cabinet."

"Obv.: PR. CRANISBOVGH; in the field a lion rampant.

Rev.: OF . WATERFORDE; in the field rd over the date, 1671.

"Another of the same type, in my cabinet, has on the obverse, PHE . &c."

Rev.—PROCEED. AND. PROSPER 1659; in the field a shield bearing three galleys, the arms of Waterford.

By John Bower, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor of Carlow: A curious antique bronze brooch, a large ancient iron door key, and a portion of a very small iron horse shoe, of the circumstances attending the finding of which he sent the following account:—

" Castlescreen, or Castleskreen, in which the accompanying antiquities were discovered by me, is a fragment of a ruined castle of very early date, standing within a fort, or rath, on the top of a hill in the townland of Castleskreen, in the parish of Dunsfort, and county of Down, and situate about four miles in a southerly direction from Downpatrick. Its appearance is that of a square tower of about 30 feet high, and 14 feet square, of grouted boulder masonry; the under half of which, on two sides, has crumbled or fallen away, leaving the upper part undermined to a depth (horizontally) of 2 to 4 feet, which has a square lantern-shaped appearance, projecting over an irregular trunk of masonry. The square upper part of the building has thick walls pierced on the north by a door opening—high, narrow, and square-headed, the sill of which is 7 feet over surface; within is a chamber about 6 to 8 feet square. At the level of the earth, on the east side, is an opening in the masonry about 3 feet square, from which a shaft appeared to me to rise, communicating with the chamber overhead, ascending to which I found it filled with rubbish to the level of the door sill.¹ On excavating within the walls, the conjecture of a communication between the lower opening and the chamber above was confirmed; and in forcing the lower layers of debris through the opening underneath, I discovered the articles which are now presented to the Society. They have not been out of my possession since the date of discovery."

By Peter Burtchaell, Esq., C. E., County Surveyor of Kilkenny: two very interesting specimens of the ancient encaustic flooring tiles turned up in the Abbey of Graiguenamanagh, one of William Earl Marshall's foundations for Cistercian monks in Kilkenny.

By Mr. John Dunne, Garryricken: A gun-money shilling of James II., and some other coins, turned up in that locality; also an iron horse-shoe, dug up from the gravel at the bottom of a very deep drainage cutting at Pollogh, near Poulcapple; and a couple of very small old earthen tobacco pipes, found by a man named Thomas Tobin, at Rathculbin.

The Rev. James Graves called the attention of the members to the recent work issued by Mr. Henry O'Neill, "On the Civilization and Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland." It was a credit to the zeal, artistic skill, and untiring research of its author, and ought to be in

¹ This shaft was evidently connected with a constructive feature serving for the wardrobe, or privy, generally found in such towers.—ED.

the hands of every man who took pride in the olden glory of Ireland. Mr. O'Neill deserved well of his country, and, it was to be hoped, would find numerous purchasers for his work.

The Rev. James Mease exhibited a Roman brass, of Tiberius Cæsar, in good preservation, but of doubtful authenticity, and a parchment document, being a bond of Queen Elizabeth, signed with her own hand (a fine specimen of her autograph), for £5,730 17s. 4d., lent for her Majesty's use by John Radermaker, merchant, through Sir Thomas Gresham, "agenti nostro in pecuniis," to be repaid in London (for which the Royal word was pledged), on the 10th of October next following, the date of the document, being April 10, 1569. The bond is endorsed, for better security, with an engagement signed by the following members of the Privy Council:—N. BACON, PENBROKE (*sic*), E. CLYNTON, E. KNOLLYS, T. NORFOLK, R. LEYCESTER, W. HOWARD, W. CECILL, all excellent specimens of the signatures of these celebrated characters. The bond was cut through in several places, showing that it had been duly paid. Mr. Mease stated that the document was said to have been saved from the conflagration of the old Irish Parliament House in College Green, Dublin. The bond had been entrusted to him for exhibition by a member of the family of the Rev. Luke Fowler, of Wellbrook, county of Kilkenny.

Mr. Prim reported, for the purpose of having a record of the fact in the Society's "Journal," the discovery made in the beginning of last December, of two ancient sepulchral vases, at upper Grange, in the county of Kilkenny, on the property of J. C. Kearney, Esq., Blanchville. The brother of the farmer on whose land the discovery had been made, Richard Dalton, described to him the manner of the finding, as having been in the usual way. In deeply ploughing a field a large stone was come upon, on raising which, a small kist, formed of flags, was discovered, in which were the urns—one containing burned bones, and the other inverted over it, like a cover,—the upper urn being somewhat larger than the other. This arrangement was not usual, but Dalton, who was a very intelligent man, was positive as to the accuracy of his description. Unfortunately, the finders being disappointed at the discovery that they had not got a "pot of gold," broke the urns to pieces; and he had been unable to obtain even the smallest fragment.

Mr. Robertson reported a rather curious and interesting circumstance to the Society—the fact of a portion of a townland in the county of Kilkenny forming part of the glebe pertaining to an English vicarage. He had been recently professionally engaged by the Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, in Westmoreland, to survey and report on the dilapidations of two farm houses and out offices on the lands of Ballinaboula, parish of Tullaherin; and considering the

circumstance of an English clergyman possessing glebe land in Ireland somewhat strange, had mentioned the matter to the Rev. James Graves, who suggested that he (Mr. Robertson) should inquire of the agent of the incumbent under what circumstances these lands had become attached to his vicarage. He accordingly had written to ask the question, and the following was the answer which he had received:—

"With regard to your inquiry about the connexion between Kirkby Lonsdale and the land in Kilkenny, it seems that when Cromwell was in Ireland he marched through Kilkenny, part of his forces being led by a general called Redman. He laid siege to the old castle you might have seen on the south wing of the lands, and took it. For his services, Cromwell gave him the lands; and Redman married his daughter to the then Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, and gave the lands as a grant for ever to the vicars of that parish, who have since held them."

Mr. Prim remarked that the old castle alluded to was obviously that of Ballinaboula, which, however, he understood from Mr. Robertson, was not situated on lands pertaining to the vicarage of Kirkby Lonsdale. The castle, with a considerable portion of the townland, had been from a remote period, and he supposed still was, part of the see-lands belonging to the Bishopric of Ossory; and it was an interesting fact that the castle was built by David Hackett, who was appointed Bishop of Ossory in 1460, and who was a famous architect, not only having designed the vaulting of the belfry arch of the Cathedral of St. Canice, but having given the plan and superintending the erection of the chapter-house of the monastery of Batalha, in Portugal, which was covered by an arch of the greatest span at that time and for many centuries after known in Europe. The Cromwellian officer referred to in the letter was doubtless Colonel Daniel Redman, who had acquired property in Kilkenny, but apparently not by a direct grant from the Commonwealth. A document quoted by the author of the "Memoirs of the Grace Family"—who speaks of it "as a very ancient and curious original MS., but does not tell where it is preserved—states that "Ballylinch, Leagan, Raduth, Killarney, &c., were at the same tyme given (amongst the forfeited estates of the Grace family) to the Captains Rogers and Joyner. . . . Joyner had been cook to King Charles, though not his friend: wherefore, to secure said estate, hee conveyed it to his brother-in-law, Colonel Daniel Redmonds [Redman], who gave Ballylinch and Leagan to his daughter, the Lady Ikerin, and the remainder to his other daughter, marryed to Sir John Meade." It was thus that Ballylinch came to be the property of the Carrick family; but no mention was here made of a third daughter of Redmonds, or any marriage with a Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale; and it

would be a curious arrangement that lands given as a marriage portion should descend, not to the children of the marriage, but to the husband's successors in the church living which he chanced to hold. The information obtained by Mr. Robertson was certainly most curious and interesting ; but it would be very desirable that a more detailed and circumstantial account of the matter should be obtained, if possible.

J. P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-law, contributed the following :—

"Perhaps it may be allowable (in reference to Mr. Prim's interesting paper on the Inns of Kilgenny) here to record an anecdote in connexion with the Wheat Sheaf Inn, Kilkenny, not known to many of those even that it most concerns, and to be lost probably unless it here finds a place. It regards the origin of the formation of the bar mess of the Leinster circuit, which circulates through the south-east of Ireland, the district which our Society embraces in its labours, the five counties assigned to the circuit being Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary. I heard the anecdote from the late Thomas Dickson, Q. C., in the summer circuit of 1841. He was called to the bar in 1792, so that he had then been on circuit for forty-nine years; and as he had been previously in the church, he must have been considerably past seventy years of age. He was then, and had been for many years previously, as the oldest member of the circuit, president of the bar mess, called familiarly 'the father.' He had great vigour of mind and body, and was able to hold his own through a long night at the head of a table better than half his sons. He had begun life in the church, not that any one could know it from any trace of the cleric that was found in him. Yet he had been a distinguished preacher, an imitator of Kirwan, whose extemporaneous sermons, then new in the church, he admired. His bishop required him to give up extempore preaching. He resisted. The bishop demanded his written sermon; he had not committed it to writing—he resigned. He showed great independence of character through life. In truth, it was his earthly bane; for he was a sound lawyer, and a man of great integrity, yet he remained without his silk gown till near his seventieth year, rather than adopt 'more marketable notions' than those he entertained on various subjects; and these he took no heed to suppress. His career was a somewhat varied one. 'In my time,' I once heard him say, 'I have played five parts: I have been a parson, a strolling player, a cavalry trooper (I forgot his other part), and a vagabond lawyer, which I still am.' He told us one night that after he was called to the bar he celebrated a marriage in the year 1802 at Paris, between Henry D——y and Miss F——. When he joined the Leinster circuit, the barristers were divided, he said, into three sets or parties—the Beresford party, the Ponsonby party, and the Bar Mob, of whom (he humourously added) 'I was one.' Each set dined apart. It was the custom for the first man of the 'Bar Mob' that arrived in the circuit town to inform the host how many he might expect to dinner, in order that he might provide accordingly. One day (it was before 1798, as Mr. Dickson remembered), Denis Scully, author of the celebrated work, called 'The Penal Laws' (father of Vincent Scully, Esq., Q. C., the present representative in

parliament for the county of Cork, also a member of the Leinster circuit), was the first to arrive in Kilkenny, and he announced to the host of the Wheat Sheaf that twenty might be expected, as best he could guess. When the time came, however, only four appeared, and they were Denys Scully, Thomas Dickson, John Kinchela, and another. The host informed Scully he should hold him responsible for the cost of the whole dinner. He remonstrated (the amount, when afterwards divided between the four, for the others agreed to bear their part, came to thirty-nine shillings a head), but it was in vain. Thereupon Denys Scully, locking the door, threw up the window, and apprised the mob at the foot of the parade that he was going to feast them, and at once proceeded to throw every morsel on the table out of the window, to be scrambled for by the crowd. It is not every day that the sky rains boiled beef and roast turkeys, with other dainties, in Kilkenny. The news spread, and soon there was a raging crowd, fighting, roaring, scrambling for the viands that were showered from the window. When all was done, they still demanded more, so that the guard had to be called out before the disturbance that followed could be quelled, and the mob dispersed. The matter became one of public notoriety and discussion. A meeting of the Leinster bar was called, and thenceforth it was arranged that there should be a common dinner, at which the whole of the bar on circuit should dine, which of course has continued to prevail, to the very great satisfaction of all, to these more democratic times.*

The following communication was received from Captain Edward Hoare, relative to a unique and inedited token of Peter Godwin, of Youghal, the woodcut of which has been presented to the Society by Captain Hoare, as has been also that of another variety of the coin, now in the British Museum, by the Rev. Samuel Hayman, of Youghal :—

“ An inaccurate description of an inedited copper token of Peter Godwin, of Youghal, in my possession, having been inserted in ‘ The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society’ (vol. ii., new series, p. 399), I have felt it my duty to correct that error, and for which, I believe, I must alone be held responsible, as it was sent from the camp, at Aldershot, amidst all its din, noise, and duties, and while away from all my collections, notes, and papers, as well as from the token under consideration. I therefore feel much pleasure in presenting an engraving of this token for the acceptance of the Society, and for insertion in the ‘Journal.’ ”



“ Through the kindness of Augustus W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum, I have been personally enabled to compare my token with the

specimen of Peter Godwin's token, which is preserved in the Museum's collection, and from that comparison to state that my token is as yet indited, and, as far as I am aware, unique also. The token of Peter Godwin in the British Museum, which is in very fair preservation, and perfectly legible in every letter and particular, is precisely similar to the token engraved in a previous number of the 'Journal' of our Society, in the paper by the Rev. Samuel Hayman, 'On the Local Tokens of Youghal.' I did possess a specimen of this token a few years since, precisely similar to the Museum's token, but which I have unfortunately at present either lost or mislaid.

"On comparing the accompanying engraving of the token, presented to the Society by Mr. Hayman (which, for reference sake, I will call the



Museum token), with the engraving of my token, it will be perceived that the reverse of my token is quite different, though the obverses of both tokens are precisely similar. The Museum token has the word 'change' spelt 'CHANG,' mine spells it 'CHAING.' In the Museum token the word 'THEM' is in large letters, and of the same size and form as the previous letters of the legend. In mine it is in small letters, less than half the size of the others; and at the outer extremity of the token, seemingly as if, in consequence of the wrong spelling of the word 'change,' there was not room enough left to put the word, 'them,' in the same form and size of letters as those previously engraved.

"The date of both tokens is 1658; and it is curious, and perhaps worth consideration, to understand and ascertain why and how Peter Godwin came to issue—and which first—the two varieties of his token during the same year?"

The Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C., contributed the following notes on the papers of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, illustrative of the topography of the county of Antrim:—

"Whatever differences of opinion may prevail with regard to the exact manner in which the state is to fulfil the duties of a public instructor, or to the nature of the safeguards for instruction which it is bound to afford its subjects, there can be no question that a certain amount of informa-

¹ An analogous instance will be found in Dr. Smith's "Catalogue of Tradesmen's Tokens," page 7:—

No. 108, reverse, WHEN. YOV. PLEASE.
ILE. CHANGE. THES.

No. 109, reverse, WHEN. YOV. PLEASE.
ILE. CHAINGE. THES.

These tokens were struck by the same

person, "W. B., of Carrickmacross," Co. Monaghan. Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, in his valuable "Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney," has engraved the latter token (p. 140), and identified the striker as William Barton, M. P. for Monaghan county in 1692, 1695, and 1703.

tion is required from all civilized governments, so far as this knowledge bears upon the social, intellectual, and economical resources and interests of the people and communities over whom jurisdiction is exercised. The statistics that are furnished by an extended organization, and the machinery that can alone be put in motion by the employment of a trained and competent staff of officials, with a view to elicit information on the artificial wealth and natural resources of a country, can only be undertaken by departments wielding ample means for developing objects, the immediate or ultimate result of which must be an advancement of the general interests, and of the social and material happiness of an entire people. In the latter sense, it will be allowed on all sides, that the functions of a state must be desirable and requisite in assuming the task of promoting public instruction, without endorsing the further extension of a principle advocated by the moralist poet, Wordsworth—

“ O for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to teach
Them, who are born to serve her and obey.”

That the object had in view by the government, in organizing the efficient staff appointed to conduct the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, was one tending to a most useful and necessary result, will be readily conceded by all who have had an opportunity of forming a matured opinion on the subject. In the present state of progress of the Irish Ordnance Survey, the public at large can form but a very inadequate notion of this great and truly creditable national undertaking. Although abundant materials have been already collected, at considerable expense and exertion, for the illustration of the history, antiquities, topography, scenery, soil, climate, mineral resources, natural history, statistics, productions, and social economy of every county and parish throughout Ireland, it must also be conceded, that a more liberal expenditure would have been necessary to make this collection all that could be desired, not alone by the artist, the man of science, the historiographer, and the *littérateur*, but by the educated artisan, manufacturer, merchant and statesman. Much has been already effected through the publication of the several index and townland maps, which are now in universal circulation throughout the British Empire, and in all parts of the civilized world; yet, even in this department, various desirable improvements and emendations are required, which are in process of being supplied. The parish memoirs, of which so creditable a specimen is afforded by the publication of the ‘Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry,’ vol. i., have not hitherto followed in that rapid succession which the people of the British Empire should have reason to expect; but, it is to be hoped, that a liberal and an enlightened government will not defer to an indefinite period the completion of such a national work, now that the principal difficulties have been surmounted in the shape of labour and expenditure. In no department of the public service has there been a more judicious, economical and productive outlay of the public money, than in that connected with the Ordnance Survey of the British Empire, and especially in the branch of it more immediately relating to Ireland. The writer of this

paper has had frequent opportunities of observing with what zeal, ability, and entire devotedness, the officials of the Irish Ordnance Survey departments have devoted themselves, in the prosecution of their arduous and unremitting labours; and, from the late accomplished and courteous superintendent, Captain George A. Leach, and the present equally gifted Captain Wilkinson, of the Royal Engineers, to the humblest subordinate, it may well be said that no *employés* under Her Majesty's crown have better deserved the meed of approbation and reward to which eminently useful public servants are entitled. It will be unnecessary to remark in this place, that the services of the talented and able gentlemen, formerly connected with the Irish Ordnance Survey staff, could hardly be sufficiently prized or adequately recompensed by the government and the public. The present series of papers is only intended to present a necessarily brief abstract of the result of their labours, in collecting and compiling the matter necessary to illustrate the past and present state of the counties and parishes in the province of Ulster. It is to be hoped, however, through the medium of this abstract, that the people of the northern province, and the readers of the 'Kilkenny Journal,' will be furnished with the means of judging to some extent of the valuable mass of matter, already collected and classified, but yet remaining in MS., and of course inaccessible to the great body of the public. In giving the names and a summary of the literary labours of these gentlemen to its readers, the writer trusts that his humble but well-intentioned efforts will claim the indulgence, if they do not deserve the commendation, of every enlightened patriot and every zealous archæologist.

"It is not to be expected that the following series of papers will present in minute detail those subjects embraced under titles of the various MSS. connected with the several counties of Ulster, much less that they could enter upon the origin, organization, and progress of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, its partial interruptions, through motives of false and short-sighted economy, and its future progress, prospects, and results. Such information, however desirable it might be to the great majority of the reading public, is partly accessible to literary, professional, and scientific persons, through the various parliamentary reports and blue-books, and through the specimen volume of the 'Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry,' vol. i. Besides, to do full justice to the subject, or even to furnish the necessary details connected with it, would require an amount of time, labour, research and inquiry, which could not well be afforded by the present writer, consistently with his other duties and engagements.

"In the Catalogue of the Ordnance Survey MSS. are found the following matters referring to the county of Antrim :—I. Names and descriptions from Down Survey and Book of Distribution.—(See Ulster, vol. i.) II. Extracts from Colgan's works, with extracts for Londonderry in parcel of 'Papers not in order to be bound.'—(See also page 33, and Common Place Book B.) III. Name Books, 54. IV. Name Sheets, 66. V. Memoir Papers.—(See detailed list annexed). VI. Queries and Replies relative to antiquities, orthography, &c. One volume, in a guard book;¹ not

¹ For the information of persons uninitiated, the term, *Guard Book*, here signifies

a sort of thickly covered portfolio, without leaves, yet having narrow stripes of

referred to Name Books, or indexed. VII. Index to names of places on map of Lough Neagh. VIII. County index to maps, one volume. IX. Sketches, 23. All of these materials are yet in the Ordnance Survey Office, with the exception of Nos. II. and IX., which have been transferred to the Royal Irish Academy. I shall now proceed with a detailed description of those found in the Ordnance Survey Office, in the first instance.

"*L. Names and Descriptions from Down Survey and Book of Distribution*.—These are contained in the Ulster vol. i., as already described in a former communication, when treating of the MS. materials for the county of Down.

"*III. Name Books*.—They are in number 54.¹

"*IV. Name Sheets*.—They are in number 66. The aforesaid matters are precisely similar in shape and composition to those already described under the county of Down materials.

"*V. Memoir Papers*.—On referring to the detailed list annexed, I find that the several Memoir Papers are kept in press 7 of the waiting room, and they are tied up in three distinct parcels. The following is a list of these materials, referring to the several parishes of the county of Antrim, in alphabetical order, as found in the catalogue :—Aghagallon parish, Aghalee, Ahoghill, Antrim county, Notes and Mem. relative to Memoirs, Antrim Parish & Town, Armoy, Ballinderry, Ballintoy, in Mem. Books F. Nos. I., IV., V., VI., and Parcel; Ballycastle, No. XII.; Ballyclug, Ballycor, Ballylinny, Ballymartin, Ballymoney, Ballynure, Ballyrobert (Grange of) and Ballywalter Parishes, Ballyscullion (Grange of) Parish; Ballywalter, see Ballyrobert, Ballywillen Parish, in Mem. Book F., No. IV., and Parcel; Billy, in Mem. Books F., Nos. I., II., III., IV., V., and Parcel; Blaris, Camlin, Carmayey, Carnastle, Carnmoney, Carrickfergus, Carnfield, Culfeightrin, in Mem. Book F., Nos. IX., X., XI., and Parcel; Derryaghy, Derrykeighan, in Mem. Book F., No. IV., and Parcel; Doagh, Donegore, Drumbeg, Drummane, Drummaul, Drumtullaugh (Grange of) Parish, Dunaghy, Dundermot (Grange of), Dunsane, Dunluce, in Mem. Book F., Nos. III., IV., and Parcel; Finvoy, Glenavy, Glenwhirry, Glyn, Inver, Islandmagee, Kilbride, Killagan, Killead, Kilraghts, Kilroot, Kilwaughter, Kirkiniola, Lambeg, Larne, Loughguile, Maghera, Magheragall, Magheramesk, Molusk, Muckamore, Newtowncrommelin, Nilteen (Grange of), Progress Journal of T. Fagan, Mem. Book F., No. VIII.; Racavan, Parish, Raloo, Ramoan, in Mem. Books F., Nos. VI., VII., IX., and Parcel; Rasbarkin, Rashee, Shilvoldan (Grange of) Parish, Skerry, Templecorran, Templepatrick, Tullyrourus, Umgall (Grange of); all of these Memoir Papers are noticed as having been received from Captain Leach, R. E., October, 1851.² It would be quite unnecessary to give a detailed description

paper bound inside, to which the margins of larger sized papers may be pasted or otherwise attached for preservation.

¹ For No. II. see p. 20, *infra*. There is an additional Name Book; but the matter in it refers to portions of parishes in Derry and Tyrone.

² In addition to the Ulster Memoir Papers, already described or noticed, and hereafter to be noticed, there are various

parcels contained in the Library of the Ordnance Survey Office. A General Index to those matters will explain the subjects or classification, as follows :—

1. Antrim; 2. Armagh; 3. Cavan; 4. Clonmacnoise; 5. Cork, Bandon Town; 6. Donegal; 7. Down; 8. Dublin; 9. Fermanagh; 10. Galway; 11. Ireland in general; 12. King's County; 13. Leitrim; 14. Londonderry; 15. Longford;

of the headings and matter contained in each paper ; it will be sufficient to observe, that the contents, for the most part statistical, closely resemble the general arrangement, shape, and size of page, as found in the Down

16. Manorhamilton ; 17. Mayo ; 18. Meath ; 19. Monaghan ; 20. Queen's County ; 21. Roscommon ; 22. Sligo ; 23. Tipperary ; 24. Tyrone ; 25. Ulster ; 26. Essay on Virtue. The following is a more detailed list of Memoir papers referred to in the foregoing catalogue :—

On the shelf over the entrance doorway to the library are to be found the following matter, used substantially in a compilation of the *Ordnance Survey Memoir of the Parish of Templemore*. *Parcel 1.* Secondary matter, relative to townland names, statistics, commerce, benevolence, justice, the people, &c. ; Natural history, public buildings, topography. *Parcel 2.* Proofs from printer. *Parcel 3.* Statistical matters, &c., by—No. 1, Lieut. Dawson, R. E. (Greenan fort, &c.); No. 2, Mr. Ligar; No. 3, Mr. Neely; No. 4, Mr. O'Donovan—extracts relative to Derry from inquisitions, annals, &c. ; papers relative to Grianan Aileach, list of mammalia, do. of herbs; No. 5, Mr. Petrie, notes relative to rents and fisheries, &c., race papers; No. 6, Captain Portlock—statistics, natural history, zoology, botany, geology, productive economy, commercial, general; No. 7, Mr. Stokes—statistics, miscellaneous; No. 8, Williams, do. do. ; No. 9, Hacket, do. ; No. 10, miscellaneous papers, statistical, historical, biographical, &c., MSS. copied by Mr. Downes, Brit. Museum, 1834, "Information relative to Londonderry," extracts from Journal of House of Commons (1695), Deans of Derry, school reports, Incumbents of Templemore and Derry, &c. *Parcel 4.* Miscellaneous statistics, errata, &c. *Parcel 5.* Proofs and copy. *Parcel 6.* Original matter for memoir, by Mr. Petrie. *Parcel 7.* Index. *Parcel 8.* Printer's copy. *Parcel 9.* Miscellaneous matters (copy) used for memoir. *Parcel 10.* Commercial tables, &c. *Parcel 11.* Copy of preface, &c., and notices (geology and botany). Ordnance memoir. *Parcel 12.* Printed documents, reports of charitable societies, &c. *County Londonderry.*—*Parcel 1.* Townlands. *Parcel 2.* Miscellaneous statistical reports, parishes of Desertmartin, Magherafelt, Tamlaghtard, or Magilligan. *Parcel 3.* Miscellaneous matters relative to various parishes. *Parcel 4.* Various parish and county documents, extending into

other counties, extracts, &c. Miscellaneous letters, notes, chiefly relative to matters connected with *Ordnance Memoirs*. These materials have been thrown aside, as waste paper ; and their valuable facts having been worked into the only specimen memoir of our Irish parishes hitherto published, in connexion with the *Ordnance Survey*, they are struck off as cancelled in the catalogue. Much of this matter is in the handwriting of Dr. Petrie and Dr. O'Donovan. Extending along the entrance doorway to the library are five shelves, within a press, in which are contained the following matters, not yet used for publication by the *Ordnance Survey Office*. On shelf 1 we find: Upper Cumber parish (Derry and Tyrone), miscellaneous memoir papers, originals and copy ; Lower Cumber (county of Derry), miscellaneous memoir papers ; Faughanvale, memoir papers ; memoir papers of the following parishes (county of Londonderry), viz., Clondermot, Cole-raine, Ballyaghron, Kildollagh, Magilligan, Ballywillin, Aghanloo, Drumachose, Desertmartin, Errigle, Kilrea, Killalagh, Tamlaght, Finlagan, Desertlynn, Ballyashane, Balteagh, Kilreagh, Macosquin, Ballynascreen, Aghadoey. On shelf 2, we find: Killowen (Grange of), Agivey, Kilcronaghan, Termoneeny, Artrea, Dungiven, Desertoghill, Tamlaght-O'Cirilly, Ballyscullion, Dunboe, Bovevagh, Magherafelt, Maghera. On shelf 1, we also find: Statistical Report of Ballinascreen, Kilcronaghan and Desert-martin, Banagher, Dungiven and Bovragh, by John Mac Closkey ; Banagher, ancient topography, &c. On shelf 2, we again find: Statistical Reports for parishes in the baronies of Cole-raine, N. E. Liberties of do., Keenagh, N. W. Liberties of Londonderry, Lough-insholin, Tirkeeran ; Londonderry Population Books, 45 ; Tithe Composition, 1836 ; natural features and modern topography (copies) of the parishes of Aghadowey, Arboe, Artrea, Ballinderry, Ballynascreen, Ballyscullion, Desertlynn, Desertmartin, Desertoghill, Dunboe, Grange of Agivey, Kilcronaghan, Kil-lalagh, Kilrea, Lissan, Magherafelt, Tamlaght-O'Cirilly, and Termoneeny ; Clondermot, race tables, questions on bleaching, elements of calculation ; Tirkeeran barony, description of. On

Memoir Papers, and already pretty minutely described, in this 'Journal,' pp. 14-36, *supra*.

"VI. *Queries and Replies relative to Antiquities, Orthography, &c.*—This

shelf 3, behind case, engraved maps—distinct from the Ordnance Maps—of various Irish counties, we find: Londonderry, statistical tables for Banagher, Cumber, Lower and Upper, Errigal, Loughsholin barony, 2 parts; Faughinvale, Magherafelt, Tamlaght (Co. Tyrone), do. field Book, old Index Map of Ireland, &c.; incomplete scraps relative to affairs preceding the siege of Derry, with the Templemore parcels over the entrance doorway. On *shelf 2*, we again find: Miscellaneous tables, rough draughts, copies, extracts, &c., relative to Londonderry, Antrim, Down; list of reports on parishes in Donegal, instructions to engineers, original forms, Book of Entries for Londonderry, do. for Antrim. On *shelf 5*, we find: Incomplete scraps of statistical matter for Cavan, Tyrone, &c. On *shelf 1*, we again find: Documents concerning Ulster, Clonmacnoise, Dublin, and Ireland in general, with part of an Essay on Virtue. On *shelf 2*, we find: Miscellanies relative to various counties—Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Fermanagh, Galway, King's County, Leitrim, Longford, Mayo, Meath, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary; Statistical Memoir of Union of Newtowhamilton. On *shelf 4*, we find: Antrim, Statistical Reports, 58; Index of Names in county, school returns, &c.; Do. Memoirs for the following Parishes:—Ahoghill, Ardclinis, Armoy, Ballintoy, Ballyclug, Ballymoney, Ballyscullion, Billy, Carncastle, Connor, Culfeightrin, Derrykeighan, Drumbullagh (Grange of); Dunaghy and Grange of; Dundermot, Duneane, Dunluce, Finvoy, Inver, Inishpollan (Grange of); Killagan, Killyglen, Grange of; Kilrachts, Kilwaughter, Kirkiniroila, Layd and Grange of do.; Loughguile, Newtowncromwellin, Racavan, Ramoan, Rasharkin, Rathlin Island, Tickmacrevan. *Antrim continued*, Ancient Topography of Billy Parish, by Mr. Stokes, remarks and suggestions to Mr. Stokes, and do. by Mr. Petrie, Mr. Ferguson's papers, Collections for a History of Antrim, 2 parts. On *shelf 5*, we find: Cavan—Memoirs for the parishes of Drumgoon, Drumlommen, Drung, Kildromserdinity, Laragh. Armagh—Memoirs for the parishes of Ballymore, Clonfeckle, Drumcree, Kilmore, Loughgall, Mon-

taghs, Seagoe, Tartaraghan, Tynan. Fermanagh, Memoirs for parishes of Aghalurcher, Aghavea, Belieek, Boho, Cleenish, Clones, Derrybrusk, Derryvullen. (Derryvullen, North), Drumkeeran; Copy of MS. relative to Magheraculmoney and Drumkeeran, Drummully, Enniskillen, Galloon, Killesher, Kinawley, Magheracross, Magheraculmoney, Rossory, Templecairne, Trory, North and South; lists of registered voters, 2. Fermanagh, &c., Memoirs, Devenish, (2 parts) Innishmacsaint and Tomregan. Down, Miscellaneous Documents for Memoirs, 17 Divisions; Down Memoirs for parishes of Aghaderry, Annacloone, Anahilt, Ardglass, Ballee, Ballyboys Beg and More, Ballyculter, Ballymascanlan, Blaris, Bright, Carlingford, Clonallan, Comber, Donaghcloney, Donoughmore, Downpatrick, Dromeragh, Dromore, Drumballyroney, Drumbeg, Drumbo, Drumgath, Dundonald, Dunsfort, Garvagh, Hillsborough, Hollywood, Inch, Kilclief, Killyleagh, Kilmore, Kilmoor, Knockbreda, Loughin Island, Magheradroot, Magherally, Moira, Newry, Newtonards, Rathmullen, Saintfield, Saul, Seapatrick, Shankill (Kilmore Island), Tullylish and Tullynakill. All those, for the most part, contain only statistical matter, and have been already minutely described, under the county of Down records. Donegal (Parcel 1), Statistical Documents, &c. reports to N. W. Farming Society of Ireland for Clonleigh, Clondevadogue, Donagh, Raytullahobegley, Donegal, Drumholin, Glencolumbkille, Inishkeel, Kilbarron, Killeagh and Taughboyne (Statistical Survey of St. Johnstown District, addressed to Rt. Hon. Sir G. F. Hill, Bart., V. P., N. W. Society of Londonderry), Killileagh, Killyward, Kilmacrennan, Moville, Upper and Lower, Raphoe, Raymoghy, Taughboyne, Templecarne, Raphoe barony, statistical report of the N. E. district of Lough Swilly, (10 parts), extracts from the Donegal grants, statistical inquiries on the coast fisheries, Culdaff parish. Donegal (Parcel 2), Memoirs for Clondawaddoe (Clondavadoge), Clonleigh, Clonmany, Convoy, Connal, Desertegny, Donegal, Donogomore, Drumholin (ruin of Temple McGilligan). Killygarvan, Killyward, Leek, Mevagh, Mintiagh or Bar of Inch, Moville, Upper and Lower, Raphoe, Ray-

is a folio volume, bound in calf; and, as its name imports, it contains some interesting scraps of note paper, and other leaves, up to folio size; there are 85 leaves in all, variously written, and by different hands. It contains many valuable antiquarian observations by the late Dr. O'Donovan, and in his own hand-writing.

"VII. *Index to Names of Places on Maps of Lough Neagh*.—This is a small 4to., blue paper covered MS. of only 14 pages, containing merely the names of places bordering on Lough Neagh, and situated in the several counties of Londonderry, Tyrone, Armagh, Down and Antrim. They are closely written, in double columns, except on one page, where they appear in triple columns.

"VIII. *County Index to Maps*.—This is a folio MS. of 77 closely written pages, containing the names of all the townlands, the baronies, and parishes, in which situated, the contents of each in acres, rods, and perches, with reference to the Map Sheet in which found. It is bound in a thick paper cover.

"In the MS. Department of the Royal Irish Academy, we find:—

"IX. *Extracts from Colgan's Works, with Extracts for Londonderry, in Parcel of Papers, not in order to be bound, &c.*—These appear to be

moghy, Templecarn, Tullybaughnish, Urney, Statistical Report of Kilteevogue Parish, by Lieut. Wilkinson, Royal Engineer. Tyrone, (Parish 1), statistical Documents, &c., for Aghaloo, Carnsteel, Fintona, Donacavey, Errigal, Keerogue; statistical papers by the N. W. Farming Society (12 parts); extracts from Annals. Tyrone (Parcel 2). Memoirs, Ardstraw, Artrea, Ballinderry, Ballyclog, Cappagh, Clonoe, Clogheray, Clogher, Desertcreat, Donaghenry, Donacavey, Drumglass, Drumragh, Kildress, Killleshill, Longfield East, Pomeroy, Tullaniskin. On shelf 3, behind the maps, we find: Tyrone, Statistical Tables and field book for Tamlaught (Co. Tyrone), in Londonderry bundle. On shelf 5, we find: Monaghan, Memoirs for parishes of Aughaboy, Aghnamullen, Ballybay, Ourrin, Donsaghmoyle, Ematrics, Enniskeen, Killanny, Magheracloon, Maghcross, Muckno, Sligo, Statistical Reports of Emlaghfad, Ballymote. Cork, Statistics of Bandon Town. Extracts from the account of the Receiver-General of Antrim and Duchessess of Buckingham. Such is the description given in the Catalogue of the foregoing matters on the 22nd of March, 1840, and their position and quantity have not been yet interfered with; all those documents being tied in several parcels, the MSS. being bound and unbound, the leaves generally closely written, and of folio foolscap size. There is a vast number of rough and well-executed drawings of

antiquarian objects contained in the foregoing collection of Memoir Papers. The fine ink-drawn sketches of Mr. Stokes deserve particular commendation. Some MSS. are tied together with red tape; others are covered with brown wrapping paper. The quantity of matter is very great; and it would be a task, requiring an enormous amount of time, labour and research, to describe their contents more minutely. However, as these papers form a considerable portion of the Ordnance Survey MSS., and as they are not included under the special headings of the various Irish counties, found in the Catalogue, I thought it as well to include their titles together in this note, and save further reference to them, in treating the MS. materials, which may be given in order, and in succeeding communications. It would facilitate reference very much, if those voluminous papers were properly arranged, indexed, and bound. It is to be presumed they will ultimately be transferred to the Royal Irish Academy as their proper place of deposit; for it is not easily discoverable of what special advantage they are in facilitating the present labours of Ordnance Survey engineers or officers, unless the beautiful sketches contained in them are to be hereafter engraved.

¹ We may presume that these papers are now bound, although when originally examined by us they were loose and disconnected.

contained in a thick 4to. MS. lettered on the back, "Extracts, Docura's Narrative, &c., Counties of Antrim and Londonderry."¹ The matter specially—although not exclusively—referring to Antrim appears towards the close of the MS in 111 pages—not of uniform size or quantity of writing—for the most part in the hand-writing of the late Dr. O'Donovan, and taken chiefly from Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum" and "Trias Thaumaturga."

"IX. *Sketches*, 23.—On referring to the bound sketches for Antrim, I find the following:—1. Castle of Croagh-Beg. 2. Portrush. 3. Portrush. 4. Portrush, from the east. 5, 6. Standing stone and Druidical Altar. 7, 8. Various objects of antiquity, found in Derrykeighan parish. 9. Holestone at Doagh. 10. Dunluce Castle and Cave. 11. Dunluce Castle from the limestone quarry. 12. Dunluce Castle from the east. 13. Ground Plan of Dunluce Castle. 14, 15. Door of Dunluce Church, and situation of the street of Dunluce Town. 16. Heraldic carvings in Dunluce Church. 17. Lisanduff Fort. 18. Druid's Altar, townland of Moyadam.² The name of George Du Noyer is found affixed to many of these sketches, with the date, 1839. The sketches of antiquities for Ireland are at present found pasted on thick drawing paper, and are strongly bound in oblong volumes of uniform size. The counties to which these sketches are referable will be seen lettered on the back of each portfolio-shaped volume. There are no antiquarian letters, serving to illustrate the history and topography of the county of Antrim. Before closing this communication, it may be well to observe, that the new and highly-finished contoured Maps of Ireland, on the scale of one square inch for every square mile, are now completed and published, at the exceedingly low price of 6d. each, and comprising in all 205, exclusive of a general map of Ireland, as an Index Map. Thus, for a trifle over £5, this magnificent and exceedingly cheap series can be had complete. If preferred in detached parts, each of the 205 can be had separately, to illustrate any particular locality.³ This information may be of use to individual members of the Society, who would desire the whole, or part, for authoritative local topography."

The Rev. James Graves brought under notice the discovery of a Frankish gold coin of the Merovingian æra, near Maryborough. This

¹ It must be remarked, that the Common Place Books—which have received a detailed notice when describing the Ordnance Survey Collection for the county of Louth, in a former volume of this "Journal"—have been since taken, in great part, and bound up with the extracts referring to the various counties, the history of which they were supposed to illustrate. Hence, then, although recast in their present arrangement, their contents have been sufficiently described; and for the future, it will be only necessary to mention those papers the contents of which have not been specified, in reference to the respective counties, not hitherto forming the subject of a sepa-

rate communication printed in the "Journal" of the Society.

² Some of these sketches are traced in pencil, others in ink, and they differ in size. Although numbered in the Catalogue, 23, there are only the 18 already mentioned preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. It is probable, however, that the remaining 5 may be found included in the Memoir Papers, in which there are several sketches.

³ The agents for their sale in Dublin are Messrs. Hodges and Smith, O'Neill and Duggan, Brassington and Gale, Thom and Sons; in Limerick and Cork, Mr. Francis Guy; and in Londonderry, Mr. Hempton.

coin, accurately represented by the accompanying woodcut, having been purchased by him when residing in the Queen's County, about the year 1842-3, had been presented to the late Dr. Cane, and subsequently passed into the collection of coins in the British Museum, where it now is. The intimate connexion which existed between Ireland and France from a very early period, and the frequent intercourse, both warlike, missionary, and mercantile, which is known to have taken place between the countries, fully account for the occurrence of this rare coin in the very centre of Ireland. By the kindness of Mr. F. W. Madden, of the British Museum, he (Mr. Graves) was enabled to give the following description of the coin:—



Ov.—Blundered legend. Helmeted bust, to the right.

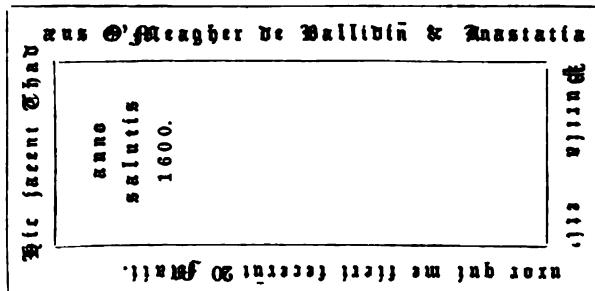
Rev.— MELLIONE, a cross with graduated base. In *field*, two pellets, and two quatrefoils. Wt. 22 grains.

A Merovingian coin of about the 7th or 8th century: the word on the reverse is the name of the moneyer.¹

Mr. Madden suggested, that the blundered legend on the obverse might read—LXI . . . NNIS, for St. Lizier in France; this, however, was mere conjecture, and he could find no authority for it: he also stated, on the authority of Mr. de Salis, that other Merovingian coins have been found in Ireland.

Mr. Michael Mullally, of Ballycullen, Mullinahone, sent the following ancient inscriptions, copied by Mr. James Brennan, in continuation of those given in the "Journal," vol. iv., p. 146, *supra*.

No. 1.



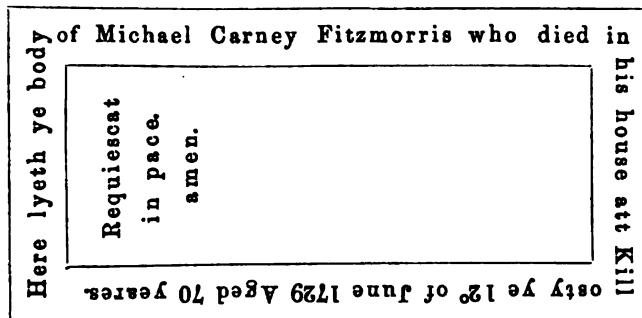
"This tomb lies in the Abbey of Fethard. This Thadeus O'Meagher appears to be a progenitor of the O'Meagher family of Fethard; they were

¹ "Ce sont des personnes qui nous sont tout-à-fait inconnues, et dont je ne sache pas qu'il soit fait mention ailleurs que sur ces monnaies. Je ne crois pas qui

ce soit une grande perte pour notre Histoire que d'ignorer l'origine de tous ces monétaires." Le Blanc, "Traité Hist. des Monnaies de France." p. 58.

highly respectable at all times; and near this tomb lies another, belonging to the O'Meagher family, but so defaced that I could scarcely decipher the name. The present representative of this family is Mr. Daniel O'Meagher, of Fethard, a gentleman well versed in "Irish Antiquities;" his father, John O'Meagher, was the most respectable merchant in Fethard about forty years ago; he died in the year 1839, and was buried in the Abbey of Fethard. Mr. John M'Carthy, chairman of the commissioners of Fethard, who is maternally descended from the O'Meaghers, gave me a genealogical list of the family nearly up to the date on the tomb. The family of the O'Meaghers of Cloneen and Kilburry are lineally descended from the same stock; but I cannot discover whether the residence, Ballidin, on the tomb means Ballydine, or by contraction Ballyvadin; perhaps your archaeological readers may know something of the matter.

No. 2.



"This tomb lies in the Church of Fethard. This Michael Kearney Fitzmorris is a branch of the great O'Kearney family; his residence was at Killusty Castle, where he lived in great splendour. Maurice O'Kearney, whom we have mentioned in a former communication, lived at Barretstown Castle, now the property of Sir John Power, Kilkane, Bart. The ruins of another residence of the O'Kearneys are yet extant at Cappaghmore, near Cloneen; they had another residence at Knockinglass, near Kilenaul. It is traditionally recorded that they lived in those places at so early a period as the days of St. Patrick, and that they entertained our patron saint at dinner at Knockinglass, where, in the hurry and confusion of preparing the entertainment, the childmaid, in stooping over a boiling vessel, let the son and heir slip off her back into it, where, in a moment, nothing remained of the child but the bare skeleton. Mrs. O'Kearney, with great composure and Christian fortitude, placed the bones in order on a dish; and when all the luxuries of supper were served up, our saint demanded another dish which yet remained. Mrs. O'Kearney denied that there was any other; but, the saint insisting, she brought down the dish containing the bones of her only child; he then prayed for some time over the dish, and lo! the child was miraculously restored to its former bloom and vigour. The saintly guest gave his host a golden cross as a *souvenir*, which, while preserved in the family, would ensure them all happiness in

this world, and eternal salvation in the next ; but this cross, having come into improper hands, was sold to a goldsmith ; the whole family then fell from all their former grandeur, and the last representative of the race died within my own memory, in the house of James Kennedy, of Cappaghmore, in a state of abject pauperism :—

"*Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas.*"—Virg., *Aeneid*, iii. 415.

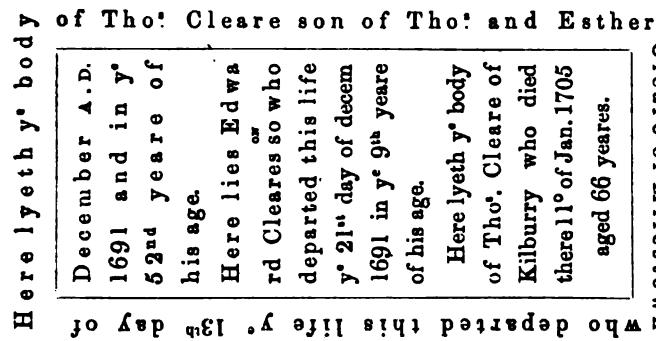
No. 3.

HERE UNDERFOOT LYETH
INTERRED THE BODY OF
ROBERT JOLLY FORMERLY
OF THEOBALDS HEREFORDSH'
IN ENGLAND AND LATE
OF KNOCKELLY ESQUIRE
WHO DIED THE 20 th DAY OF
AVGVST 1709 AND IN Y ^e
52 nd YEARE OF HIS AGE

"A biographical sketch of Robert Jolly is rather romantic; he was a private soldier in a horse regiment, and was stationed in Fethard (Tip.), with his company, in the year 1680; at the same time there lived in that town a young orphan girl named Ellen Meagher, under the guardianship of Mrs. St. John, who was great-grandmother to the present Thomas Bourke, now the oldest man in Fethard. Young Jolly and this girl formed an acquaintance of courtship, but this acquaintance was soon broken off by Mr. Jolly's regiment being suddenly called off on foreign service. Miss Meagher soon after this went with a young English lady, as companion and attendant, to London. While living with this lady, she attracted the notice of a very rich Jew: so rich was he (they say), that he had in his house a large sow with twelve piglings at her duge, all cast in solid virgin gold. Accounts here state that she was either married to the Jew, or she lived with him as housekeeper and confidential manager; and now this old gentleman saw his end approach, and, having no issue, Miss Meagher came to his bedside, assured him that she was '*enceinte*,' and that he should in that case provide for herself and her utopian progeny; both she and her child should inherit his wealth. The credulous old man believed her tale, he made them sole heirs of all his properties, and died in a few days. Miss Meagher, now possessed of such wealth, drove the richest carriages in great splendour in the streets of London; and as she passed one day by the barrack square, she recognised her old friend Jolly, walking up and down on guard; she called him over and questioned him thus: Had he been ever stationed in Ireland, had he ever been in Fethard, did he know a young girl there, named Ellen Meagher, and was his name Jolly: all which he answered in the affirmative. She then told him that she was the said Ellen Meagher, at which he was astonished to

stupefaction; she ordered him to call at her residence, and having done so, she purchased his discharge, and gave him her hand in matrimony, and made him master of all her treasures. They then carried all their wealth to Ireland, and came to reside in Mrs. Jolly's native town, where they chose Knockelly for their residence, where they lived a long time, and had three daughters, married to three counsellors; one of them, Mr. Gahan, of Coolquil Castle, near Kilenaul; another, to Counsellor Meagher, of Kilmore, near Clonmel; but having no son, the name of Jolly is extinct here. The above is a true sketch of the lives of Mr. Robert and Madame Jolly."

No. 4.



" This tomb lies in the church of Fethard, and contains the mortal remains of the Cleare family of Kilburry and Milestown. Their residence had been at Kilburry; by the death of this young boy, named on the tomb, who died by small-pox, his only sister being married to Sir L. Parsons, ancestor to the Earl of Rosse, their extensive property here fell to that family, which estates the present Earl of Rosse holds.

No. 5.

[A Crucifixion with the two Maries, one on each side.]

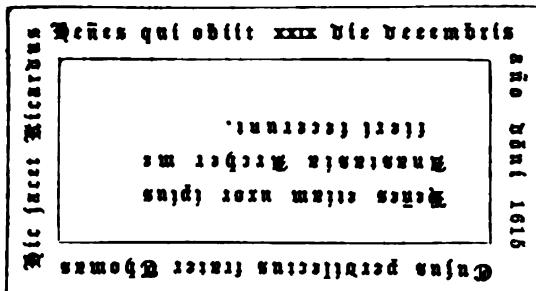
Dama Euerardvs alias Roche relicta Joannis
Euerardi Jvnioris haec insignia erexit qvæ Euerar
-di fvndatores patronis sdifclj apponi uolvervnt
atqve morte præoccupati non potvervnt
affigi Qvæ obijt die XII Avgvsti 1646.
Uis in rebvs actisqve Consistit.

" This represents a stone with the above inscription, set up in the front wall of the market house of Fethard, Tip., which had been in former days a monastery; it appears to be set up here by Lady Everard, daughter of

Mr. Roche, of Ballinard Castle, in that vicinity. Every reader of Irish history must have a knowledge of the family of the Everards of Fethard. Their mansion-house has been converted into the military barrack in that town, and is a noble specimen of ancient architecture. A few years ago, when the term of a lease of some corporate lands in Fethard made to the Everard family had expired, the commissioners of the corporation found it necessary to serve a representative of that family with a notice from court, but not a person of the name could be anywhere found save one solitary little servant girl living in Mullinahone, who had a small annuity out of said grant, and whom they served, as the only remnant of the once illustrious family of the Everards.

"The wealthy family of the Rochees of Ballynard Castle is also extinct here. They held large estates; they were a branch of the family of Lord Roche, of the county of Cork, and another branch of the family lived near Churchtown, county of Waterford, where there is an old monument recording the names of several members of that family. The male line of that family in Ballynard Castle having failed, the estates and property fell to the Lindsay family, their successors by the female line. The present proprietor is John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister-at-law, a learned antiquarian, and a member of your Society. It might be thus translated:—'Madam Everard, alias Roche, widow of John Everard, junior, erected these ensigns of Our Redemption, which the Everards, the founders, designed to be set up for the Patrons of this Monastery; and being prevented by death, their names could not be affixed to this.' She died the 12th of August, 1646.

No. 6.



"This tomb lies in the church of Fethard. This Richard Henes, or Heynes, or Heney, was father to Thomas Henes, who went down from Fethard and joined the Confederate Catholics in Kilkenny, in 1646, (*vide* Dalton, vol. i., page 245). The family of the Henesys lived in great opulence in the neighbourhood of Fethard, and always occupied a great part of Coleman and Market-hill; the name of the family is now nearly extinct here, the only remnant of this old stock being a mason living in Fethard."

Mr. John Dunne sent a communication on the old roads in the Garryricken district, the retreat of the Ossorians from Maghsemin, and the derivation of the name of the term of Mullinshone, which,

with a controversy arising thereon between him and Mr. John Hogan, extends to too great a length to be conveniently given in the "Journal" at present.

Mr. Arthur Gerald Geoghegan sent the following, accompanied by a sketch of an old house in Letterkenny and a facsimile copy of the inscription thereon :—

"The house, which is popularly known as Redmond O'Hanlon's, and erroneously attributed to the celebrated Rapparee captain of that name, is situated in the main street of the town of Letterkenny, at the foot of Lough Swilly, Co. Donegal. It has nothing in its appearance to distinguish it from its neighbours but the insertion in front of a stone tablet, containing an inscription, of which a copy is transmitted, with a rude sketch of the house itself.

"The date, 1698, is conclusive evidence against the assertion that these premises belonged to the notorious Redmond O'Hanlon, as it appears from Carte's "Life of James Duke of Ormond," vol. ii. p. 502, that he was shot in the year 1681, exactly seventeen years previous to their erection.

THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT BY REDMOND HANLON MARCH¹ IN LETTERKENNY IN THE YEARE 1698 AND IN THE 38 YEARE OF HIS AGE.

"There are two curious carvings at the foot of the tablet—one of a boar the other of a nondescript animal, indulgently supposed to represent a lizard, or newt."

The following Papers were submitted to the Meeting :—

TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SUBURBS OF KILKENNY.

BY MR. JOHN HOGAN.

(Continued from Vol. III, p. 387, New Series).

In my last essay towards the illustration of the suburban topography of Kilkenny, we found that, as we traversed the old roadways that radiate from Irishtown, we were carried up the stream of time towards the earliest scenes of historic life in this island; and as we returned from localities venerable for their age, we were conducted by other pathways, equally time-worn, to the same central spot at which we had previously arrived from sundry and opposite situations; and then the inviting inquiry presented itself, namely :—

Was the *Irishtown* of the present city the common centre of the ancient roadways—the centre and the seat of civil and ecclesiastical authority in the ancient political constitution of the Kingdom of Ossory? As the solution of this problem embraced a field of inquiry too extensive and complicated to be entertained at the close of a paper devoted to a separate investigation, I now resume the subject, and humbly dedicate the following pages to the honour of that venerable locality whose reminiscences are associated with the earliest impressions within memory's confines, and whose hallowed precincts have acquired new claims on our affections with the advances of life.

Towards the elucidation of the history of Kilkenny, probably more has been effected by the two gentlemen to whom this Society owes its existence—both in the pages of its “Journal,” and in a separate work devoted exclusively to the “History, Antiquities, &c., of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice”—than has been achieved by any two living individuals for the place of their nativity; yet there remain scattered over the fields whence they and others have gathered their materials, large quantities of unwrought matter, which in my present design I contemplate to collect, to shape, and pile together, and from which a glance will then be afforded us into a period in local history hitherto unopened to view; and having now gleaned from various sources the materials for my design, I purpose to arrange them in the following order, viz:—

First—The origin and extent of the ancient kingdom of Ossory [Oisraigh], its subdivisions or tribelands; and a special inquiry respecting the situation and extent of the district anciently called “*Cluain Ui Cearbhaill*,” i. e., the sheltered plain of O’Carroll.

Secondly—An inquiry respecting the succession of the Kings of Ossory, and the seats of their respective administrations; with an account of the reign and public deeds of Cearbhaill Mac Dunghal, King of Ossory, in the ninth century. To him I assign the erection of the round towers in this county, and the original foundation of the fortress, which preceded the castle, and three of the ancient churches of the city of Kilkenny.

Thirdly—The topographical and historical illustration of the *Irishtown* of Kilkenny, with an inquiry respecting the seats and titles of the bishops of Ossory anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion.

ORIGIN AND EXTENT OF THE ANCIENT KINGDOM OF OSSORY.—The earliest recorded division of the territory of Leinster appears to have been that known as “*Laighin tuath Gabhair*” (or Laighin north of Gabhair), in contradistinction to “*Laighin deas Gabhair*” (or Laighin south of Gabhair). Both sentences are invariably rendered North and South Leinster, respectively, by the late Celtic scholar O’Donovan. It will be observed, however, that the word

"*Gabhair*" is not translated in either. He acknowledges it to have been the common boundary between the two ancient territories of Laighin tuath Gabhair and Laighin deas Gabhair;¹ he supposed Gabhair to be a road which was situated near Carlow, and led thence through the present Queen's County; he did not succeed in ascertaining its position, which, he writes, it is necessary to fix before we can determine the boundary between the two territories of "Laighin tuath Gabhair" and "Laighin deas Gabhair." But according to the views to be now submitted, the word *Gabhair* did not imply a road, but a mountain, the situation of which we shall have little difficulty in determining.

The word Gabhair seems to be cognate with *Gabhrann*, *Gabhrá*, *Gabhráun*, &c.,—the difference in the several terminations being no more than occurs in that of most proper names through the "Annals of the Four Masters" and the "Book of Rights." By this word Gabhair, Gabhran, or Gabhra, we find designated different districts, and frequently the same place on the mountain ridge which runs from near Athy to Gowran. In the historical tale quoted from the "Book of Leinster" by Dr. O'Donovan, and from which he inferred "Gabhair" to imply a road;² we read that Lughaidh, addressing Conall Cearnach, said: "I shall go on *Bealach Gabhráin*; go thou upon *Gabhair* on Mairg Laighean, that we may meet at Magh Airgead Ros." In other words, he says, go thou upon the mountain "Gabhair" in Mairg, i. e. in Margy, now the barony of Sliabh Margy, where this ridge rises in the south-east of the Queen's County; and "I will go on Bealach Gabhráun," i. e. through the pass or mouth of the Gabhran or Gabhair, that we may meet at its opposite side. In the "Book of Rights" the King of Ossory is distinguished as the hero of fierce *Gabhair*.³ We have it established from the extract just quoted from the "Book of Leinster," that *Gabhair* was identical with, or was situated on "Mairg," now "Sliabh Margy," in the south-east of the Queen's County; but we know from other authorities that the title of Mairg, or Mairgi, was not confined to the present barony of that name, but was usually understood of the entire mountain ridge which rises in that region, and runs thence south to the present town of Gowran. In the "Martyrology of Tallaght"⁴ compiled by *Aenghus* in the eighth century, at the 23d

¹ "Book of Rights," Introduction, p. ix.

² Ibid.

³ Id., p. 67.

⁴ See "Martyrology," &c., published and edited by Rev. M. Kelly, D. D., 23. May, also at page 17. This saint is, most probably, the Gobban who governed the church of Old Leighlin about the year 625, when St. Laserian is said to have returned from Rome. Gobban

entertained so high an esteem for the reputation of Laserian, that he received him most hospitably, and resigned to him the government of his monastery there; he may have thus acted through a love of greater retirement, and in quest of it removed further south on the mountain, and, availing himself of the undisturbed seclusion of "*Tigh Scuithin*," spent there the remainder of his

May, St. Gobani is set down as of "*Mairgi O' Tigh Scuithin*," i.e., Tigh Scuithin, or Teach Scuithin on Sliabh-Mairgi, a locality which has given its name to the parish of Tascoffin in the Johnswell Mountains: hence, if "Gabhair" was recognised as identical with "Mairgi," it must have been coextensive with this entire ridge of hills. In the "Will of Cathier More,"¹ the territory of "Ui-Drona" is described as situated at "Ceann Gabhra," i.e., the head of Gabhra or Gabhair. The barony of Idrone West stretches over the southern extreme of the eastern side of "Sliabh-Margy;" and this section of that mountain was here called the "head of Gabhra," from its forming the termination or bluff of that ridge. Dr. O'Donovan translates Ceann Gabhra, the head of the horse;² but adds that it must have been the name of some *remarkable hill* in Idrone, which fully sustains the views now contended for, as Sliabh-Margy is the great and most remarkable hill in that barony. Again, in the "Book of Rights" the King of Ossory is distinguished as "the King of *blue Gabhran*,"³ which implies his right to the possession of this lofty territory; the word "blue" obviously refers to the peculiar hue of this mountain ridge, occasioned by its geographical situation,⁴ and which may be observed on any afternoon of the present day from a railway carriage, as it sweeps from Athy to Carlow, from which the outlines of Sliabh-Margy disappear in the distance, and insensibly blend into the azure of the horizon. O'Donovan

life. Some are of opinion that this Gobban is identical with a saint of the same name, who was honoured as patron of the church of Killamery, below Callan. See Lanigan, vol. ii., pp. 402, 404. The word Tascoffin is derived from Teach, a house, and Scuithin, the patron saint, literally St. Scuithin's house. This Scuithin or Scot hin is said to have been of an illustrious Irish family, and a disciple of St. David of Wales. On his return to Ireland, he constructed a cell on Mount Margy, which was called *Teach Scot hin*, or Scot hin's house, and from which is formed our present word Tascoffin. Lanigan, who supposed Sliabhmargy to imply the present barony of that name, places Teach Scot hin in the Queen's County, but this is a mistake of that learned writer; for Sliabhmargy was applied to the whole ridge, and Tascoffin is situated amongst the Johnswell hills, where Scuithin built his house on the brow of the mountain stream, and most probably on the site of the present church of Tascoffin near Frenystown. See Lanigan, vol. ii., pp. 323, 324.

¹ See this document embodied in the

"Book of Rights;" the quotation will be found at p. 213.

² Book of Rights, p. 212, note L.

³ Id., p. 71.

⁴ As the Sliabhmargy or Gabhran hills run from north to south, each side is necessarily shrouded in the gloom of its own shadow at different parts of the day. In the forenoon, the eastern slopes are illumined by the morning sun, and the western or Ossory side, when viewed from the direction of Munster, appears as if enveloped in a garment of blue clouding; but as the orb of day attains his meridian altitude, and passes out through Bealach Gabhran, he soon dissipates the morning fog, as he sheds his golden rays on the "district of Glena," as the "poet of Aileach" designated the valley of the Nore; and now the eastern or Leinster side of the mountain assumes its cloudy garb, and when observed from beyond the Barrow, will not fail to remind a reader of the "Book of Rights," of the aptitude of the bard's idea in titling the chief lord of Ossory, "the King of blue Gabhran." Such epithets were, however, often fancifully used.

translates the word Gabhair, or Gabhra,¹ a horse; Sliabh-Margy may have been originally so designated from some fancied similitude between its outlines and the configuration of that animal; but whatever may have been its original derivation, we may safely accept as established, as the result of the foregoing inquiry, that the mountain chain which separated Leinster from Ossory, and which forms so remarkable a feature in the landscape of both territories, was at some very early period recognised as Gabhair, Gabhra, or Gabhran, and consequently that "Laighin tuath Gabhair" implies Leinster north of this ridge, and "Laighean deas Gabhair," Leinster south of the same. "Laighean tuath Gabhair" has been identified as being coextensive with the districts now known as south Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare. No satisfactory effort has been made to identify the country which now occupies the site of the ancient "Laighean deas Gabhair;" we shall therefore endeavour to determine the situation, the extent, and the confines of that primitive territory.

In the "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 920, we read, "Tadhg, son of Faelan, lord of *Laighin deas Gabhair*," who was called *Ui Ceinnsealach* died;" but previously, at the year 916, we read that "Mor, daughter of Cearbhall Mac Dunghal, Queen of *Laighin deas Gabhair*, died after a good life." We shall see lower down that Cearbhall, the father of this lady, was King of Ossory, and held his court within the present county of Kilkenny; and consequently the *Laighin deas Gabhair*, over which Mor ruled as Queen, was not identical with *Ui Ceinnsealach*, over which Tadhg was lord. "Of the tributes and refections" to be paid to the King of Leinster, out of the provinces of Laighin appended to the "Will of Cathier Mor" in the "Book of Rights," and of which "the gifted Benean sung," we find—

"No tribute is due
From the brave *Ui Ceinnsealach*."

But, lower down in the same poem, the bard requires

"Two hundred cloaks, and two hundred milch-cows,
Two hundred wethers good, the assistance
From the *Laighin deas Gabhair*."

This is conclusive that *Ui Ceinnsealach* was not politically nor properly recognised as Laighin deas Gabhair. But this is so decidedly set forth in another passage of the "Book of Rights," as enables us to define the extent and the boundaries of this historic

¹ In each form of the word Gabhair, Gabhra, Gabhran, the "b" is aspirated, leaving the sound Gauair, Gaura, Gauran, from which comes our present word

Gowran, the name of the largest barony of our county. The word Garran or Garrawn, more usually applied to an old horse, comes from the same root.

territory. Before quoting the extract, it is necessary to premise that the compiler is about to enumerate "the seats of the King of Caiseal in Mumha" (Munster); and as some of the localities to be named lay within the territory then subject to the King of Ossory, the bard appeals to history in defence of his master's claims—

"Knowest thou what is called
The eric of Fearghus Scannal ?
I know it; I will give a knowledge of it,
From the *Eoir* to *Dumha Dreasa*."

The interrogative form of this extract implies that the "Eric of Fearghus Scannal" was then only known as a tradition; and from the "knowledge of it" which the writer so pedantically gives, we learn that it consisted of the land extending from the *Eoir*, i. e., the river Nore, to "Dumha Dreasa," at one time the residence of the Kings of Munster, near Knockgraffon hill, on the bank of the river Suir; and then the bard continues thus:—

"The eric of Fearghus the King,
Both in jewels and territory,
They obtained in full satisfaction for his death,
Laighin deas Gabhair even to the sea."

From the light reflected on the "eric of Fearghus Scannal" in this quotation, we understand it to have consisted "in jewels and ter-

1 The Eric of Fearghus Scannal.—The primitive criminal code in Ireland was known as the "Law of Retaliation," which most unquestionably was borrowed from the Mosaic dispensation, which enacted, "He that giveth a blemish to any one of his neighbours, as he hath done, so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, shall he restore; what blemish he gave, the same shall he be compelled to suffer." (Lev. ch. xxiv. vers. 19, 20). The many cases in practical jurisprudence, such as the violation of female chastity, and other crimes of equal turpitude, to which this law could not be applied, rendered it necessary at a very early period, even amongst the Jews, to change the punishment into a more lenient and rational penalty, according to the nature and enormity of the offence. Thus we read in the Third Book of Kings, ch. xx. ver. 39, "Thy life shall be for his life, or thou shalt pay a talent of silver." In Ireland the law of retaliation is said to have continued in force down to the time of Fedlimidh, surnamed *Reachmap*, i. e., Lawgiver, who, according to the "Ogyia," commenced his reign in A. D. 164.

He ordained that whosoever should render himself amenable to the law should be enabled to change the penalty from payment "in kind," to payment "in cash," or to its equivalent; and this form of penalty was called his "eric," or "eruic;" hence, in the "Book of Rights," the annexation of Laighin deas Gabhair to Munster is called "the eric of Fearghus Scannal," because the Lagenians consented to its sequestration in payment or satisfaction for his death ("Ogygia," pars iii., ch. lvii.). The practical application of the eric as a penalty seems to have received the approval of Christian jurists in most countries in Europe. In England, during the Anglo-Saxon period, the eric, or fine for murder, varied according to the quality or dignity of the person slain: "The price of killing an archbishop or duke is fifteen thousand thrymsas, eight thousand for killing a viscount, two thousand for assassinating a priest or baron; also, if he be a churl (farmer), two thousand," &c., &c. A thrymsas was equivalent to a third part of a shilling. Laws of King Athelstan, quoted by O'Flaherty, "Ogygia," pars iii. c. xvii.

ritory ;" and this latter being described as *Laighin deas Gabhair*, it follows that the eric of Fearghus Scannal and the territory of Laighin deas Gabhair, about which we have been inquiring, were identical : and as the former extended westwards from the Nore to the Suir, and the latter southwards to the sea, it appears that Laighin deas Gabhair was bounded on the east by the river Nore, and on the west by the Suir ; it comprised more than half the present county of Kilkenny, and that part of Munster formerly known as *Magh Femin*.¹ And now, before we determine its northern confines, it is necessary that we inquire who this Fearghus Scannal was, and something of the history of the "eric obtained in full satisfaction for his death."

¹ *Magh Femin*.—Though the position of this ancient tribeland is satisfactorily ascertained, yet there are few districts respecting the extent and boundaries of which there is more diversity of opinions. Lanigan (vol. i., p. 281), confines Magh Femin within that part of the diocese of Lismore situated north of the River Suir, because, as he argues, the country of the north Decies was identical with that part of the now county of Tipperary. In this view he is sustained by Dr. O'Donovan ("Book of Rights," p. 18, n. b.), who makes it comprise the whole of the barony of Iffa and Offa East. The following antiquarian authorities, however, give Magh Femin a much greater extent of country : Smith ("History of Waterford," p. 4.) includes in it the whole of the barony of Middlethird; O'Flaherty describes it as "comprehending Clonmel and a third part centrically situated," or, in other words, it comprehended the barony of Middlethird ("Ogygia," pars III. c.lix.). Harris, in his Annotations on Ware (Bishop of Ardagh), includes in Magh Femin "all that far-extended flat country which surrounds the town of Cashel, called Gowlin Vale." As Cashel is situated in Middlethird, if the plains which surround that city belonged to Femin, so did the barony also. Lastly, Keating (vol. i. p. 286) makes "the lands of Magh Femin consist of the third part of Cluin Mell and the Middlethird." Thus, according to Lanigan and O'Donovan, Magh Femin was confined within the barony of Iffa and Offa East; whilst Keating, O'Flaherty, &c., include in it also the whole of the barony of Middlethird. If by Magh Femin is described the tract of country originally conquered by Aenghus Osraigh, and which, when united to Lower

Ossory, constituted the principality of "Laighin deas Gabhair," it not only contained the barony of Iffa and Offa East, but also those of Middlethird and Sliabharda; for the boundary line of Laighin deas Gabhair, which, starting from the River Nore, was drawn along the top of the Dromdeigly hills to Grean or Kilcooly, would thence reach the River Suir towards the northern extreme of the barony of Middlethird; and as it was out of this territory that Aenghus Mac Nadhraich expelled the Osraighs, the entire tract is described as Magh Femin, or the plains of Cashel. Keating seems to have written under the impression that Aenghus bestowed on the Deisies the entire extent of lands out of which he expelled the Ossorians, but this is historically incorrect; for he erected his own court, called Cashel, within the newly acquired dominion, which afterwards became the seat of the kings of Munster, and consequently was not included in the country bestowed on the Deisies; it was also the head of the archdiocese of Cashel, and therefore could never have been situated within the diocese of Lismore; but if by Magh Femin we are to understand the tract of country granted by Aenghus to the Deisies at the period of his marriage, no doubt can be entertained that it lay within the barony of Iffa and Offa East, and occupied the flat lands extending northwards from the River Suir to Sliabh-na-m-bhan; and east and west from the Dromderg hills, which run by Tullahought and Killamery to the down stream of the Suir, on its way to Clonmel. Magh Femin is described as extending northwards as far as "*Corca-Ath-ra*;" this name, as far as I am aware, is now obsolete; but there can be no doubt

Fearghus Scannal, or, as he is otherwise called, Eidirsceal, was monarch of Ireland, according to the chronology of O'Flaherty, A.M. 3944;¹ he was treacherously slain by "Nuad the White," a Leinster prince, at Allin, near Old Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare; Nuad became his successor, and enjoyed the sovereignty only six months, when Conaire Mor, son to Eidirsceal, then King of Munster, retaliated on the assassin, killed him in a pitched battle at a place called Cliach, in Idrone, in the present county of Carlow, and then marching victorious through Leinster, he levied a fine on the whole province; and as a further revenge for his father's death, obliged the Lagenians to consent that the territory extending south

that it was (as the word implies) a ford or pass over the River Lingaus, which runs along the base of the Dromderg hills about two miles south of the Nine-Mile-house, and which, at the present day, forms the northern extreme of both the diocese of Lismore and the barony of Offa and Offa East.

The word Magh Femin seems to be derived from Shab-na-m-bhan-Femin, which has been translated, the Mountain of the Women of Femin. See "Transactions," vol. i., p. 340, first series. Who this Femin was that has left his name identified with one of the most celebrated districts of ancient Ireland, or who were the ladies that were privileged to assume his title, has baffled the researches of those who are adepts in the mysteries of ancient lore. (See a highly interesting paper on this subject by Mr. Dunn, "Transactions," vol. i., p. 340, first series.) Whether Femin may have been the primitive colonist who cleared this part of the island, and which, in consequence, assumed his name; or, whether Femin may be but a modification of Fenion, derived from Fion Mao Cumhal, the celebrated hero, the memory of whose exploits is perpetuated in the titles of the lofty summits and abrupt valleys of Sliabhnanman; whether he kept his palace amidst the leafy sweetness of the primitive woods of this elevated tract, and in oriental style adorned it with a "Sidh," or Celtic seraglio, whence the eastern peak of the mountain is called "Sidh-ban-Feimean," i. e., the fairy palace of the women of Femin; whether the ladies who graced this ethereal mansion were enchanted nymphs who fascinated the Fenion warriors, or were they selected from amongst the most beautiful of the sex, and constrained to dedicate their lives to the

refined sensualism of this mountain palace, can be no more than mere speculation. Yet the last-mentioned conjecture seems to derive a degree of probability from the singularly interesting prohibition imposed on the king of Cashel, and which strictly interdicted him "To listen to the groans of the women of Femin when suffering violation," Book of Rights, pp. 5, 19.

Sliabhnanman forms a natural line of demarcation between the level country of Middlethird and the plains of Offa and Offa East; and as this hill was recognised as the mountain of Femin, it seems that the entire plain surrounding it was known as the plains of Femin. Thus the Ossorians are said to have been driven out of Femin, but it was from Middlethird they were expelled, for Mullinahone takes its name from the expulsion, and it is in that barony; and again we are told that St. Patrick, on the occasion of his first visit to Aenghus, King of Munster, was met in the fields of Femin by that monarch; and as the saint travelled from Leinster through Bealach Gabhran, towards Cashel, he must have entered Tipperary between the hills of Killamery and Sliabharda; and as this district was called Femin, and as it is now the barony of Middlethird, it seems to settle the question that Femin originally included that barony. In later times the title of Magh Femin seems to have been confined to the fertile lawn lying between the southern slopes of Sliabhnanman and the River Suir. In Christian times this district received the name of Cluain Mel, or the plain of honey, whence comes the name of the present and important town of Clonmel, the capital of Tipperary.

¹ "Book of Rights," p. 88, note i.
"Ogygia," pars III., chap. xliv.

to the sea from a line drawn from the river Nore to the river Suir, should be taken from Leinster, and annexed to Munster for ever, the Lagenians binding themselves by a most solemn treaty in the formal words of surrendering "heaven and earth, sea and land, sun and moon."¹ The river Suir did not form the western boundary of Leinster since the establishment of Christianity in Ireland; hence the passage quoted above affords strong internal evidence of the remote era of the original compilation of the "Book of Rights." In its present form (as its learned translator has proved),² it is the production of a comparatively modern date; but the extracts above quoted must have been originally composed whilst "Laighin deas Gabhair" was still subject to Munster, and previous to the establishment of the kingdom of Ossory.

In the "Will of Cathier Mor," and in many parts of the "Book of Rights," *Laighin deas Gabhair* and *Airged-Ros* are referred to as distinct and separate territories, and this enables us to identify the mountain ridge that separates the two districts as the northern boundary of *Laighin deas Gabhair*. In early ages, and in every part of Ireland, men adopted mountain ridges as the boundaries of their respective possessions: hence, though in the "Book of Rights" *Laighin deas Gabhair* is said to extend from the Suir to the Nore, in later authorities, such as Keating, Kennedy, O'Flaherty, &c., the boundary of this territory is said to extend from "Gowran to Grein," because, when that part of Tipperary lying between the county of Kilkenny and the river Suir was taken from Ossory and united to Munster, in the time of Aenghus Mac Nadhfrach, the line of demarcation from the Nore to the Suir was intersected at "Grein hill," near the boundary of this county; and if from this venerable land-mark of ancient Ireland we follow that branch of the Dromdelgy hills that runs from Kilcooly by Clomanta, Glashacro, and Ballinamara, till we arrive at the termination of the ridge at "Thorn-back" church, we find ourselves on the bank of the river Nore, two miles above Kilkenny, and thus the "eric of Fearghus Scannal" was said to extend from the Nore to the Suir; and if we here cross over the river into the barony of Gowran, we meet the Gabhran hills, sending off a branch towards the Nore through the parish of Dunmore, called Drumerhin, and thus was the boundary line said to extend from "Gabhran to Grein," hence the district south of the Dromdelgy and Drumerhin hills, and extending thence to the sea at Waterford harbour, constituted the ancient territory of "Laighin deas Gabhair;" it comprised two-thirds of the present county of Kilkenny, and originally the territory of *Femin* in Munster, which was coextensive with the present baronies of Middlethird and Iffa.

¹ "Book of Rights," p. 88, note i.
"Ogygia," pars iii., chap. xliv.

² For Dr. O'Donovan's reasons see
"Book of Rights," Introduction.

and Offa East; and this extensive tract being described in the "eric of Fearghus Scannal" as *Laighin deas Gabhair*, it necessarily follows that, at the remote period referred to, the valley of the Nore had not as yet been dignified with the title of the kingdom of Os-sory.¹

The tribute imposed on the province of Leinster consisted in 300 white cows, 200 fat hogs, and 300 gilt swords, to be annually paid to the King of Munster,² together with the annexation of "Laighin deas Gabhair" to that province for ever. This mulct continued to be levied during the reign of seven Munster kings.³ I can find no record to indicate the era when Leinster asserted its independence of Munster, by shaking off the oppressive yoke of the above impost; but we can arrive at a very proximate period from the fact that King Conaire, who imposed the tribute, was the first of the Munster kings to whom it was paid. After the battle of Cliach he was raised to the supreme monarchy of the island, A. M., 3949;⁴ and if an equal number of years be granted for the reigns of his six successors on the throne of Munster, as we have historic evidence was occupied by the six monarchs who succeeded him on the throne of Tara, it will bring us to some period within the first century of the Christian era, about which period Aenghus Oisraigh distinguished himself as a great leader in the valley of the Nore, to which his name was given, and has so continued over a period of near two thousand years. Aenghus belonged to the romantic age of the three great tribes of famous warriors in Ireland, namely, the Red branch Knights, who were commanded in Ulster by the famous heroes, Conall, Cearnach, and Cuchulainn, the celebrated Fenian soldiers who followed the fortunes of the notorious Fionn Mac Cumhall, and the forces of South Munster, called the Clann Deaghadh, commanded in the first century by that great champion Curi Mac Daire, the ruins of whose huge cyclopean fortress of dry stone masonry still stand on the mountains of Miss, in the county of Kerry. This Curi was father to Kingit, the wife of Aenghus Oisraigh; and as he "was by all our monuments of antiquity contemporary with Connor, who was King of Ulster" at the time of our Lord's crucifixion,⁵ it follows that Aenghus would be distinguishing himself in the valley of the Nore sometime about the middle of the first century of the Christian era. Mac Geoghegan⁶ asserts that Lugny, the father of St. Kyran of Saighar, was descended in

¹ "Book of Rights," p. 89, note i.
"Ogygia," pars III., chap. xliv. "Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stewarts," p. 81; Keating, vol. i., pp. 237, 238.

² "Dissertation," p. 81.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Ogygia," pars III., chap. xliv.;

Keating, at the year A. M. 3970.

⁵ Kennedy's "Dissertation," p. 71; "Ogygia," pars III., chap. xlvi.; "Battle of Gabhra," in "Transactions of Ossianic Society," vol. i., edited by Nicholas O'Kearney, Esq., Introduction, p. 33.

⁶ "History of Ireland," pp. 97, 123, Dublin, 1844.

the ninth degree from Aenghus Oisraigh. According to the calculations of Ussher and O'Flaherty, St. Kyran was born about the year 352; and if we ascend from Lugny his father nine degrees, and allow thirty years to each generation¹ it will bring us to Aenghus, towards the middle of the first century; and this agrees with what Mac Geoghegan states in another place, namely, that the first of the Oisraigs came into this district in the first century.

Aenghus Oisraigh, who may be truly styled the patriarch of the valley of the Nore, towards the end of the first century appears to have disputed the right of the Munster king to either jurisdiction or tribute within the territory of *Laighin deas Gabhair*. He accordingly conquered from the "Bearbha to the Suir," and erected it into an independent kingdom; and "from the patrimony thus acquired for his posterity"² was derived his nickname of *Uisraigagh*, modernized into Ossory, and composed of the Gaelic words *Uiage*, water, and *Rioghachd*, kingdom—literally the kingdom between the rivers, a title highly expressive of its physical boundaries and local situation.³

The establishment of the kingdom of Ossory, and the deliverance of the province of Leinster from the annual impost levied from the time of Conaire Mor, appear to have been but one and the same epoch; for the last of the Munster kings who levied the fine must have reigned within the first century of our era, and this being the period when Aenghus was asserting the independence of *Laighin deas Gabhair*, it appears highly probable that to him was all Leinster indebted for the abolition of the "eric of Fearghus Scannal."

That the kingdom of Oisraigh was founded in the first century we may accept as fully established by the authorities just cited; and additional testimony is afforded by that ancient poem published by the *Ossianic Society*, entitled "THE BATTLE OF GABHRA," in which the King of Ossory is enumerated amongst those slain in that terrific engagement, fought in the year 283.⁴ Yet it appears certain that the original kingdom founded by Aenghus Ossory did not include the entire valley of the Nore, nor exceed in its extent the boundaries of "Laighin deas Gabhair;" and hence, in the ancient documents that have been transcribed and modified for the compilation of the "Book of Rights," the people of the original Oisraigh are described as the *Laighin deas Gabhair*. If the upper valley of the Nore, then called "Magh Airged Ros," was conquered by Aenghus, it was not recognised as part of the kingdom of his successors for some centuries later. This is directly proved from the "Will of Cathier Mor," a document purporting to be as old as the

¹ "Dissertation," p. 59.

² Id. p. 71.

³ Tighe's "Survey of Kilkenny," p. 11.

⁴ "Battle of Gabhra," p. 91.

second century, in which this celebrated dynast of Leinster is represented as placing his son Fiach, as

"An illustrious man, over Airged Ros,"

which ignores the right of any such potentate as the King of Ossory to the possession of that territory; though lower down in the same document this same king thus addresses his other son, Daire Bar-rach—

"Thou shalt harass the lands of *Deas Gabhair*,"

which recognises this district as an independent, though hostile territory; and in the oldest lives of St. Patrick, quoted by Ussher, "Airged Ros" is described as being part of the kingdom of Leinster, being titled "Occidentalis Laginensium plaga,"¹ or the western region of Leinster. The lower valley of the Nore is invariably known as Laighin deas Gabhair, or Southern Leinster; and hence we may safely conclude that the kingdom of Ossory, as originally constituted by Aenghus its founder, was confined within the districts then called *Laighin deas Gabhair*, which at that period comprised the entire territory lying between the Nore and the Suir south of a line drawn conterminous with the top of the Dromdelgy hills, from the Nore at Thornback church, by Grein hill, to Knockgrafton on the bank of the river Suir; and, therefore, when we read that Aenghus conquered from the "Barrow to the Suir," we are to understand it of the countries of Lower Ossory and Magh Femin, which, when united, were bounded east, west, and south by those two rivers, which originally constituted the "eric of Fearghus Scannal," subsequently the principality of "Laighin deas Gabhair;" and, as already stated, assumed the title of Oisraigh from its stretching from the Barrow to the Suir, whence came the word Oisraigh, that is, the kingdom between the rivers; and thus it appears that the position and extent of the original Oisraigh differed very materially from its more modern geography. The transition in its territorial confines, the encroachment of other states on its primitive possessions, and its own assumption of new dominions, from which resulted the permanent establishment of the subsequent kingdom of Ossory, are shrouded in the fabulous grandeur of primitive romance, and, if truthful, furnish an interesting illustration of the state of social and political life in Ireland at the period of the first preaching of Christianity in this island.

During the reign of Nadhfrach, who was King of Munster in the

¹ "Primordia," pp. 865, 969, quoted in "Book of Rights," p. 17. The expression can only apply to the upper valley of the Nore, or Airged Ros, which was

then subject to Leinster. The lower valley of the Nore was then an independent kingdom, and known as "Laighin deas Gabhair," or South Leinster.

early part of the fifth century, so severe a scourge fell on his kingdom that the fruits of the earth were destroyed, the corn was blasted, and a dreadful famine spread desolation over all his dominions. The people of the Deisi, a country represented by the now county of Waterford, writhing under the severity of the visitation, deliberated as to whether they should await the issue, or seek new settlements in another part of the island, consulted their most eminent Druids as to whether the country should be totally destroyed by famine, or be again restored to happiness and plenty. The prophets informed their clients that they should not leave their own lands; that a certain lady was now far advanced in pregnancy, and would be soon delivered of a daughter, from whose birth would result prosperity and affluence to the people of Deisi. They were further advised to secure the education of the child, and to obtain possession of it from its father, by making him suitable presents immediately after it was born, and they accordingly became owners of the infant from its birth; but as the prophecy respecting its future destiny could not be accomplished until this young lady should attain the age of marriage, her growth and development were accordingly accelerated by feeding her on the richest and most luxurious viands; young and beautiful children were killed and daintily prepared for her repasts, owing to which nutritious regimen she gained the time of puberty much earlier than the usual age. The name of this lady was *Eithne Vathach*; and as the prophecy of her future fame must have gained for her a singular pre-eminence amongst her sex, she was espoused by Aenghus, son of Nadhfruich, the then King of Munster; but, before he could obtain possession of his bride, he was bound to provide a gratuity for the people who had regarded her as a child of destiny, and who had trained her in all befitting accomplishments. Aenghus accordingly delivered as a dowry to the people of Deisi the plains of Magh Femin, for which purpose he was first obliged to drive the people of Oisraigh out of those parts of Laighin deas Gabhair which now lie between the county Kilkenny and the river Suir, which had been then in their possession from the time of Aenghus Ossory, a period of near four hundred years; and having delivered these tracts of country to the Deisies, the prediction of the Druids was fulfilled, that from the birth of this lady great advantages would be derived to the people of that country.¹ The memory of this expulsion of the ancient Ossorians out of their

¹ This curious scrap of historic romance is abbreviated from Keating's life of Cormac Mac Airt. From whatever sources he derived his details of the transaction, he attaches much more importance to it than to most of the other extraordinary stories which occur in his works, as he refers to it a second time,

as an argument against the slanders of those writers who, accepting the assertion of St. Jerome as true, charge the ancient Irish with cannibalism. To disprove this odious assertion, he argues that this is the only case of that nature that can be discovered in the history of the ancient Irish.

original settlements in “Laighin deas Gabhair,” is still preserved in the traditions of the peasantry, and the topographical nomenclature of the great Bealach or pass lying between the Sliabharda and Killamery hills, through which the Oisraighs were compelled to retreat before the advances of the Mummonian forces, the line of retreat being marked by the localities of *Mullach*, or *Mullan Inneona*, now called Mullinahone, and which, according to my authority,¹ means a violent expulsion; and *Bealach Urluidhe*, Anglicised Earls-town, which implies “the blows or irresistible strokes of valiant men.”² The Oisraighs, being expelled from Munster, settled down in the fertile and expansive tract lying between the King’s River and the Killamery hills, then and subsequently known as *Magh Reighna*; and here the kings of Ossory were first called *Righ Reighna*, i. e. King of Reighna. Eithne Vathach, the immediate cause of the expulsion of the Oisraighs, seems to have grown up a virago of distinction, as she accompanied her husband Aenghus in his martial expeditions. It would appear that the peculiar delicacy of the unnatural condiments prepared for the acceleration of her womanhood excited also instincts and propensities as unnatural as themselves; for we are told that she attempted the commission of a crime of a most disgraceful nature, which so offended the piety of St. Ciaran of Saighar, that he predicted to Eithne that both herself and her husband, Aenghus, would be slain in battle as a punishment of the crime, which prophecy was fulfilled at the battle of Cill-Osnadha, fought in the now county of Carlow, A. D., 489, when Aenghus and his royal consort were numbered amongst the slain.³

It appears that in the events of this epoch of which we are treating were determined the extent and the boundaries of the future kingdom of Ossory; and it further seems more than probable that at this same period the upper valley of the Nore, or “Airged Ros,” was first wrested from the successors of Cathier Mor, and annexed to the portion of Laighin deas Gabhair still in the possession of the King of Ossory, as an indemnity for the encroachment made on this same territory by Aenghus, and granted by him to the Deisi. This would appear probable from the fact, that henceforward we find the kings of Ossory and Munster allied in open hostility to the kings of Leinster. It is certain from the “Will of Cathier Mor,” that in the second century “Airged Ros” was not annexed to “Laighin deas Gabhair;” nor did it belong to the King of Ossory’s dominions, as it is referred to as part of the kingdom of Leinster; and in the oldest lives of St. Patrick it is still described as the western region of Leinster, whence it would appear to have remained sub-

¹ Keating, vol. i, p. 286.

² See the events of this epoch given more in detail in my lastpaper, “Transactions,” vol. iii., p. 372, 3.

³ “Annals of the Four Masters,” A.D. 489. See also the annotations of the editor, and his quotations from Colgan’s “Acta Sanctorum” in the margin.

ject to, and to have formed part of, that kingdom down to St. Patrick's time; yet its annexation to Ossory must have been effected, if not previous to, most certainly during the preaching of St. Patrick, and the lifetime of Aenghus.

Aenghus Mac Nadhraich reigned in Munster during the public mission of St. Ciaran in Ossory.¹ According to history and tradition, St. Patrick, on the occasion of his first visit to Aenghus, approached Munster through Lower Ossory,² where he met St. Ciaran for the first time in Ireland; and there can be little doubt that the "Elder of Oisraigh" accompanied the "National Apostle" on his journey to Magh Femin, where both of them were received by Aenghus, and introduced by him to his court at Cashel. After the baptism of Aenghus by St. Patrick, when we are told the pastoral staff of the saint perforated the foot of the royal neophyte, we find St. Ciaran taking a prominent part in the deliberations of the council of Cashel, held immediately after, when the jurisdiction of St. Patrick over all Ireland was first acknowledged, and St. Ciaran was invested with ecclesiastical authority over the principality of Oisraigh. This ancient kingdom and the ecclesiastical territory of the same name are allowed to have been conterminous since the establishment of Christianity in Ireland; consequently the kingdom of Ossory must have been coextensive with the present diocese of the same name before it was placed under the guardianship of St. Ciaran. Shane More O'Dugan, chief poet of Hy-Many, who died in the year 1372, has left us a rather concise survey of the kingdom of Ossory. He gives its extent in four different measurements, or rather measures its extent between four of its greatest extremes: he first sketches the width of "Laighin deas Gabhair," or Ossory proper, before it was divided by the Munstermen; he next gives the extreme length of the entire kingdom; thirdly, the extreme of Upper Ossory; and, fourthly, the width of the kingdom at near the middle of its territory. The following extracts will form an interesting illustration for our present essay.³

¹ Lanigan denies that St. Ciaran, of Saighar, was contemporary with either Aenghus or St. Patrick; asserting that he lived at a much later date; and that the Council of Cashel is a mere fiction, unsupported by historical evidence of any authority. But the great majority of Irish scholars are opposed to him: Ussher, Colgan, O'Flaherty, Ware, Mac Geoghegan, and most modern antiquarians synchronize the public mission of the first bishop of Ossory with the reign of the first Christian King of Munster, and the preaching of St. Patrick in Ireland. See Lanigan's arguments, "Eccl-

sastical History of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 22, 29, 30, &c.; vol. ii., pp. 7, 8, 98, &c.

² In Colgan's "Trias Thaum.", we are told that St. Patrick approached Munster through Bealach Gabhran, and was met in the field or plain of Femin by Aengus, son of Nadhraich, King of Munster, and was by him conducted to his habitation, called Caissel— p. 26, C. 60.

³ The portion relating to Ossory was translated by the late Dr. O'Donovan, and published in a tract along with the Ossorian part of O'Heerin's Topographical Poem, which had been edited by him for this society in the year 1850.

from the 13th century. He also informs me that no memorandum exists in the Ducal Museum as to whence this remarkable box came, or when it was obtained, but he thinks it might possibly have been acquired by the Duchess Gertrud, mother of Henry the Lion, who when in France purchasht relics to the value of one hundred pounds of silver. We are, therefore, entirely in the dark. Would that we could have followed it in its wanderings from Northumbria to Gallia, and thence far away into Germany!

The small holes at the corner of the ivory plates were bored for the better fastening of the bronze framing-slips. The staves are plainly and correctly cut, and any doubt which might arise from slight accidental peculiarities of form is at once dissipated by comparison with the parallel line, as the two inscriptions exactly agree.

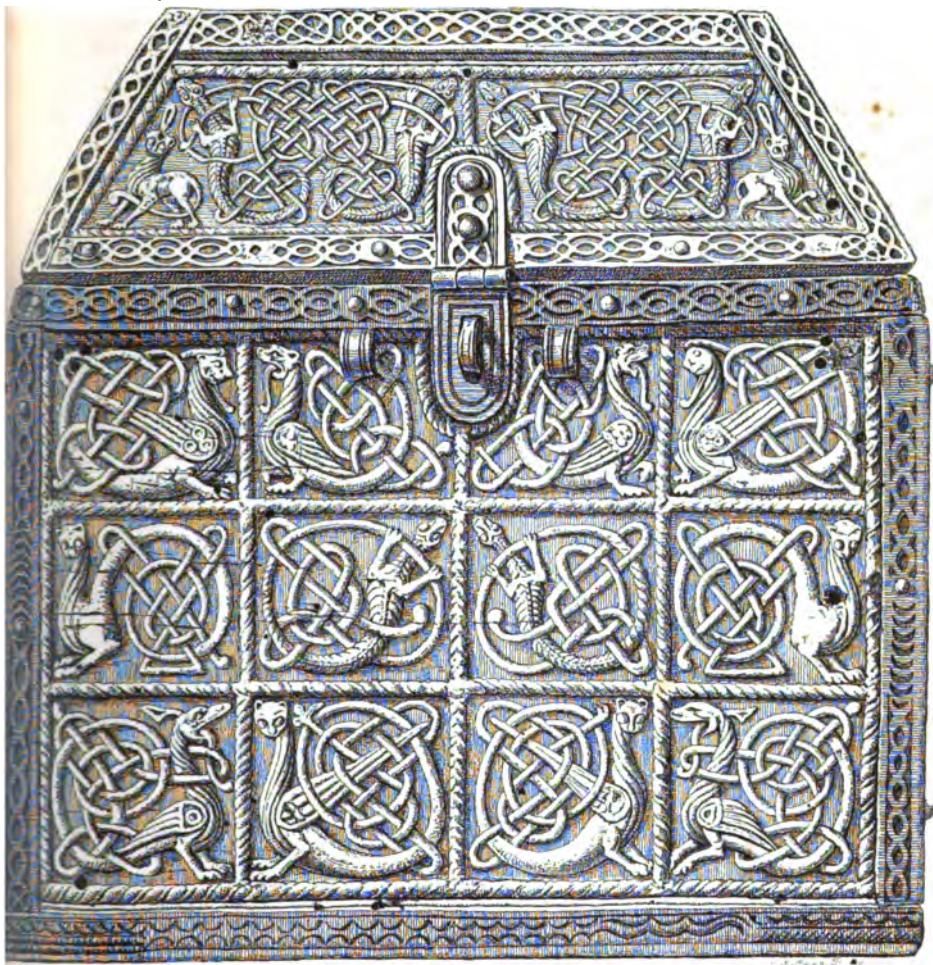
Before attempting to "uncipher" the characters, we must examine the object on which they stand. This strikes us at once as of high antiquity and of undeniable Old-Western workmanship. This Old-Western style is often difficult to discriminate—the Keltic, the English, the Gallic, and their subdivisions or crosses, running into each other in a way not to be too narrowly or pedantically fixt. Paucity of monuments renders everything uncertain, besides which the style is often to a certain extent modified by the material; parchment, and stone, and metal, and bone, being very different things and producing very different results. We see this in Runes and letters, but we can also trace it in carved ornaments.

Still less can we sometimes determine with absolute certainty the date of a particular piece. Excellent judges occasionally differ even by two or three centuries. In art as in language there may be local or personal retardations or anticipations, archaisms long kept up, or new tendencies developed at a bound, and elsewhere long and slowly struggling upward.

Anything absolutely similar to the thoroly harmonious and richly composed and delicately rounded and softly modelled, and minutely finisht work in this casket, I have not met with before. We might call it Gallo-Frankic, or Gallo-Irish, or Gallo-English; but for all we know it may be pure Gallic, or pure Keltic, or pure English. Every new "find" modifies our science of "classification," which is yet in its infancy.

Nor are we more fortunate as to the date. It may have been executed in the 7th century. At first blush we might guess at the 9th. Later than the 8th or 9th I think no inscription on so costly a piece (intended for some member of the very highest, and very richest, and most "civilized" classes) would have been carved in Runes. *Roman characters* would have been employed.

But these Runes are not Keltic. They are in no variety of the Keltic Oghams. They are in the usual Old-Northern staves, and, still more distinctly classified, they are Old-English, not Old-Scandinavian.



COFFER PRESERVED IN THE DUCAL MUSEUM, BRUNSWICK.

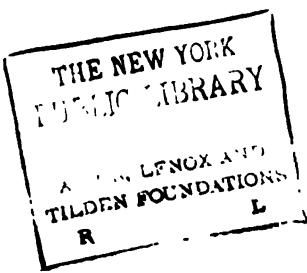
[Front view—full size.]

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

A. T. FOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

P

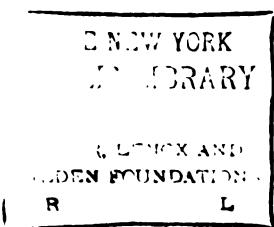
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COFFER PRESERVED IN THE DUCAL MUSEUM, BRUNSWICK.

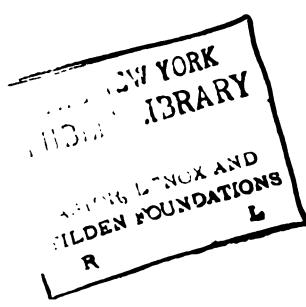
[Back view—full size.]





COFFER PRESERVED IN THE DUCAL MUSEUM, BRUNSWICK.

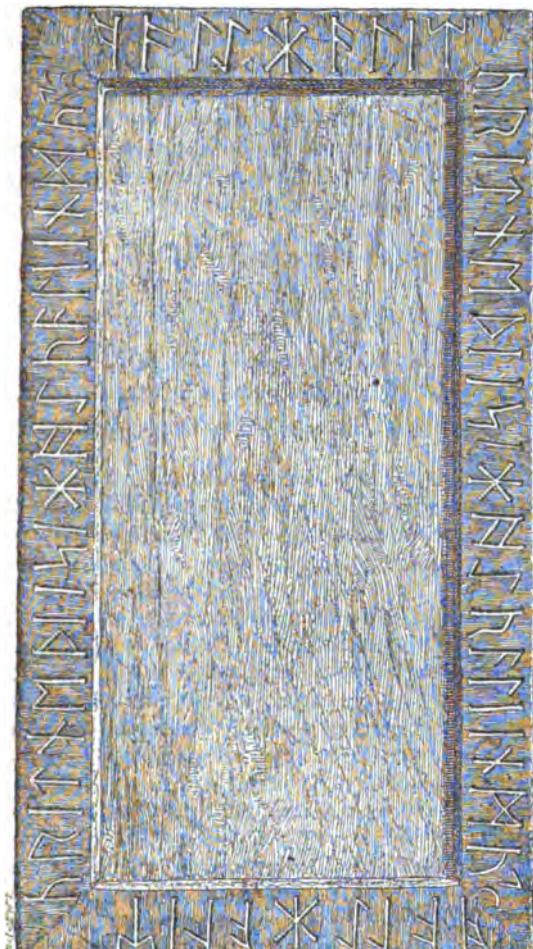
[End view—full size.]



If we now turn to their contents, we shall perceive that the language is Northumbrian, Old North English, announcing that the casket was made for a certain Lord *Æli* in Gaul.

We have, then, a remarkable and apparently contradictory combination, a rich and beautiful coffer made by a *Gallic*, or *Irish*, or *English* artist in *North England* for a *Gallic* personage.

But before we go farther, we must "rede the Runes."



Bottom of Casket.

The first practical hint I obtained in this direction was from the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who obligingly forwarded me the late J. M.

Kemble's own copy of the bottom plate, size of the original, on which he had made the memorandum that the runes were "in the Irish language." In spite of my veneration for that great scholar, I could not but doubt this statement, especially when the rubbing with which Senator Culemann favoured me showed that Mr. Kemble's transcript was far from correct. To obtain certainty at once on so vital a point, I requested the assistance of the Rev. J. Graves, A. B., Secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. Thro his kind mediation I was fortunate enough to obtain the authoritative opinion of the three greatest Irish scholars then living. They all declared, that the line of letters I had forwarded was neither in Irish nor in any other to them known Keltic dialect. So my way was now clear, and I returned to my task.

As I said, I take the carving to be in the same language as the Runes, English. And as the letters are so plain, the only difficulty is in grouping them. I read, and divide as follow:—

URIT NEPII
SIGHYOR ÆLI,
IN MUNGPAELyO GÆLLeA.
WROTE (*carved this*) NETHII
for-the-SIG-HERRA (*victory-lord, most noble*) ÆLI,
IN MUNGPAELyO (*Montpellier*) of GAUL.

Now we will take first the makee and the maker.

Do we know of any man in Gaul named Æli, in the 7th or 8th century, likely to have procured from North England this costly box?

We do.

To avoid other and more recondite sources—which of my readers is unacquainted with that charming book of Dr. Maitland “The Dark Ages?” Let him turn to chapter 6, pp. 81–122, “The Goldsmith.”¹ He will there find a noble vindication, as well as a true and popular account, of one of the really “great” men of France, one of the best men that ever adorned the Christian Church, the first art-workman of his day in all Europe, the Benvenuto Cellini of the 7th age, the illustrious Eligius, born near Limoges towards the close of the 6th year-hundred. After serving his apprenticeship to Abbo, mint-master in Lemovicina, and wandering, as journeymen did, far and wide thro the land, he became master of the mint to Clotaire II. His surprising talents as a worker in the precious metals have made him the hero of many a popular half-

¹ I use the first edition of Dr. Maitland's book, London, 1844, having no

other at hand. The paging may be different in the second.

mythical tale. But he was also distinguisht for humility, zeal, truthfulness, helpsomeness, endless generosity, and devotion to Christ and His poor. At last he gave up all to become a lowly priest, was eventually consecrated Bishop of Noyon and Tournay, and was indefatigable in building churches and monasteries, in ransoming prisoners, in evangelizing the heathen, in preaching the Word, and in serving and glorifying God. He died shortly after the middle of the 7th century.¹

What his name may have been in his own Frankic² mother tongue, we do not know. The less, as he was born in a southern province, which may have given a dialectic colour to the word.³ In its Latin form it was *Æligius*, Eligius, in popular French Eloy or Eloi. As the patron saint of the goldsmiths he is known by this latter name in every land. Un-Latinized, his name may well have been *Æli*, or something very like it.

But this cunning artificer had an English foreman in his shop, a man of great skill and parts. He had been sold as a slave into Gaul, and Eligius bought, and freed, and taught him. He soon converted him from Paganism, and he became a wondrous artist, thanks to his master's lessons. But at last he turned monk and eventually became a Saint. He was called Tillo (or Tillon, Tilonius, Tilmennus, in France commonly St. Théau). His day is the 7th of January, while St. Eloy's was the 1st of December, and under these dates we must look for their biographies in the various *Acta Sanctorum*.

Now, if we put these things together,—that the age of the casket is given somewhere about the 7th century,—that no other *Æli* is known at this time in Gaul at all likely to have wisht for a specimen of Northumbrian workmanship, and that he had a foreman who was an Englishman, and who may have described to him the excellence of the masterpieces he had seen in his native land, it seems very probable indeed that this *Æli* in Gaul was Eligius, the master of the mint. If so, he had perhaps not yet become a priest, at least not a bishop. At all events, the epithet applied to him is not ecclesiastical, and there is nothing distinctively religious in the ornamentation employed.

¹ See his life, "Vita S. Eligii Episcopi et Confessoris, scripta a S. Audocio Archiepiscopo Rotomagensi," in L. D'Achery, "Spicilegium," folio, vol. ii., Parisiis, 1728, pp. 76 and following.

² "Patria et parentibus Francorum."

Id. p. 78.

³ "Igitur Eligius Lemovicas Galliarum urbe, quae ab Oceano Britannico ferè ducentorum millium spatio se Jungitur,

in villâ Catalanense quæ a predictâ urbe sex circiter milibus ad Septentrionalem plagam verit, oriundus fuit pater Eucherius, mater vero Terrigia vocitata est."—*Id.* p. 78. It is mentioned, p. 82, that he was sent by Dagobert as ambassador to a prince "in partibus Britanniae;" but we must not be misled; this was Brittany, not insular Britain.

It is true that the casket says he was IN MUNPÆLYO, and I am not aware that any record connects Eligius with Montpellier.¹ But what know we of the thousand and one details of these old times? What we do know is, that his biographer oft-times informs us that he repeatedly wandered over Gaul, both in the land and to the sea-ports, and that it was in this way he became acquainted with Bobbo, the Royal Treasurer. Even while yet a layman he went from village to village, from harbor to harbor, relieving the poor, and freeing the captives—Romans, Gauls, Britons, Moors, but particularly English and Saxons—landed and sold by the sea-rovers. As ecclesiastic his labors were still more incessant in every part of France, and nothing is more likely than that in one of his artist or missionary expeditions he may have spent some time in Montpellier. It was then a small place, perhaps a mere hamlet; but, however small, it existed, and from its happy situation it rapidly increased on its gift to the Bishop of Maguelone in the 13th century, and its creation by him into a fief under the Knight Guido.

There was a Welsh Saint Elli, probably about contemporary with Eligius, whose day was the 23rd of February. See about him the Rev. W. J. Rees' "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints," Llanyvery, 1853, 8vo., under the life of St. Cadoc. But there is no mention of his ever having been in Gaul.

So much then for the orderer, or buyer, or receiver of this chest. But I think that I have also identified its *maker*.

In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is preserved a MS. copy of the Latin Gospels, said to have belonged to, or to have been written by the great Irish saint Colum Cillé, usually called St. Columba, who was born A. D. 513, and died in 592. This codex is now known as "The Book of Durrow." A facsimile of the writing, three several specimens, is given by Professor Eugene O'Curry in his valuable and learned "Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History," Dublin, 1861, 8vo., plate 3, pages 650, 651. The second of these, a mere loose scribble or memorandum or passing remark of a kind common in ancient manuscripts, is:—

† miserere dñe næniani †
† flii neth †

As this is all in Latin, the contractions must be extended in the usual way in that language. We must therefore fill in with Latin, not with Gaelic. Premising that 'næniani' may also be read 'næ-

¹ Mons Pessuli, Mons Pessulus, Mons Pessulanus, Mons Pelium, Mons Pelerius—for all these, and yet other forms, does its early Latin name assume. The

French spelling differs as widely. The above Runic mention of this place, if it be allowed that I have correctly fixt it, is perhaps the oldest known!

máni,' as it has been by Prof. O'Curry, I would resolve the above into :—

† miserere domine næniani †
 † filii nethii †

(Have mercy, O Lord, on Nænian, the son of Nethii.)

Now here the name Nethii (or Nethi), *one of the very rarest in all Europe*, is plain. It is doubtless the Old Irish proper name Néidhé, which in very ancient times sometimes occurs, but which disappeared at an early period. So uncommon is it, that Prof. O'Curry says at p. 650: "Nor has any name yet been found of which Neth could be the first part."

The exact date of the above entry we cannot ascertain; but as the whole codex and every thing in and about it savors of the earliest times, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that it may have been inscribed not later than a hundred years after the date of St. Columba in 592. But this will exactly harmonize with the date of this kist. For,

If we remember that Nethii is not an Old English name, nor Scandinavian, nor German, nor Romance, but only *Old Irish*;

That it is so scarce in Ireland as only to have been *once* met with in the early Christian period;

That this once it is entered in a book connected with St. Colum Cillé, the founder and Abbot of the great mission-cloister at Hii (Iona), whence he and his disciples spread Christianity and a high civilization through various parts of Scotland, and assisted in evangelizing the great kingdom of Northumberland, whose dialect this casket bears;

That nothing was more common than for art-workmen, lay and clerical, to pass from place to place on their errands in the service of religion;

That this shrine is evidently and strikingly *Early Western*, may be from about the 7th century;

That the short inscription in the codex is also, as far as we can see, from a date as early;

The conclusion will be almost irresistible, that the Nethii, the father of Nænian, in St. Columba's Gospel-book and the Nethii in ancient Northumberland, who made this master piece, is *one and the same person*, who possibly received the pattern of the work from Æli himself.

But this argument is strengthened by another coincidence; for I think this same artist occurs, at about the same time, in another Irish codex, the famous "*Book of Dimma*," an illuminated MS. of the Latin Gospels (O'Curry, id. p. 335, facsimile No. 4, pp. 651-2). This volume is usually supposed to have been written "circa 620" by a scribe of that name for St. Cronan of Roscrea, who died in the

beginning of the 7th century. It was preserved in that neighbourhood till the early part of the present century, when it passed into the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, "which also possesses another shrine and book, those, namely, of St. Moling, now St. Mullins, in the county Carlow" (O'Curry, p. 336). Now the writer of this book signs himself Dimma Macc Nathi. From the facsimile, this Nathi may possibly be read Næthi. But the difference is of little moment.¹ In either case I think he was the same person as the Nethii mentioned in the "Book of Durrow." If so, the "Book of Dimma" is a few years later than the time generally supposed, or Næthii must have married early and died late. If Nænian and Dimma were both his sons, and the latter wrote "the Book of Dimma" "about 620"—say when he was about twenty-five—Nethii must have been born about 575. If he carved the casket about 630, he would then have been about fifty-five. The difficulty is very small either way. The codex may have been copied "circa" 630–40, or Nethii may still have been an able artist at the age of sixty or seventy.

I do not know when Eligius was born. The usual tradition would seem to point to something like the date 590–600. His consecration as bishop is assigned to some year between 635 and 646. His death is fixt at 640, 646, 659, 663, 665, &c. Say born 593, made bishop 640, died 660. He was still young when he became Goldsmith, and afterwards Master of the Mint, to the King of the Franks, a time when he may well have ordered the coffer to be made. If he were then forty years of age, this would be in 630. But we have thirty years to fall back upon. At all events, the shrine cannot be later than about 650.

It is evident that this costly piece was, in the language of its Irish maker, a "Cumdach," in Northumbrian a "cist" or "tige." But for what were these early Keltic shrines or caskets intended? Scarcely for relics. The age of relics was not yet come, compared with after-developments. These *earliest* shrines were all of them made, as far as we know, to contain *holy writings*, some book or books of the *Old or New Testament*. There is a striking example of this in the

¹ The learned Professor O'Curry, alas, now no more!—a blow to Ireland only less than the decease of that mighty scholar and amiable gentleman, Dr. O'Donovan—has confirmed my opinion on the probable identity of these names. I stated the case to him; and in a reply, which I received from him, dated at the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, March 24, 1862, he says:—

"As for Neth itself, it may or may not be intended for Neidhe, Nethii or Nathi. The nominative and genitive of proper names of men, beginning with

a non-aspirate consonant, and ending with a vowel, are the same. It is certain that **D** and **T** are often written indiscriminately; but the genitive does not take an additional syllable, but merely a final liquid vowel **i**, as *beneit*, &c. The name Neidhe appears to have been little used for many ages—indeed, at any time—but it was revived by poetic fancy in Connaught in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries by the bardic family of O'Mael-phonaire. It is true that **A** and **E** are sometimes written the one for the other."

Domhnach Aigid, the shrine or box containing a MS. of the Four Gospels in Latin, now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. But this casket has gradually become three-fold. First, we have the original chest, of wood, probably of the fifth century; the second, made some two or three centuries later to honor and preserve the first, is of copper silver-plated; the third, of silver gold-plated, is of the fourteenth century. This last, among other words, bears the inscription:—

JOHANNES : O BARRDAN : FABRICAVIT.
(*JOHN O'BARRDAN MADE-me*).

There is little doubt of the correctness of Dr. Petrie's supposition, that the original wooden casket, with its MS., was the identical *Domhnach* presented by St. Patrick to St. Mac Carthainn, who died in 506 after having founded the see of Clogher.¹

Yet another instance occurs in the *Cathach*, or "Book of Battles,"² a box or casket from about the middle of the sixth century, enclosing a fragment of the Psalms on vellum, doubtless written by St. Colum Cillé. This shrine is the property of Sir Richard O'Donnell, but is deposited by him for public inspection in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It also has more than one case, the one within the other, the last and richest dating from the close of the eleventh century, and bearing among other words the name of the maker, Sitriuc (= Sitric), Mac Aedha. This is a remarkable proof how little we can depend on mere names. The artist was undoubtedly an Irishman, the son of Aedh (Hugh). Yet he bears a Scandinavian name, Sitric, given him perhaps to commemorate kindredship with that nation thro some marriage tie in the family or thro connexions on the mother's side.

Several other such shrines or caskets exist, but none approaching the above in antiquity. They are usually flat and square, like the Domhnach Aigid; but one of them, that of Mr. W. Monsell, M.P., now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, where the two others may also be seen, is more in the shape of a church, something like that now preserved in the Brunswick Ducal Museum. They are mostly small. The MSS. enshrined for more than 1000 years in the *Domhnach* and the *Cathach*, and facsimiled in O'Curry, p. 664, are not too large to be deposited in the Brunswick casket.

To sum up—My opinion is, that this coffer was made by Nethii, an Irish artist then settled in Northumbria, for Æli, or St. Eligius, or Eloy, Bishop of Noyon and Tournay, in Gaul, in the first half of the seventh century; and that it was made, not as a reliquary in the

¹ See O'Curry, "Lectures," pp. 322-327, and the authorities there cited, especially Dr. Petrie.

² See O'Curry, "Lectures," pp. 327-532. The Gaelic inscription is given at page 399.

vulgar sense, or as a common jewel-box, but as a *Gospel-casket*, a precious receptacle for a precious portion of the Word of God. Besides the well-known import of certain articles from Gaul, even from the Roman period, there were two streams of Christianization and civilization at this time flowing into England, especially into Northern England, the one—perhaps the fullest and mightiest—from the Gaelic missions of Ireland, both direct and over Scotland, and this Irish civilization was then the highest in Europe, the Roman only excepted; the other Italian, directly or indirectly from Rome chiefly. Both met in the seventh century in Northumberland. Nethii's casket is a specimen of Gallic or Gaelic culture; the fine Runic pillars at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, are instances of the Roman, for their ornamentation is evidently Roman and Roman-aboriginal. But the Bewcastle cross is also richly decorated in the style of the Kelts and the Northmen, the king over whom it was raised being a Northman on the father's side, but a Kelt on the mother's.

Of course all this depends on the interpretation of the runes. If this be correct, there can be little doubt that *Æli* was Eligius, and the shrine is then of the seventh century—at which time there was still a Gaul. But if a better reading can be found, and *Æli* and Montpellier and Gaul disappear, then of course the casket may have a much later date, and all my “ingenious combinations” will disappear, and “leave not a rack behind.”

ANONYMOUS ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY LIFE AND MARRIAGE OF JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE.

EDITED BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

AT the head of the transcript from which the following relation is printed, I find a memorandum made by myself at the time. The note given below¹ contains all that I had then, or since, been able to discover concerning the MS., now for the first time published. That there is, or was, an authentic original in existence cannot be fairly questioned, and I think it probable that it may yet be found

¹ The memorandum referred to above is as follows:—“Copied by Lord James W. Butler, from a manuscript, author unknown, given to the Marquess of Ormonde (Lord James' father), by the Earl of Clancarty, at Bruxelles, in the year

1822. This manuscript is not now forthcoming; and the following transcript is made from the copy above alluded to. August, 1850, J. Graves.” At the end of my transcript I find, “Copia vera fact' et exat' per me, J. G., October 1, 1850.”

amongst the MSS. transferred from the Irish College at Louvain to the Burgundian Library at Bruxelles. From internal evidence it is certain that the writer threw his facts and anecdotes into form after the death of his hero, the first Duke of Ormonde; and the many years over which that nobleman's eventful life extended will account for a few mistakes and inaccuracies, whilst the curious particulars, from which the chief value of the relation is derived, bear a look of *vraisemblance*, which leads one to think that they were learned from the gossip of some old and tried follower of the House of Ormonde, who, having stood by its fortunes in adversity, gratefully remembered the benefits derived from its prosperity. The prophecy scene, which we may reasonably suppose took place in the great hall of Carrick Castle, could only have been described by an eye-witness. In that hall the carved stone mantelpieces, oak-pannelled walls, the richly moulded ceiling ornamented with the arms of England and of Ormonde, the intermingled initials of E. R. and T. O., and the portrait of the Queen between the figures of Justice and Mercy, still attest the pride with which its builder, Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, commingled the evidences of the glory of his ancient house with the unalterable favour shown him by his Royal Mistress and kinswoman.¹

The best laid plans of the most sage and foreseeing are often, by the all-wise Ruler of the universe, converted into chastisements to themselves or their posterity, and there cannot be found a more striking example of this great truth than the facts succinctly told

¹ The noble pile of Carrick Castle consists at present of the remains of a base-court facing the Suir, protected at the land side by two tall Edwardian towers, rising grandly over a many-gabled Elizabethan mansion added in more peaceful times by Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormonde. Altogether I do not know of any Irish baronial residence so interesting from its existing remains and historic memories as this home of the Butlers, and it is sad to see its oriels and mullioned windows open to the winds, and its richly moulded plaster ceilings and oaken wainscots falling gradually to decay. I trust these lines may call to the mind of the present noble representative of the House of Ormondes her expressed intention of making Carrick Castle, at least, "stiff and stanch" against the weather. If its stout oak roof is kept in order, many generations to come will see this building, so deftly ornamented by the cunning hand of the carver and the artist in plaster, a standing testimony to the ancient glory of the Ormondes. If any of my readers want to get properly

wrought up to the frame of mind in which a ghost story should be read or written, I would recommend them to await a stormy autumn twilight, within these old walls. I well remember one such afternoon; and have a vivid recollection of the creaking doors, and hollow sighing of the winds along the darkened passages. There are, however, no troubled ghosts to haunt the castle. The old crone who was then its caretaker seemed indignant at the supposition; but she confided to us her belief, that the castle had its tutelary fairy, "Leather Apron" by name, not often seen now, but whose self-imposed office ("in the good ould times, when there was lashins and lavins in the Castle, and no end of servants as well as quality," in the halls and kitchens), it was to see that the serving men and maidens did their duty, under the penalty of a sound thrashing inflicted by means of the *leather apron* that gave his peculiar name to the "Clurichaun" in question, who, from his habiliments, must have belonged to the cordwainer class "of the good people."

by the writer of this relation. Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, in accordance with his duty to Elizabeth, and the long-tried loyalty of his race, was the chief instrument in crushing the rebellion of the Desmond Geraldines. But when the head of the Earl of Desmond, miserably slain in his wretched hiding place amongst the woods of Glanaginty, was placed in his hands, he went still farther, and claimed from the Queen (contrary to the established Irish usage as to heirs general,) the Earldom and its broad lands, not alone as the reward of his own loyalty, but in right of his mother, Joan of Desmond, whose arms he quartered on his shield. He did not obtain what he desired, but his claim suggested to James I. the bestowal of Earl Thomas's only daughter in marriage on one of his Scotch favourites whom he raised to the Earldom of Desmond; and when Ormonde lay in his grave, and his rightful heir, Sir Walter Butler, claimed his inheritance, Earl Thomas's unjust grasping after the Desmond lands and Earldom rose up in judgment against the House of Ormonde, and its heir general would assuredly have carried away the broad lands of that Earldom into another family, had not Sir Walter's grandson succeeded in making the politic, as well as romantic, marriage described in this manuscript; which is now submitted to the Society without further preface, except to say that the present seems a fitting time to commit it to print, inasmuch as the interest created by Lady Rachel Butler's tale of "The Prophecy" is fresh in the minds of the reading public—the noble authoress having founded her plot in the narrative of this anonymous writer.

HISTORY OF FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND FROM A. D. 1614 TO 1649.

Thomas, Duogh or Duff, Earle of Ormond, having been blind¹ several years before his death, on yelast Christmashekept,² invited most

¹ Thomas *Dubb*, or the Black, the tenth Earl, was believed by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to have been visited with blindness, by God, "in revenge" of his having advised Essex to march, in 1599, into Munster instead of into Ulster.—(Moryson, 2d Ed. p. i. 166.) In Lawlesse's MS. pedigree of the House of Ormonde, it is hinted that this calamity was a punishment for incontinence, the Earl having many illegitimate children. The Earl himself imputed it to overstraining in sea-sickness.—(Carte, i., lxv.) This great nobleman was the most prominent personage in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign, and the publication of his letters would form a valuable accession to the history of the kingdom. He died November 22, 1614. Horace Walpole gives the following note, from

Virtue's MS. respecting the splendid tomb (see "History of Cathedral of St. Canice," page 138), which was erected to his memory, but was destroyed by Cromwellians:—"In June, 1614, I bargained with Sir Walter Butler, for to make a tomb for the Earl of Ormond, and to set it up in Ireland; for the which I had well paid me £100 in hand, and £300 more when the work was set up at Kilkenny."—Extracted from the pocketbook of Nicholas Stone, Statuary.

² The scene of this entertainment must have been Carrick Castle, for Carte ("Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," vol. i. p. 4), says that Earl Thomas "then lived generally at his seat of Carrick upon the Sore, in the county of Tipperary; and thither our young Lord was often carried, and could remember distinctly the

of his nearest relations to solemnise that festival w^t him; & amongst the rest came S^r Walter Butler,¹ his 3^d brother, who then lived at Kilcash, his son, and his grandson, James Butler, ye late Duke of Ormonde, who was not then above 4 years old. The Table being full, and no room for younger James Butler to sit at it, he, being then a sprightly boy, entertained himself w^t whipping his Gigg (a sort of top made out of the tip of a cows horn) in the Dining Room just behind the Earl of Ormond's chair; who hearing ye noise, asked his servant y^t attended him, who it was made y^e noise behind him. His Ser^r reply^d it was younger Jemmy Butler a whiping [sic] his Gigg. The Earl then asking again w^t Jemmy Butler it was, ye Ser^r. answ^r^d it was Jemmy Butler of Kilcash, S^r Walter Butlers grandson. The Earl then bid him bring Jemmy to him; and placing him between his knees stroaked his head, and fetching a deep sigh, said, " My Family shall be much oppressed and brought very low, but by this boy it shall be restored again, and in his time be in greater splendour than ever it has been." Upon which prophetical expression of the Earls the Lord Vis^c. Tullogh² who then sat near him, & was his

old Earl's caressing him in his arms and upon his knees, and the several circumstances of his long beard, his being blind, and the wearing of his Gzong³ about his neck, whether he sat up in his chair, or lay down upon his bed. This was one of the last satisfactions and amusements which that same famous Earl Thomas received in his life, for he died the year after the heir of his honours and family was brought into Ireland."

¹ Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcash, was not, as stated in the text, third brother to the tenth Earl, but, as stated by Carte (Introduction to "Life of James, Duke of Ormond," p. lxvi.), was eldest son to John, brother of the tenth Earl, and third son of Earl James. He was born in 1569, and, upon the death of the tenth Earl, in 1614, succeeded to the title; and, after enduring the persecution narrated in the text, died in 1632. His eldest son, Viscount Thurles, deceased in 1619, leaving "Jemmy," the future Duke, who was born either in 1607 or 1610. (Carte, vol. i., p. 3). If, as above stated, he was four years old at the time of the supposed prophecy, the year in which it occurred was either 1611, or 1614. In the latter year the tenth Earl made a settlement in favour of Sir Walter and his heirs male. As the Viscount the Tullogophelin, the "Lord Tullogh" of text, died in January, 1613 (Lodge's Peerage), the date of the prophecy may have been 1611.

² "Lord Vis^c. Tullogh," viz. Theobald Butler, Viscount Tulloghophilim. A document, dated 1601, among the State Papers, sets forth "the Genealogy of the competitors for Ormond." It mentions "Piers Butler, of the house of Bolicke, Co. Tipperary" who "married Dame Margaret Fitzgerald," and "killed James Dowe" (Dubh) "Butler." This Piers was the eighth Earl of Ormond. Theobald, third son of Sir Edmond Butler (who was brother of Thomas, tenth Earl), is declared to have been "right heir, but for Sir Henry Sydney's backwardness in executing the Queen's commands to restore his blood." His father was attainted, in consequence of his rebellion against Sydney's arbitrary Star-chamber decision in favour of Sir Peter Carew's claim to part of Sir Edmond's estate. "Walter Butler, fifth brother of the Earl of Ormond, married the chieftayne of Owne Mulryan, his daughter." This territory was *Uaithne-Ui-Mhaolbriain*, or Owney, now Abington, in the county of Limerick. "John, fourth brother, married to O'Maghore, chieftayne of Dowogrye, Co. Tipperary." These two marriages are not mentioned in Carte's *Introduction*. Many other marriages, and some curious particulars as to illegitimate descendants of the family, are given in this document. It is also alleged that "the House of Butler of Yeghom, or Eyghom, (Nehom near Gowran), is the oldest;" and Theobald,

nephew and son-in-law [having married his only daughter (who was mother to the late Dutchess of Ormonde), and was to be his successor to the Earldom], being a very proud and conceited man, he in great indignation put back his chair and flang from the table, and in doing so making a great noise, y^e Earl ask'd his Ser^t. " who made y^e noise," to w^{ch} he reply'd that it was my Lord Tullogh, who in discontent had left the Table upon y^e discourse his Lord^p. had made of Jemmy Butler. The Earl said, " He is a flower y^t will soon fade—and w^t I have said I am confident will prove true." And within a short space after, y^e L^d Tullogh dy'd without issue & before y^e Earl of Ormonde, and his widow soon after marryed [Richard] Preston L^d Dingwell, whom King James y^e 1st recommended by his Letter to y^e Lady's favour, and in order to it created him then Earl of Desmond. Soon after this marriage there happened a very high contest in law between Walter, then Earl of Ormonde, & y^e said Earl of Desmond, who having married y^e only child and heir generall of Tho^t. Duffe late Earl of Ormonde, pretended in her right to ye greatest part of ye antient and noble estate; Walter Earl of Ormond soon after y^e commencement of this Suit went into England to pay his duty to King James, by whom he was very graciously received, having served ye Crown very honorably and bravely in ye wars in Ireland during Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and in Tyrone's rebellion, which happened soon after King James' accession to ye Crown of Engl^d. But the Duke of Buckingham, looking with an envious eye on ye splendour & greatness of ye ancient and noble house of Ormond, and more particularly for their Palatinat^e of Tipperary; and observing ye Earl to be an easy man, told King James that he had now an opportunity to make his Kingdom of Ire^{ld}. secure & quiet, and free from those frequent rebellions, w^{ch} had disturbed y^e reign of his predecessors, and was occasioned by the antient and great Families of that Kingdom, who had large territories of land, and numerous relations and dependencies, instancing in ye Earl of Desmond, Tyrone, & Tyrconnel; & added that his Majestie had then an opportunity of so depressing the House of Ormond (which might prove as dangerous as any of the other three to y^e Governm^t). that it should never hereafter be in a

third son of Sir Edmond, is recommended for the earldom. The entire deserves to be printed, with annotations from Carte, and other sources. Carte quotes a deed of remainder, dated 1601, in which the tenth Earl enjoins his nephew, Theobald, to marry his cousin, the Earl's daughter; and among the State Papers is a letter of thanks from the Earl to Queen Elizabeth, for her gracious consent to this match. Her Majesty's successor, however, on the death of the husband (the "Lord Tul-

logh" of the text) (Carte, lxiii.), bestowed the hand of the widow, as that of an heiress, on his groom of the bedchamber, Richard Preston, who consequently claimed nearly all her father's property, although customary law and family deeds entailed the estate on the primogenitural male heir, in order that it should accompany the Earldom or title. As to the claimants of the Earldom in 1600, and their eagerness to command the person of the Earl's only daughter, see "Journal," vol. iii., p. 403.

condition of raising disturbances in ye kingdom. The K. upon this asking him the means of doing it, he told his Majestie that if he could prevail on ye Earls of Ormond & Desmond to refer to himself the controversy w^{ch} was now between y^e s^d Earls concerning the Estate, the matter might be so contrived by his Majesties arbitration, as not only to weaken ye present power of the House of Ormond in Ireland, but also to divide the dependencies of ye Family, as well as the Estate, & by that means to secure ye better Interest of ye Family to a perpetual dependance on ye Crown: King James approving of ye Policy, very easily procur'd the reference to be made to him. For ye Earl of Desmond, being a favourite to ye Duke of Buckingham, in whose interest upon King James he knew himself secure, easily consented to what he was satisfied would be his greatest advantage. And ye Earl of Ormond, being of a generous and noble nature, and as little mistrusting ye King's Justice, as he did ye right of his title to ye Estate, very frankly and without hesitation concurred in ye reference and signed a bond¹ of 20,000 £. to stand to and abide by ye King's award. Hereupon his Majestie heard the cause solemnly argued by Council on both sides; and by the Duke of Buckingham's persuasions, adwarded the Castle of Kilkenny, the House of Dunmore, and the better half of the Estate to the Countess of Desmond and her heires, by which, the Earl of Ormond finding an inevitable ruin to himself and Family, chose rather to sacrifice himself by running ye risque of the penaltie of his bond, tho' he was convinced it would be prosecuted against [him] with all severity; than he w^d be ye instrument of ruining himself and his family by submitting to so destructive an adward: & accordingly he was committed to the Fleet, where some years after he dyed;² & while he was under confinem^t there, was under such hardships, that he had starv^d for want of meat, had he not been relieved by a charitable pension of five shillings p diem allow^d him by an old Servant, who in gratitude for his L^d'ships former bounty to him, strenghtened himself to support

¹ Carte makes no mention (Introduction, p. lxvii.), of this bond. There are several documents concerning this case among the Irish State Papers; one of them, a letter, dated 1622, written by Earl Walter, in the Fleet prison, wherein he states that his daughters, finding nothing but bonds, beggary, and misery, intend to leave him, and to live on the charity of others. And, in 1624, this unfortunate nobleman writes as to "Lord Desmond's practise to set up one Piers Lenan, as Earl of Ormonde, who was son of Rorie Lenan, of Galway, and Mrs. Mary Molloy, alias Butler." Enclosed is a paper of reasons for proving Piers to be an impostor. His mother

confessed that Lord Desmond sent to offer her £1000 a year, if she would acknowledge him to be a Butler, but she refused. Other particulars of pedigree are stated,

² This is a mistake. Carte (Introduction, p. lxvii.), says that he remained in prison for eight years after the death of James I., and, recovering his liberty in 1625, lived for some time in London, and removing afterwards into Ireland, died at Carrick Castle, February 24, 1632, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. He was a Roman Catholic, and from his devotional tendencies he was called "Walter of the Beads and Rosaries."

his noble Benefactor. Upon y^e Committall of ye Earl of Ormond, ye Earl of Desmond was dispatched away into Ireland with his Majesties adward & effectual orders to put him into quiet possesion of y^t part of the Estate which was granted to his Lady by it. And much ab^t ye same, ye Lord Vis^ct Thurles eldest son of ye Earl of Ormond (& father to the late Duke of Ormond) returned also into Ireland to prosecute ye suit at law, & defend his Father's and his own Right as well as he could. When ye Earl of Desmond had peaceably settled himself in ye possession of ye lands decreed him, & had got together the rich furniture of his Father in law, Thos. Duffe, late E. of Orm^d, together with his plate (w^{ch} solely in those times was valued at 12,000£.), he repaired to Dublin, carrying his treasure and furniture thither with him in order to transport them and himself to his Lady in England, and ab^t the same time ye L^d Thurles repaired also to Dublin wth intention to go into England and render his father an acc^t of ye miserable & deplorable circumstances of his affairs. Thus these two Lords happened to embarque ye same day & in ye same Porte of Dublin, but in two several ships (for their animosities were too great to be contained in ye same vessel), but they both had ye same unfortunate fate, and were buried in ye same grave, they both suffering shipwreck by ye same storm, & not very far distant from one another on ye Coast of Carnarvonshire, where neither of their persons, or any of ye Earl of Desmonds riches, were ever found, but were all swallow'd up in ye same merciless & voracious gulf.¹ After this fatal catastrophe, the Countess of Desmond wth

¹ This is a piece of romance. Lord Thurles, was drowned near the Skerries, as he was going for England, December 19, 1619.—(Carte, Introduction, p. lxvii.) Preston, Earl of Desmond, survived him near nine years, being lost on his voyage to England, October 28, 1628. Archdale's "Lodge," vol. iv., p. 37. Thomas Butler, Viscount Thurles, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Acton, in Com. Gloucester, who after her first husband's death, married Charles Matthew, of Thurles, Esq., ancestor to the now extinct Earls of Llandaff. By the kindness of John P. Prendergast, Esq., I am enabled to place on record here some extracts from the Proceedings (preserved at Dublin Castle), of the Commonwealth Commission which sat at Mallow, to hear evidence in favour of those who sought to be excused from "Transplantation," on the ground of "Constant good affection" to the English government. Before this Commission it appears, by the following Orders in Council, that Lady Thurles was al-

lowed to be heard by special favour:—
"By His Highness the Lord Protector to his Councell, for the affaers of Ireland.

"20th July, 1656.

"Upon reading the humble address presented unto this Board by Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Sankey, Colonel Phaire, and other chief officers of the army, in the behalf of Lady Thurles, desiring that, forasmuch as the said Lady hath neglected her opportunity for the making out of her qualification and claim before the Court sitting at Athlone, through misunderstanding of an Order granted her for a dispensation from Transplantation, that her case might be referred to the said Commissioners now sitting in the county of Cork, to the end she might make out before them her claim and qualification. And, upon consideration thereof, it is thereby ordered, pursuant to the said officers' desire, that it be referred to Mr. Justice Cook, William Halsey, and John Santhy, Esqrs. Commissioners appointed to adjudge of the

her only child (the Lady Elizabeth Preston), to humour her melancholy, liv'd retiredly in Berkshire ; and the younger Lord Thurles, as ye King's Ward, was putt into ye hands of Doc' George Abbot,

claims and qualifications of the Irish within the county of Cork, to take cognizance of the said petition, and of the said Lady's desires therein set forth : Who are hereby empowered to hear and determine the same according to Law (notwithstanding they are only limited to the Irish natives within the said county of Corke), and as formerly, in like cases of like nature. Dated at the Council Chamber, the 28th July, 1656.

"THOMAS HERBERT,
"Clerk of the Council."

"By the Lord Deputy and Council.

"Upon reading the report of the Court of Claims, to whom the hearing and determining of the claim of the Lady Viscountess Thurles to the Lordship of Thurles, and other lands in the county of Tipperary, was referred ; setting forth that the claim of the said Lady to these lands is allowed, but the Decree not drawn up till the pleasure of this Board were known concerning her transplantation (she being a Popish Recusant), and her qualification determined. It is thought fit and ordered that the said Lady Thurles (in regard of her age), be dispensed with from transplantation, and that she be permitted to enjoy her estate as formerly till further order, and until her qualification under which she falls by the Act of Settlement be determined, whereof all persons whom it may concern are to take notice.

Dublin, 27th November, 1654.

"THOMAS HERBERT,
"Clerk of the Council."

The following is the Commissioners' Letter to Lord Deputy and Council of the Commonwealth in Ireland, setting forth her Case :—

"By virtue of a reference from your Honours, bearing date the 28th day of July last, grounded upon a special application made to the Board by the Honourable Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Sankey, and other officers of eminency in the army, in behalf of the Lady Viscountess of Thurles ; the said Lady made claim before us to a constant good affection to the interest of the Commonwealth of England ; and we having summoned Mr. Gunn, agent for the adventurers, affidavit was made of the service, and he

not appearing, we entered into the consideration thereof upon the 9th day of this month, and heard as well Council for the Commonwealth as the said Lady's Council : And upon full hearing of the said cause, it appeared to us by the testimony upon oath of divers English Protestant witnesses of good credit, that the said Lady did, several times, in the year 1641, harbour, entertaine, and preserve from murther and famine, divers English families whom the Irish had plundered and robbed, and attempted to murder, as particularly the said dependents and their families—Mr. Bullock and his family, Joane Harris, and her family, Mr. Price, a minister, and his family, and divers other persons and their families (particularly in the evidence named), to the number of three score persons. All which she hath at her own charge mayntayned in her house until the year 1643, when, in the time of cessation, some of them betook themselves to Dublin, and others to Cork ; and for the accomodation of them in their journies were supplied by the Lady with monies, and other necessaries, and with such of them as repaired to Dublin, did send her letters of favour to her sonne, the Earle of Ormonde, in their behalfe.

"It likewise appeared that, in the said year, 1641, she did, from time to time, relieve and correspond with Major Henry Peisley and the English garrison he did command in the Castle of Archertown, and also the English garrison in Beakstown ; and the said Major Peisley being besieged by the Irish, and overcharged in his garrison by numbers of old men, women, and children, the said Lady gave him intimation she would make means for the private conveyance of them to her house, and there secure and maintain them. And that Major Peisley thankfully assenting therunto, the said Lady employed some of her servants in that work, who brought safe from the said garrison to her house at Thurles the number of fourteen old men, women, and children, all or most of whom were continually mayntayned at the said Lady's charge in her house ever since. It likewise appeared as well by the testimony aforesaid, as by letters un-

Archbishop of Canterbury, for his education. The unfortunate Walter Earl of Ormond, worn out wth ye miseries of his confin^{mt}. much more broken by ye death of his son, had an end put to his miseries

der the hand of Sir Warham St. Leger, some time Lord President of Munster, that the said Lady kept continual correspondence with him after the irruption of the rebellion, and that he had a very tender esteem and regard for her, and looked on her as one of the English party. And that the said Lady did, by her words, expressions, and behavior, continually declare her detestation and abhorrence of the rebellion and robells, and her affection for, and fellow feeling of the miseries and sufferings of the poor English.

"It appeared likewise, that Major Peisley being forced to yield his garrison to the rebels, and himself and others of his company being wounded and otherwise much spentout, and weakened, she invited him, his whole family, and company to her house, and entertained them for several weeks, until being well cured and refreshed, and being by her supplied with monies and other necessaries, they betook themselves to Done-rale, an English garrison. That Sir Charles Vavasour being wounded and taken prisoner by the rebels some time before the cessation, and imprisoned at Clonmel, the said Lady did often times send monies to him for his supply, and afterwards, he being sick and in a very weak condition in prison, the said Lady procured, with difficulty, liberty for him to come to her house, where care was taken for his cure, which being effected, she supplied him with monies and he departed. And that the said Lady did, in the years 1643, 1644, 1645, and 1646, lend many considerable sums of money for the relief of the English army, as particularly £300 at one time, and £500 at another, and divers other sums. It appeared also, that when Lord Inchiquin, with the English army he commanded before his defection, marched into the county of Tipperary, he looked upon the said Lady as English, and of English interest and affection, insomuch that he continually issued his order for the preservation of her, her tenants and interest. And that the Irish, for her aversion to their rebellion and horrid proceedings, looked upon her as their enemy, insomuch that they at several times pillaged and plundered her (viz.),

of 1500 sheep, threescore cows, and of great numbers of horses, mares, and colts; broke down her weares, and threatened to pull her house down about her ears, if she did not give up the poore English to their fury and crueltie, which she constantly and resolutely refused. That one Owen Roe O'Neill, with a great army marching by her house, and looking on her as an enemy, commanded from her 200 beeves, which she refused, and thereof gave advertisement to Lord Inchiquin, who came to her relief and repulsed O'Neill.

"That when His Highness sat before Fethard, in the county of Tipperary, Lieutenant Colonel Brian O'Neill, with about 1500 of the Irish army well appointed, came to the said Lady's town of Thurles, and desired admission with his party to garrison her house, which she refused, and immediately sent advertisement to His Highness thereof and prayed he would be pleased to send a garrison of his army. Whereupon Major Bolton, with a regiment of horse and foote, was immediately commanded away to her house. A certificate of Major Bolton was produced, declaring the same, as likewise that the said Lady was instrumental in the rendition of Cahir Castle, and that His Highness in consideration thereof had promised a gratification of her, which was seconded with such effectual certificates from Colonel Sankey, Major Greene, and Colonel William Moore, which we took as good argument, though not in evidence. Upon the whole matter we find her a very deserving person. And yet her residence having been, during the rebellion, in the Irish quarters, and being obliged by our Commission, and by your Lordships said reference to proceed according to law, and not having adjudged a constant good affection to any whose constant residence have been in the Irish quarters during this rebellion, we do humbly present to your Lordships the state of the case, and difficulties thereupon, and submit in them to your Lordships, and remain your

"Faithful, humble Servants,
" JOHN COOKE, JOHN SANKEY,
" WILLIAM HALSEY.
" Moyallo, 13th August, 1656."

& his life in ye Fleet. His Grandson, thereby Earl of Ormond, was carefully educated by ye Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ who conscientiously labour'd to instruct him in ye principles of ye Protestant Religion, in w^{ch} his Pious Endeavours had so good success, that his L^dship, thro' all ye Vicissitudes of fortune & traverses in ye Govrnm^t, continued in it steadfast & unshaken to his Death.

The Countess of Desmond, after a few years solitary retirement in Berkshire, wasted wth melancholy, dyed in the country.² And her fair and rich daughter became by y^t means ye King's ward, and was granted to ye Earl of Holland, strictly guarded, and bred by the Countess of Holland, who, by her uncle, ye Duke of Buckingham's contrivance, designing to marry her to her Bro: Fielding, the more effectually to recommend him to ye young lady's Favour procured him to be created Earl of Desmond.

After ye deaths of Walter Earl of Ormond, his son L^d. Thurles, and ye Earl of Desmond, and during ye minorities of their children, the younger Earl of Orm^d and his cousin ye Lady Eliz: Preston, ye suit for ye estate was discontinued and laid asleep, they being both ye King's wards. But ye Archbp: of Canterbury being dead, & James E. of Orm^d grown up toward man's estate, being of very pregnant and forward parts, as he grew ripe in years, he was more capable of considering the unfortunate circumstances of his own condition; to remedy this, and rescue himself from y^t ruin w^{ch} was so long contrived ag^t himself by ye Duke of Buckingham, he saw no possibility but by his marrying his cousin ye Lady Eliz: Preston, whom he had never yet seen; nor by reason of her being so strictly guarded by ye Countess of Holland in prosecution of ye projected

Previously the "Adventurers" had complained that Lady Thurles was still in possession of 4000 acres, fallen to them in Barony of Eliogarty, county of Tipperary, whereupon the Council made the following order:—

"Upon consideration had of the within petition of John Gunn, agent for the adventurers in the Barony of Eliogarty, in the county of Tipperary, setting forth that, upon Admeasurement of lands for the adventurers in the Barony, he finds that the town and lands of Thurles (amounting to about 4000 acres), are possessed by the Lady Thurles (a Popish Recusant, and Transplantable), by virtue of an order from this Board only until further order, or until her qualification be determined; and therefore praying the direction of this Board, whether the said lands of Thurles shall be sett out to the Adventurers or passed by, &c.

"The Council do think fitt, and here-

by order, that forasmuch as this matter is cognizable before the Commissioners at Athlone, it be referred unto the said Commissioners of the Court of Qualifications and Claims at Athlone, to consider of the within Allegations, and annexed order, and to proceed in the case according to Rule of Court.

"Dublin Castle, 14 May, 1656."

¹ There is extant at Kilkenny Castle, a sharply written letter addressed by Archbishop Abbot to Walter, Earl of Ormonde, desiring him to send back his grandson to Lambeth Palace, on pain of a complaint to the King, whose ward the lad was. Carte, however, says that Lord Thurles's education was neglected by Abbot, who considered himself burdened by the charge—only £40 per annum being allowed for the young Lord's maintenance.—"Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," vol. i., p. 5.

² She died in Wales, 10th October, 1628. Archdale's "Lodge," vol. iv., p. 37.

match between her and ye now Earl of Desmond, could ye E. of Ormond imagine any way possible for him to obtain such an interview between him and his cousin ye Lady Eliz: Preston as might give him an opportunity of conversing or corresponding wth her. Whilst he was under these difficulties & discourage^{mts} & tormented with ye apprehensions y^t delay w^d ruin his hopes & expectations by those opportunities & advantages w^{ch} his co-rival ye Earl of Desmond had to accomplish his aims, it fell out very happily, that Mr. Patrick Wemyss,¹ a near kinsman of Lady Eliz. Preston, & one who was chiefly entrusted wth ye management of her estate in Ireland, arrived at London: w^{ch} ye Earl of Ormond understanding, he soon found means to be acquainted with him, and so far insinuated himself into his friendship as to prevail on him to be an instrum^t of endeavouring an happy Union between him & his cousin ye Lady Elizabeth.

The first step Mr. Wemis made towards this was to give his Lordship an opportunity for a view^z of ye Lady at Church next Sunday in ye City of London (w^{ch} was a good Omen) without ye privity of ye Lady, & whether designedly or by good fortune his Lords^{bp} had ye satisfaction of sitting wth her Ladyship in ye same seat. The next step after this interview his Lords^{bp} made himself, by going in disguise (as a Romantic Lover) unto Kensington wth a pedlars pack upon his back, where 1st. encountering ye young Ladys (daughters to ye Earl of Holland), his Lord^{shs} so charmed them with his civil deport^{mt}, yt they run into ye House to ye Lady Eliz: & told her there was at ye back-door one of the handsomest Pedlars they had ever seen, and represented him so advantageously to her that

¹ This Scottish gentleman was afterwards secretary to Earl James, at the beginning of the great rebellion. Some despatches, written by him, signed by the Earl, and printed in Carte, have many Scotticism^s. He was knighted, and having received from Ormonde a grant of the ancient Castle and Manor of Dunfert (now called Danesfort), in the county of Kilkenny, was the direct ancestor of Otway Wemyss, of Danesfort, Esq., now a captain in Her Majesty's 3rd regiment of foot.

² Carte says (vol. i., p. 7), that, "about six months after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, he" (Lord Thurles) "first saw at Court his kinswoman the lady *Elizabeth Preston*." She was born on the 25th of July, 1615, and Carte computes that Lord Thurles was five years her senior; if so, she was scarce fourteen years old at the time of this courtship, and her suitor was but

nineteen. However, if, agreeably with the inquisition quoted by Carte, his lordship was born in 1607 (vol. i., p. 3), he was twenty-two years of age. Carte does not give the above anecdote, which is circumstantial; but mentions that Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, and with whom Lady Elizabeth Preston was brought up, favoured "the correspondence" between the Irish nobleman and this young lady; that since, after the king's admonition to him "not to meddle with" the royal ward, no intercourse could be carried on between them but in the way of intrigue, Lady Isabella Rich "exposed herself to all the dangers to which such private meetings, opportunity, and late and unguarded hours, expose youth;" and that, in consequence, "she found the young nobleman too agreeable," and bore him a son, who was subsequently sent to Paris, and educated there.—See Carte, vol. ii., p. 555.

they obliged her to come and take a view of him and ye wares in his pack. It is not improbable that notwithstanding the Earl's disguise ye young Lady had some impression & idea of ye person who had sat wth her in ye seat ye Sunday before, for upon his opening his packe, he presented to her a pair of gloves, into one of which he before conveyed a letter, w^{ch} she in his drawing on ye glove perceiving, pretended to have no money in her pocket to pay for ye gloves, & notwithstanding ye young Ladys offered to lend her money, yet she retired to her chamber to fetch money, & being there, perused ye letter, & soon after returned with ye gloves again (into w^{ch} she as cunningly conveyed an answer), w^{ch} she returned to ye amorous Pedlar, pretending they had an ill smell. What were ye contents of either of these letters can be no otherwise possibly guessed at (because they were so secretly contrived, as all amorous intrigues are) than by the success, for within a small space after, the young couple liked one another so well, notwithstanding ye circumspection, & strict guards of ye Countess of Holland, they were happily marry'd,¹ to the great surprise and displeasure of ye Court, ye Duke of Buckingham, and ye Earl of Holland. But they, being both ye King's wards, & under age, the Earl of Ormond, as an atonem^t & peace offering, was necessitated to enter into bonds to pay ye Earl of Holland 30,000 £., w^{ch}, for several years before it was paid, lay as an heavy load upon ye Earl of Orm^d. And yet, notwithstanding, ye Earl & his Lady had no favour or countenance shewed them at court. Some time after ye Duke of Buckingham being declared General of his Majesties Forces w^{ch} were designed for ye invasion of ye Isle of Ree in order to ye releefe of Rochelle, w^{ch} was then besieged & hardly pressed by ye French King, Lewis ye 13th, his Grace went to Portsmouth to hasten his preparations for his expedition. The Earl of Orm^d being of a brisk and active spirit, and observing that most of ye young noblemen attended ye Duke as Volunteers in y^t expedition, being instigated by their example resolved to give his Majestie as early a proof of his zeal to his service as others did, & notwithstanding ye severe proofs he felt of ye Dukes animosity to his family, wth an unparall^{ed} generosity designed to accompany his Grace & signalize himself in ye expedition.² As soon as he arrived at Portsmout he immediately went to the Dukes lodgings where he found him environed wth several young noblemen, & ye

¹ Carte implies that the marriage was by royal consent, and states that the wedding took place in London, at Christmas, 1629. Also (vol. i. p. 8), that Lord Holland's consent was gained by a bond for £15,000. This large sum the Earl paid in 1637, during the viceroyalty of Lord Strafford, "whose friendship contributed to discharge it."

² This incident must be placed at an earlier date, as the Duke of Buckingham was murdered at Portsmouth before the marriage between the lovers took place. Carte, who mentions this fact (vol. i. p. 6), gives a different version of what passed on the occasion of the Earl having offered to join the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

officers of ye army ; & as he entered into his presence, the Duke approaching him, saluted him with great civility, and asked him what occasioned his L^{dsh^{ps}} coming then to Portsmouth. His Lordship told his Grace, in ye first place to pay his duty to his Grace, and in ye next to wait upon him in his expedition unto France. The Duke replied, " Good God, is it possible that your Lordship can so easily forgive the injury's I have done your family & yourself, as not only to honour me with your company here, but also to hasard y^r life with me in France." My Lord answer'd " that as he was ignorant of the cause of his Grace's animosity to his Family, so he was innocent of it, and took this opportunity to convince his Grace of it, and to give him a real proof of his service to him." The Duke embrac'd him & told him he never should outdo him in generosity, and since his L^{dship} had made so obliging a step towards a friendship, he was resolv'd to clinch ye nail, & if he were so happy as to return alive from that expedition, he would make his Lordship full amends for past injuries, & be his faithful servant as long as he lived. But Providence had so ordered it that ye very ev^t. after, His Grace was murdered by Felton, by which an end was put as well to his Graces life and generous resolutions, as to his Lords^{hp^s} hopefull expectations; for his Lord^{p.} returning ye next day to London, & after finding no countenance from ye King, nor prospect of favor from ye ministers of state who succeeded in power at court, his Lordship was convinced there was no other means left for him to retrieve his fortune than by repairing to Ireland, & by good husbandry and carefull management of his Estate, to free himself from ye great incumbrance he had contracted for his own and Ladys wardship ; and to ease himself of some other debts his Grandfather had incurred during ye suits of ye E. of Desm^{d.} & his imprisonment in ye Fleet. And in pursuance of this prudent resolution, his L^{dship} soon after having [sic] transported himself and his Family into Ireland, where he lived upon his own Estate, unconcerned in all possible [public] affairs till ye arrival of ye Earl of Strafford brought him first to Dublin to pay his respects to the chief Governor, who, upon conversation with him, finding his youth accomplished wth great vivacity, and excellent good parts, took so great a liking to him,¹ that he first prevailed for

¹ Carte (vol. i. pp. 64, 65,) relates at large the origin of this friendship, which does much credit to the independent spirit of the Earl of Ormonde. It appears that Strafford, to curb the turbulence of some members of the Irish Parliament, issued a proclamation that none of the members of either house should enter wearing their swords. The Usher of the Black Rod having demanded Lord Ormonde's in a rough way, "the Earl

told him that if he had his sword, it should be in his guts, and so marched on into his seat, and was the only Peer who sat with a sword that day in the House." When questioned before the Council for this act of disobedience, Ormonde produced the King's writ, whereby he was to come to Parliament *cum gladio cinctus*, and so escaped censure. But, though thus foiled for the time, Strafford would have had little compunction in crushing

his being sworn of ye Privy Council, & after procured him leave to levy a Troop of Horse in ye Stands Army for 1500. Upon this happy beginning & foundation of ye E. of Strafford's favour towards his Lord^p by his own Industry and noble deport^{mt} by degrees built up his future greatness. In ye mean time he was not ungratefull to his first benefactor, who having ye misfortune in ye year 1640 to be impeached at ye same time in ye Parliaments of England & Ir^d., & being brought upon his Tryal in England, wrote to my Lord Ormond, wherein he told him it would be of great advantage to him in his tryal, if the articles of Impeach^{mt}. that were preparing against him in ye Parliament in Ireland were for some time delayed, & desired his Lordship, upon whose friendship he could safely depend in y^t Kingdom, to use all possible endeavours to obstruct them, there being a confederacy between both Parliaments to ruin ye Earl of Strafford, because he was ye sole man who stood in ye Gapp in opposition to those mischievous designs that then were on foot against ye Crown, w^{ch} ye factions in both Kingdoms could not well bring about till ye said Earl of Strafford was taken out of the way. Ye Earl of Ormond perceiving y^t if he directly opposed ye Articles, ye violent torrent against ye Earl would be too great for him to stem upon his own single interest, & he finding that among the Earl of Strafford's enemies in ye House of Lords no man was more fierce against him than Doctor Anthony Martin, Bp. of Meath, who, being a man of excellent parts, a good orator, and one who had received no small disobligations from ye said E. during his Government, in all his speeches reflected upon him wth most acrimony, him therefore My Lord of Ormond on purpose fell foul upon wth severe expressions, w^{ch} ye Bp. in his choler resenting, complained to ye House for breach of Priviledge & breach of orders of ye House & appealed to their Lord^{ps} for reparation, this begat a great debate, & heat in the house, w^{ch} spent ye rest of ye day without any proceedings upon ye Articles. My Lord of Ormond finding his success in his Artifice (for otherwise he had a very great esteem for y^t Reverend Prelate) pursued ye same practice for six days together, and by that means kept off ye Articles, w^{ch} was ye only mark he aimed at. Then Donagh Vis^c Muskerry his brother-in-law, & one who by his interest amongst ye Catholick Peers (wth whom he was firmly united against the Earl of Strafford) came to ye Earl of Ormond to his house & told him y^t he had smelt him out, and was convinced y^t his carping for six days together against ye Bp. of Meath was not out of any real

one who so openly set at nought his authority, had not the necessity of making friends amongst the Irish nobility to support him in his high-handed policy of "thorough," led him to consider the alternative of winning to his side so daring

a spirit: this, by the advice of Sir George Radcliffe, he determined to try, and soon made a fast friend of the young Earl of Ormonde. Carte says that Ormonde was but twenty-four years of age when sworn of the Privy Council.

picque he had to ye said Bp., but out of design to keep ye House in heats to delay by y^t means ye Impeach^{mt} ag^t ye E. of Strafford, & therefore in plain dealing told him he must no longer depend upon his friendship to be dissuaded from being call'd to ye bar & sent to Castle Chambers (w^{ch} was in Dublin ye Prison for ye Peers as ye Tower is in London) if he any longer persisted in his indecent ususage of ye Bp. of Meath. So my Lord of Orm^a was necessitated to give way to the proceeding upon ye Impeachment w^{ch} soon after and without hesitation pass'd in ye House, & by a committee of Lords & commons was sent into England.

In October 1647 The Marquiss of Ormond waiting upon ye King who was then a prisoner at Hampton Court, His Majestie told him y^t he was certainly informed, y^t ye Parliament & ye Army, notwithstanding their several treaties wth him for a peace, had resolv'd amongst themselves to bring him to a publick tryal for his life; and w^d cut him off, if by an invasion from Scotland, & a diversion to be attempted by ye Marquiss in Ireland, it was not prevented. And therefore as to the first his Ma^{ts} commanded him to meet and confer wth ye Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, & ye Earl of Lauderdale (both then commissioners from Scotland to ye Parliam^t); and after he had adjusted matters wth y^m, then immediately to repair to his son Prince Charles into France, & receive directions from him concerning his repair [sic], held pursuant to a Treaty yⁿ. on foot wth ye Irish & ye L^d Insiquin. In order to this ye Marquiss returned to London, where he was no sooner arrived but he found an ordinance of both Houses published, that all Cavaliers & Malcontents should withdraw themselves ye next day out of ye city, & not reside nearer than within 20 miles of it. This was a great surprise upon ye Marquiss, for by it he thought himself deprived of all possible means of executing his Majestie's commands in ye designed conference wth ye Earls of Loudon & Lauderdale for ye preservation of his Maj^{ts} person, & therefore immediately went to General Fairfax, who then had his head Quarters at Putney, hoping if his articles wth ye Parliament upon ye surrender of Dublin did not exempt him, that at least, wth his Lordships mediation with ye Parliam^t he might at least have some few days allowed him from ye common case of Cavaliers. But ye L^d. General tho till then extreamly civil & obliging to him, told him plainly that he durst not undertake to mediate with ye Parliam^t for him, & he had as ill success in his addresses that ev^e to some of his old acquaintance amongst ye House of Lords, who were so far from interposing for him, that they advised him ye next day to be gone out of Town, least a lodging might be provided for him in ye Tower. In this streight he sent his Secretary Sir George Lane to ye Earls of Loudon & Lauderdale, to acquaint their Lord^{ps} with ye commands he had from his Majestie to confer with their Lordships about his affairs, w^{ch} it was impossi-

ble for him to do in his present circumstances, having no chioise left him but either in going out of town ye next morning, pursuant to ye directions in ye ordinance of Parliam^t y^t day published, or to run ye risque of being sent prisoner to ye Tower; that his Lordship had determined to go to my Lord Pagets house, near Marlow, beyond Henlye, where he would stay till he heard from their Lord^{ps} who he hoped would contrive some way for their speedy and private conferring wth him about his Maj^{ies} affair w^{ch} required dispatch. Their Lord^{ps} returned answer that within a few days they would repair to Henlye, from whence they would advertise his Lord^p of ye time & place for meeting them.

The next day my L^d of Ormon^d. wth ye Countess of Holland, & in her coach, went out of town towards my Lord Pagett's house, & as they approached Henlye House they had notice of several country people who had been robb'd in their return home from Henlye Market, & that there were within less than a $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile of them ten Highwaymen who had robb'd all upon ye road that had pass'd that afternoon. His Lord^p. was a little alarm'd at this, but more ye Countess of Holland, who had that morning before she took coach delivered to his Lord^p for her better security her box of Jewels amount^g. to ye value of 2500£. to protect w^{ch} and ye person of ye Lady, his Lordship thought he should be better able to do it on Horseback, so he called for his horse which was led by his groom, w^{ch} he no sooner mounted than he descriy'd ye Highwaymen who were drawn up ready to receive him, & those few serv^t. which attended him, in number not exceeding five, & having no better arms than their swords, w^{ch} they drew, (fire arms being prohibited to all Cavaliers). As they approach'd near ye Highwaymen, by whom his Lord^p expected to be attacked, they cry'd out "God bless y^r Lordship, My L^d of Ormond, we have nothing to say to your Lordship, for you are as poor as we are." So his L^dship passed freely on to Marlow without any disturbance from them who w^d not have treated ye Countess of Holland with such civility, had not her Ladyship had ye good fortune to be under his Lord^{ps}. protection. After 3 days spent in Jollity with my Ld. Pagett, his Lordship in ye even^g. rec^d a letter from ye Scotch L^ds y^t they were at Henlye, and they desired his Lord^p to meet them in a little Coppice wood between Marlow and Henlye ye next morning at 8 of ye clock; whereupon my Lord gave orders to his groom to have his pad ready saddled at 7 o' ye Clock next morning, & there happening to be present one S^r Henry Leigh, a good fellow and a pleasant companion of my Lord Pagetts, when my Lord Marquiss was ready to take horse, S^r Henry swore he would accompanie him, tho' he had heard My Lord command his servant that none of y^m should go wth him. My Lord having no mind to be incumbred wth so impertinent a companion, called him aside to him, & whispered him in ye ear, that he would

do him a great kindness to go along with him, for he was engaged to fight a duel, and he wanted a second, S^r Henry immediately started, and said he begged his Lord^{ps} pardon, for he had a great honor for his Lordship, yet he did not love to have Ilett Holes made in his body so cold and frosty a morning, by which ingenious raillery his Lord^p was rid of y^t troublesome spy, & wth freedom met ye two Lords in ye Coppice, who came without any attendance, where they agreed as ye only mean for his Maj^{ies}s preservation, y^t Duke Hamilton should march out of Scotland into England wth an Army of 30,000 Scotch, & y^t my Lord Marquiss should hasten into Ireland to joyn ye Irish & ye Loyal English & by y^t means give a diversion to ye Parliam^t forces, who, being attacked in both Kingdoms, might be under some awe in their proceedings against ye Kings person. And according to this resolution, My Lord Marquiss two days after went from Marlow into Sussex, where he got an opportunity of a safe conveyance into France, where he was graciously received by ye Prince, by whom, wth ye Irish Commissioners then at court, his Lord^p was with ye Commission of Lord Lieu^t dispatched in Irel⁴. And tho his Lord^p concluded ye Peace of 48 then wth ye Irish, & prevailed wth my Lord Insiquin to join wth him wth all his Forces, and notwithstanding pursuant to conclusions & agree^{mt} in Marlow Coppice, Duke Hamilton invaded England wth a brave Army ; yet ye Fatality of King Charles ye 1st was so deplorable, & ye Vengeance of God so severe upon ye three kingdoms, that this brave army being ill conducted, was ruined & destroyed without fighting, & by that means that Sacred Head was soon after brought to ye Block, Barbarously & Unhappily Chopt off to make room for a bloody & Villanous Usurper.¹

¹ I have to thank H. F. Hore, Esq., for aid in annotating this paper.

**SPECIAL MEETING OF THE KILKENNY AND SOUTH-EAST
OF IRELAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.**

A SPECIAL Meeting of the Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, convened by the President in pursuance of a requisition from several of the Members, was held in the Society's Apartments, William-street, on Wednesday, March 18, 1863, with the object of considering the propriety of presenting a testimonial of their appreciation of his services as Treasurer and Honorary Secretary, to the Rev. James Graves.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory, President of the Society, having taken the Chair, said he would read the requisition on which the meeting had been called, and would then be very happy to hear any proposition which the meeting might wish to put before him. He then read the following requisition :—

"To the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory, President of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society.

"REV. SIR.—We, the undersigned Members of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, deeply impressed with a conviction of the obligation which our Society owes to the Rev. James Graves, A. B., M. R. I. A., our valued Treasurer and Honorary Secretary, for his unceasing and unremunerated exertions in the promotion of its objects since its formation, and looking on the present period, when he is about to resume his residence in the vicinity of Kilkenny, as a fit occasion for the expression of our feelings, do hereby request you to convene a meeting of the Society at large, at your earliest convenience, for the purpose of deciding on the best means of giving expression to our sentiments.

"We are, Rev. Sir, faithfully yours,

" W. F. TIGHE.	R. CULLEY.
P. CONNELLAN.	BENJAMIN BUNBURY.
H. BUTLER.	JOSEPH GREENE.
J. LANGRISHE.	JOHN JAMES, L. R. C. S. I.
JAS. W ANDESFORDE BUTLER.	JOHN G. A. PRIM.
T. H. PONSONBY.	P. A. AYLWARD.
JOHN P. PRENDERGAST.	C. HUMFREY.
BARRY DELANY, M. D.	J. M. TIDSMARSH, J. P.
JOHN BROWN, CLK., LL. D.	DANIEL CULLEN, J. P..
J. G. ROBERTSON.	PATRICK DUFFY, F. C. S."
PHILIP MOORE, P. P.	

On the motion of Mr. Culley, Bank of Ireland, Mr. Prim and Mr. Robertson were requested to act as Secretaries to the meeting, and in carrying out such arrangements as might be resolved on.

Mr. Prim then read numerous letters from Members of the Society who were unable to be present. The Lieutenant of the County,

Colonel the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, wrote requesting, in case he should not be able to attend, that it might be mentioned "that it will give him much pleasure to join in any mode that may be adopted of expressing the Members' approbation of the signal services of Mr. Graves in promoting the interests of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society." The Earl of Courtown intimated that "he had great pleasure in taking this opportunity of saying, that he thought that Mr. Graves' exertions in behalf of the Society deserve the warmest thanks of its Members." Lord James Butler observed that "he was sure there was but one feeling with regard to Mr. Graves personally; and as to the value of his services there could be no question." Sir Erasmus Dixon Burrowes wrote—"I beg to state that I fully concur in the contemplated measure of the Society to express to the Rev. James Graves its sense of his services to that body. The long, the able, and untiring efforts freely exercised on the part of that gentleman in a most successful and disinterested manner in extending the operations of the Society, and tending largely to the interest and instruction of the public mind by his effective supervision of its Journal, deserve well of its members; and the present occasion affords a fitting opportunity to the Society to testify its grateful acknowledgments of his valuable services, by tendering to him some grateful tribute to his long-tried and well-known merit. I shall therefore thank you to put my name down for £2 towards furthering this object in whatever manner the Society may determine." Sir James Langrishe, Bart., "as a very recently admitted Member, would be willing to join in any arrangement which might be come to for suitably testifying to the appreciation felt by the Members of Mr. Graves' exertions on behalf of the Society."—The Very Rev. the Dean of Leighlin was "sure that all would agree in testifying of the care and diligence which Mr. Graves bestows in his arduous duties of Treasurer and Secretary. To him we owe the Society, now in such a prosperous, healthy state; and I trust some measure may be proposed to mark our sense of his valuable gratuitous services." The Rev. Philip Moore, P.P., Johnstown, whilst regretting his inability to be present at a meeting which he was largely instrumental in having convened, stated, "I will heartily join in any measures that may be adopted towards getting up a suitable testimonial to the Rev. J. Graves. I suggest a service of plate as the most useful and ornamental thing that could be offered." The Rev. Samuel Hayman, Youghal, wrote as follows:—"I wish that it were in my power to attend your meeting, that I might give *vivā voce* expression to my sense of the Rev. James Graves' services to the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. These services appear to me to be national in their character; because it would be difficult to say how many young antiquaries have been trained by the papers of the Transactions. North, South, East and

West, such students are now to be found; and a reverential spirit for the monuments of the past has very generally taken the place of the wanton destructiveness that until lately prevailed. I shall be very happy to contribute to any fund, which may mark in a permanent manner our gratitude for the Rev. James Graves' unwearied services." The Rev. John Francis Shearman, R. C. C., Dunlavin, wrote:—"I am glad that the tardy opportunity has at length come when the Members of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society will testify to the many obligations they owe to the zeal and disinterested services of the Rev. James Graves. On the due appreciation of them I feel assured there will be unanimity of sentiment, which I trust will result in the presentation of some suitable memorial to the Rev. Mr. Graves in acknowledgment of his merits as an archaeologist, and of the obligation the Members of the Society owe to him. I beg to give my name as a subscriber for £1 for this suggested presentation." The Right Hon. John Wynne, Hazelwood, observed:—"I consider that no expression of opinion could be too strongly worded to mark the sense which the Members of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society entertain of the value of Mr. Graves' services." John Windele, Esq., Blair's Castle, Cork, said:—"In common with every subscriber to the Society in this locality, I feel that we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Rev. Mr. Graves for his long invaluable services to Irish archaeology. No compliment we could pay would exceed my sense of what is due to him. Something more substantial than mere words ought to be presented as a testimony to his merits." James S. Blake, Esq., Ballinamona, wrote:—"I cordially unite with the Society in an expression of appreciation for the valuable services which the Rev. James Graves has rendered to the whole country in his efforts to preserve the memorials of former days, and to treasure up whatever is left from a bye-gone time that would inform the patriot of the greatness, and the historian of the usages and customs of Ireland. To the Rev. James Graves we not only owe this, but also the great extension of the Society, and the popularity it enjoys, and the fostering of a feeling of respect amongst the people for what remains from antiquity, and a desire to preserve it; and to the estimable virtues of his private character we are much indebted for the uninterrupted good feeling which happily unites all parties amongst ourselves." From J. P. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister-at-law; Dr. Bradley, Kelle-Grange; T. Power, Esq., J.P., Kilkenny; Town Councillor Edmund Murphy, and several other Members of the Society, there were also strong expressions of feeling as to the propriety of testifying in a substantial manner the general appreciation of Mr. Graves' long and untiring exertions.

The President observed that these were very gratifying testimonials indeed of the manner in which Mr. Graves was regarded by the Members of the Society, far and near.

Peter Connellan, Esq., J. P., D. L., Coolmore, said it was his pleasing office to propose the first resolution to be passed at a meeting held to consider the best means of properly acknowledging the services of a gentleman who was not only the personal friend of most of those present, but was a man of such talent, zeal, research, and singleness of disposition as do not often fall to the lot of any one; and which had won for him the esteem and admiration of men of learning, and caused the name of the locality with which he was connected to be everywhere respected. His exertions on behalf of their Society it was not necessary to speak of, after the letters which had been read. There was no doubt that with him (Mr. Graves) it was a labour of love; but that could not detract from their sense of the obligation that they owed him for his unvarying efforts, which had brought their Society to so high a pitch of success. He had no doubt they would all heartily concur in the following resolution, which he now begged leave to propose:—

“Resolved,—That the services of the Rev. James Graves, A.B., M. R. I. A., in first establishing this Society, and since sustaining it by his unceasing exertions, are fully appreciated, and demand from us a mark of recognition.”

Captain Humfrey had very great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution, having been then put from the chair, passed unanimously.

The Rev. Dr. Browne, Principal of Kilkenny College, said he had a resolution to propose, which naturally followed the former one. He did not consider it necessary to say anything to recommend it to the meeting, for no doubt they were all quite unanimous in their feeling on the matter for which they had come together. The resolution was:—

“Resolved,—That, for effecting this object, a subscription be entered into, for the purpose of presenting Mr. Graves with a suitable token of our regard.”

Daniel Cullen, Esq., J. P., said it afforded him great pleasure indeed to second the motion. Indeed, he would say that he was very thankful to be afforded the opportunity of taking part in any demonstration having for its object the paying of a compliment to Mr. Graves, who, whether he was viewed as a clergyman, a citizen, a philanthropist, or a zealous labourer in the promotion of the objects for which their Society had been established, was worthy of any mark of cordial estimation that could be offered to him. He (Mr. Cullen) had the honour of being one of the earliest Members of this Society, in which, although not a very constant attendant at its meetings, he took a warm interest. He was glad that the first proceeding of the Society in which he had taken a prominent part was one for marking their appreciation of the services of Mr. Graves, whom he was proud to say he had long known, and had always much admired.

The resolution was put, and unanimously passed.

R. Culley, Esq., Agent, Bank of Ireland, moved the following resolution :—

“Resolved,—That a Committee be appointed to communicate with Mr. Graves to ascertain the form our presentation should assume to be most agreeable to him; and that it be an instruction to such Committee to keep strictly in view, so far as consistent with Mr. Graves’s wishes, that the subject selected shall be connected with archaeology, and in some way illustrative or promotive of the objects of the Society.”

Mr. Culley said that there had been different opinions as to what shape the proposed testimonial should assume; but his view was that something connected with Mr. Graves’s favourite pursuit, and with which his name was identified, would be most suitable. However, the resolution left it open to them to consult Mr. Graves’s own feelings, by which, of course, they would be largely swayed.

Mr. P. A. Aylward said it afforded him much pleasure to second the resolution.

It was then resolved that the Very Rev. President, the Rev. Philip Moore, P. P., Mr. Culley, and Mr. Prim, should form the Committee.

Peter Burtchaell, Esq., County Surveyor, said he had a resolution to propose. It required no speech, as it would speak for itself, and was a necessary arrangement in order to carry out what they had previously resolved upon :—

“Resolved,—That the Secretaries be requested to issue circulars to all Members, with a copy of our proceedings here to-day, requesting them to co-operate in this matter; and that Richard Culley, Esq., Agent, Bank of Ireland, Kilkenny, be requested to receive subscriptions and act as Treasurer.”

Mr. W. J. Douglas seconded the resolution with very great pleasure. They could not pay a higher compliment to Mr. Graves than he was deserving of.

The resolution passed unanimously.

The next question referred to was, as to the advisability or otherwise of limiting the subscriptions to £1 each.

Mr. Connellan said that, if the subscription was not limited, Colonel Tighe would give £5.

Mr. Burtchaell thought it would be wrong to put any limit to the amount; it had been found to act very prejudicially in the case of the Boyd testimonial. He recommended that whatever any one wished to give, no matter how high or how low—as men who could not afford £1 would wish to give their mite—should be taken.

This suggestion was adopted.

On the motion of Dr. Delany, seconded by Mr. Robertson, the

Dean of Ossory left the chair, and P. Connellan, Esq., was called thereto.

A vote of thanks having been moved by Dr. Delany, and seconded by Dr. James, to the Very Rev. President, for the manner in which he had filled the chair on this occasion, the meeting separated.

The following subscriptions in furtherance of the objects of the Special Meeting have been received. The list is printed in the order of the reception of the subscriptions by the Honorary Treasurer:—

	£ a d.
The Most Honourable the Marquis and the Marchioness of Ormonde,	5 0 0
Colonel the Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, Lieutenant of the county of Kilkenny,	5 0 0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven,	3 0 0
Benjamin Lee Guinness, Dublin,	2 2 0
The Right Hon. the Marquis of Kildare,	2 0 0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Courtown,	2 0 0
The Right Hon. Lord James Wandesforde Butler,	2 0 0
Sir Erasmus Dixon Burrowes, Bart.,	2 0 0
The Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory,	2 0 0
Peter Connellan, D. L., Coolmore,	2 0 0
The Rev. John Louis Irwin,	2 0 0
The Rev. George L. Shannon, Ranelagh Road, Dublin,	2 0 0
Richard Culley, Agent, Bank of Ireland, Kilkenny,	2 0 0
John G. A. Prim, Kilkenny,	2 0 0
J. M'Namara Cantwell, Dublin,	1 1 0
Rev. Dr. Browne, Kilkenny College,	1 0 0
Professor C. C. Babington, St. John's College, Cambridge,	1 0 0
The Rev. Philip Moore, P. P., Johnstown,	1 0 0
The Rev. Samuel Hayman, A. B., Youghal,	1 0 0
The Rev. Joseph Moore, P. P., Castletown, Queen's County,	1 0 0
The Rev. John F. Shearman, R. C. C., Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow,	1 0 0
Daniel Cullen, J. P., Kilkenny,	1 0 0
Barry Delany, M. D., Kilkenny District Asylum,	1 0 0
John James, L. R. C. S. L., Kilkenny,	1 0 0
Joseph Greene, Newtown House,	1 0 0
J. R. Corballis, Q. C., Rosemount, county Dublin,	1 0 0
Peter Burtohaell, C. E., County Surveyor, Kilkenny,	1 0 0
Captain Christopher Humfrey, Kilkenny,	1 0 0
James G. Robertson, Kilkenny,	1 0 0
William J. Douglas, Kilkenny,	1 0 0
P. A. Aylward, Kilkenny	1 0 0
Charles E. Bagot, Leeson-street, Dublin,	1 0 0
John Hogan, Kilkenny,	1 0 0
The Right Hon. Lord Clermont,	2 0 0
Benjamin Banbury, Noremount, Kilkenny,	2 0 0
M. H. Gill, University Press Office, Trinity College, Dublin,	2 0 0
Christopher Daine, Southampton,	1 1 0

	£	s.	d.
The Venerable Archdeacon Cotton, Thurles,	1	0	0
Professor W. H. Harvey, M. D., M. R. I. A., Trinity College, Dublin,	1	0	0
The Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, Clonmacnoise,	1	0	0
The Rev. Charles Harte, Whitechurch, county Kilkenny,	1	0	0
The Rev. Thomas Greene, P. P., Skerries, county Dublin,	1	0	0
Captain Henry M. F. Langton, Southwick Place, Hyde Park, London,	1	0	0
J. P. Prendergast, Barrister-at-law, Sandymount, Dublin,	1	0	0
Michael Cahill, J. P., Ballycomra,	1	0	0
Richard Long, M. D., Arthurstown, county Wexford,	1	0	0
Alderman Daniel Smithwick, Kilkenny,	1	0	0
The Rev. Hugh Hamilton, Benmore, Enniskillen,	1	0	0
John Dawson Duckett, J. P., Duckett's Grove, Carlow,	1	0	0
The O'Donovan, Montpelier, Cork,	1	0	0
The Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide, F. S. A., M. R. I. A.,	2	0	0
Edmund Smithwick, J. P., Kilcreene,	1	0	0
James M. Tidmarsh, J. P., Sion Villa,	1	0	0
John Lindsay, Maryville, Cork,	0	10	0
Robert Malcomson, Millview, Cloonmel,	1	0	0
Thomas Bradley, L. R. C. S. L., Kells Grange, Stoneyford,	0	10	0
Patrick Duffy, F. C. S., Kilkenny,	0	10	0
Thomas Power, J. P., Beechville, Kilkenny,	1	0	0
Charles C. Haines, Mallow,	0	10	0
Lieutenant-Colonel A. L. Beamish, K. H., F. R. S., Lota Park, Cork,	1	0	0
Captain Ponsonby, Sion House, Kilkenny,	1	0	0
Major R. Dunne, Brittas, Clonaslee,	0	10	0
Hon. Standish Prendergast Vereker, London,	1	0	0
Venerable Archdeacon O'Shea, P. P., Ballyhale,	1	0	0
Edward Benn, Glenravel, Clough,	1	0	0
Alderman Edmund Palk, Southampton,	1	1	0
Ross Mahon, Ladywell, Athlone,	1	0	0
Richard Magee, Assistant Surgeon, Kilkenny Fusiliers,	0	10	0
Rev. John O'Hanlon, R. C. C., SS. Michael and John, Ex- change-street, Dublin,	1	0	0
James C. Fitzgerald Kenney, J. P., A. B., M. R. I. A., Merrion- square, Dublin,	1	0	0
Mrs. Purcell, Kilfera, Kilkenny,	1	0	0
The Rev. Thomas B. M'Creery, Cloyne,	0	10	0
John Windele, Blair's Castle, Cork,	1	0	0
Thomas J. Tennison, J. P., Portneligan, county Armagh,	1	0	0
Robert Malcomson, Solicitor, Carlow,	1	0	0
Evelyn P. Shirley, M. P., Lower Eatington Park, Stratford- on-Avon,	2	0	0
Rev. John Lymbery, The Castle, Fethard,	1	0	0
John Power, Mount Richard, Carrick-on-Suir,	1	0	0
George Victor Du Noyer, 72, Stephen's Green, Dublin,	1	0	0
Charles Haliday, J. P., M. R. I. A., Monkstown Park, county Dublin,	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Dr. John Thomas Campion, Kilkenny,	1	0	0
Myles Sterling, M. D., Thomastown,	0	10	0
Town Councillor Edmund Murphy, Kilkenny,	0	10	0
Peter M'Dermott, Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Kilkenny,	0	10	0
P. Fitzgerald,	0	5	0
The Rev. Luke Fowler, Wellbrook, Freshford,	2	0	0
Edward Odell, A. M., F. S. A., M.R.I.A., Carreglea, Dun-			
garvan,	2	0	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen,	1	10	0
John Murphy, Mount Loftus,	1	0	0
Harris Prendergast, Barrister-at-law, Old Square, Lincoln's			
Inn, London,	1	0	0
Captain W. A. Armstrong, J. P., Rathmacnee, Wexford,	1	0	0
Thomas Seigne, Kilfane Cottage,	0	10	0
Robert Stephenson, Redruth, Cornwall,	0	10	0
Rev. C. Cuyler Anderson, Gillingham, Kent,	1	0	0
Rev. Thomas O'Carroll, P. P., Clonoulty, Cashel,	1	0	0
Rev. George H. Reade, Inniskeen, Dundalk,	1	0	0
Thomas Alexander Wise, M. D., Rostellan Castle,	1	0	0
William Oldham, Bedford House, Rathgar, Dublin,	1	0	0

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, April 1863.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Soc in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Hon. Justice O'Brien; **the Hon. Baron Hughes**; and **E. Walsh, Esq., LL.D., Q. C., Dublin**: proposed by **Ma O'Donnell, Esq., Q. C.**

Edward Gibson, Esq., Barrister-at-law, 20, Lower Pem street, Dublin; **Piers Francis White, Esq., Barrister-at-law**, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin; **John W. Harris, Esq., Barrist law**, 54, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin; **M. Saunders Greene, Barrister-at-law**, Wexford; and **Henry James Loughnan, Barister-at-law**, 84, Lower Gardiner-street, Dublin: proposed **Charles H. Foot, Esq., Barrister-at-law**.

M. Louis O'Brien, Sous-Lieutenant, Second Regiment Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, Château de la Roche, par d'Ain, Department de l'Ain, France: proposed by the Rev. J Graves.

James M. O'Reilly, Esq., Assistant-Secretary, Ballast C Dublin: proposed by **J. S. Sloane, Esq., M. R. I. A.**

Justin Mac Carthy, Esq., 16, Cleveland-square, Liver proposed by Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq.

Edmond Hore, Esq., "Independent" Office, Wexford: pro by **Joseph Meadows, Esq.**

Mr. Richard Preston, jun., Tilbury-place, Kilkenny: pro by **J. G. Robertson, Esq.**

John Hogan, Esq., Landscape, Wexford: proposed by **An Wilson, Esq.**

The following letter, received by the Secretary from Mr. O'

nell, accompanying the names of new Members sent by him for proposal, was read:—

"Kilkenny, March 13th, 1863.

"**M**Y DEAR SIR,—At the request of the Hon. Mr. Justice O'Brien and of the Hon. Baron Hughes, I have the honour to propose those two esteemed judges of the present Leinster Circuit, as Members of our Archaeological Society. My friend and brother Barrister, Mr. C. Foot, will second their nomination. The accession of those two eminent members of the Judicial Bench affords the most gratifying evidence of the position the Society has attained in the opinion of the learned and educated. I have also to propose, at his request, my friend, John E. Walsh, Esq., one of her Majesty's Counsel, a Member of the Society; and Henry Lover, Esq., Barrister, has requested to be named as seconding his nomination.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours very truly,

"MATTHEW O'DONNELL."

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors:—

By the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: their "Transactions," new series, Vol. II.

By the Kent Archaeological Society: "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. IV.

By the Sussex Archaeological Society: "Sussex Archaeological Collections," Vol. XIV.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: their "Proceedings," Vol. IV., part 1.

By the Royal Irish Academy: their "Proceedings," Vol. VII., parts 13 and 14; and Vol. VIII., parts 1 and 2.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine" for February, March, and April, 1863.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," parts 1040–53, inclusive.

By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, A. M.: "A General Catalogue of Books in all Languages, Arts and Sciences, that have been printed in Ireland, and published in Dublin, from the year 1700 to the Present Time, &c., with their sizes and Prices." Dublin, 1791; "Remarks on the Life and Death of the Fam'd Mr. Blood." London, 1680. Reprint, London, 1817; "Essay on the Antiquity of Parliaments in Ireland." By H. J. Monck Mason. Dublin, 1820.

By the same: a vellum map, entitled "A Map of the Manor of Formoyle, in the Barony of Upper-Ossory, and Queen's County, of the Estate belonging to Will. Palliser and Ionah Barrington, Esqⁿ., and Mrs Judith Wheeler, as heirs at law, and Oliver Wheeler, of Grenan, Esq^r. Surveyed in July 1748 by Tho^r Reading." The map was carefully executed to a scale of forty perches to an inch,

and bore the indorsement—"Map of Popmaoil na b-Pian, i
Queens County, A. D. 1748."

It comprised the following denominations :—

	A.	R.
" 1. Formoyle,	276	0
2. Castlewood,	127	0
3. Barnonderry,	93	2
4. Cloransheragh,	100	0
5. Raheenduff,	127	1
6. Crotonomony,	70	1
7. Barrynatinneell,	52	0
8. Ballynafunshin (including Lawlers Garden),	97	0
9. Cooltaghes,	56	2
10. Grenan,	127	1
11. Part of Attanah (including Aghamog, and Short-bog & Poulnagued),	81	2
12. Church Meadows,	34	0
13. Church Park,	17	0
14. Ram Park,	10	2
15. Rough Park,	14	3
16. Faranamraher, or Fryers Land,	39	2
17. Rahin Moyle, otherwise Bonna William, or Mill-land, or Mill-plane,	143	2
18. Oulerleigh, or Grey Orchard,	1	3

On the same map, but to a scale of eighty perches to an acre separately laid down :—

	A.	R.
" Archards-town, or Archer's-town,	443	0
Tinwire,	243	2

Grenan castle is shown with a dwelling-house adjoining No. 10 ; also the church of Attanah, in No. 13. The man Formoyle lies principally between the " River Neor," (the jurisdiction of which with the " Urkenel River" is shown), and the " Owen or Little River." Where a portion of No. 17 extends beyond latter, at its junction with the Nore, this note is entered on map :—" Tail of Ossory, about $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of land, now on other side of the river, belonging to Formoyle." " Ancl Island" is laid down in the River Nore near its junction with Owen-beg. The lands of Formoyle, in the Queen's County, originally left to endow the St. Canice Alms' House, by E Williams, but had been sold by the executors, and the proceeds to the charity.

By the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, Ruthin : a small, rude bronze wheel with four spokes, six-tenths of an inch in dia.

Mr. Barnwell sent the following explanatory note relative to this donation:—

"The best authorities are now tolerably agreed in pronouncing the curious little wheels—not uncommon in Lorraine, and especially near Bar-le-duc—as actual money, and the predecessors of the earlier Gaulish coins—properly so called. The larger and more highly-finished wheels of various sizes, having 6 or 8 spokes, have not yet been so generally acknowledged to be of the same class. This wheel money appears to have been an improvement on the common ring money, not that of the Penannular character as common in Ireland, but of plain bronze or lead wheels, of relative sizes and weights. The most remarkable examples of this kind are in the Museum at Chartres—where are two rings that were found in the department—one marked with four little circles set in a square, the other with two—the larger wheel being also double the weight of the smaller. The small wheel-money—as the one sent to the Kilkenny Museum—is cast, and generally of two sizes, the larger size somewhat more rare. They are found in other metals besides bronze. A full account of those wheel and ring moneys, richly illustrated, is to be found in the pages of the 'Archæologia Cambrensis,' 3rd series, vol. vii., p. 213. Although these wheels are occasionally found in other parts of France, Lorraine must be considered as the place they were probably issued in, or most in use, from the large numbers there found. None, it is believed, have been ever discovered in Great Britain, Ireland, or adjacent islands. Those who are acquainted with the common types of Gaulish coinage, will recognise the wheel and annulet constantly occurring in the field, accompanying the main device, sometimes above, sometimes below it.

By Arthur Gerald Geoghegan, Esq., Londonderry: photographs of a very fine fictile vessel, of a portion of another, of a bronze dagger with haft, and of a mould (in two pieces) for casting a small spoon; also of a small ancient brass triptych, of Russian manufacture. Mr. Geoghegan sent the following description of the objects represented in the photographs:—

"The urn (No. 1) was found in the townland of Mackrakens, parish of Leckpatrick, county Tyrone, about two feet below the surface. The grave lay due north and south, and was formed of rough flag stones; it contained two urns, placed apparently at the head and foot; one of the urns was preserved perfect, the other unfortunately was broken by the workmen employed to open the tumulus. Both the urns were made of baked unglazed earth; the grave contained nothing else, excepting some fine earth, which had percolated through the interstices of the slabs.

"The urns were found in an upright position, without any cover. They held fragments of human bones, which had evidently been exposed to the action of fire; some earth, and several pieces of *unburned* wood, supposed to be of a sacred kind, which crumbled to dust on exposure to the air.

"The dimensions of the unbroken urn (No. 1) are:—Height, 5 inches; greatest external circumference, 20 inches; circumference at top, inside,

15 inches; circumference, external, at bottom, 10 inches. The weight of this urn is forty ounces.

"The other urn (No. 2), which unfortunately was broken, appears to have been of a different shape, and superior description. I send a photograph of a fragment. It was somewhat globular in shape, resembling those glass vases used to hold gold fish. It had a smooth flat bottom, of which a small portion is preserved. This differs from No. 1 urn, which was round inside, terminating, somewhat like the interior of a cocoa-nut-shell, in a concave.

"I am indebted to Mr. Cowie, of Londonderry, for those particulars. He was present at the opening of the grave, and, with his usual kindness, has placed the urn in my possession. I have to thank him also for the curious bronze dagger, of which you have also a photograph.

"The chevron or arrow-headed ornamenting on No. 1 urn, has been pointed out by Mr. Windele as occurring on one or two of the doorways of the round towers,¹ and on the cinerary urns of a remote Pagan age, as well as on some gold ornaments dug up from our bogs. In the bronze dagger referred to, I find this ornamenting has been extensively used. It occurs not only on each side of the hexagonal handle, but also on the flat surface of the head of the dagger, where apparently an attempt at a kind of seal has been made by a device of four lines of chevron ornament crossing each other diagonally. Around the handle are rude attempts, also, to represent with the same ornamenting, the sun, a heart, and some other unknown devices.² The shape of the dagger is peculiar, resembling a bayonet, and in a close encounter must have proved a deadly weapon. Its length is eight inches and one half (handle four inches, blade four inches and one half). The arrow-headed ornamenting is continued along the blade, which is triangular, to the point. The blade is narrow, its entire circumference being one inch only. This dagger was dug up from twenty feet below the surface in a bog at Muff, on Lough Foyle, in the county Donegal.

"It may not be considered improbable, that the cinerary urns are relics of the same mysterious people, whose existence in our country at a remote age of antiquity is proved by the Cyclopean forts and buildings they have left behind them, and the evidence of the Punic-shaped swords, and bronze weapons, dug up so frequently from beneath many a lonely cairn, and heath-covered bog. A colonizing and wandering race! and whether known by the name of Pelasgi, or Tuatha Danaan, alike mythical and indistinct in their origin, their history, and their passing away.

"The spoon mould is made of antique bronze, and is five inches in length, and closes with a flange. On the outside at the handle, it has a bead mark inscribed, corresponding with the similar ornamenting at the inside, and apparently marked to distinguish the mould from others of a different pattern.

"It is difficult to state to what period this article belongs. The material being bronze is the only evidence for assigning it to an early Christian era, as the form of the spoon corresponds exactly with the modern shape.

¹ This ornament is also commonly found on the doors, windows, and chancel-arches of our more ancient churches.—ED.

² The dagger does not belong to the same class as our ancient bronzes; it is of much later date.—ED.

"Colgan, as quoted by Petrie, states that in the 5th and 6th centuries the Irish ecclesiastics possessed an equal degree of skill as their foreign brethren in manufacturing all the sacred utensils for the altar. Whether this mould dates so far back, I confess I am not qualified to decide.

"Having heard that, some years ago, a countryman had brought into Derry three brazen pots which had been found in a bog, and offered them for sale to one of our most respectable hardware merchants, I called on that gentleman; he at once recollects the circumstance, and told me that he had sent the party to Mr. Baxter, an extensive gas-fitter in the neighbourhood. Mr. Baxter also recollects the circumstance, and that he had unfortunately broken up and melted them for the purposes of his trade; but after a search he produced this mould, which he stated he had bought from the party who had sold him the antique pots, and at the same time.

"On a recent visit to Enniskillen I procured the triptych from Mr. Molynaux, watchmaker and silversmith in that town, who informed me that it had been left with him by a countryman (whom he knew), who told him that he had found it in a grave in the island of Devenish, in Lough Erne; that when brought to him it had been so covered with dirt and verdigris, that it was only by some exertion that he was enabled to clean it, and render its figures visible. The object, however, is plainly of Russian make, though in some things resembling ancient Irish art.

"The material is brass, and has apparently been originally gilt. It is composed of three pieces, a centre and two sides, turning on rude hinges, and opening and closing like the doors of a cabinet. When they are shut, it forms a square of two inches.

"When folded, the outside of the triptych is quite smooth, and devoid of ornament. On the *inside*, the doors, if I may so call them, contain the heads of the apostles, six on each door, with an inscription under them. The heads are full of character. The centre-piece also, on the *inside*, appears to me to contain a representation of the conflict of the Archangel Michael with Satan. The naked figure in the corner is pourtrayed with wings, showing immortality; the face expresses pain, and the hands grasp a staff headed with a crook. The avenging angel has a halo around his head; one hand holds the naked figure by the hair of the head, while the other brandishes what may be either a flaming sword, or an instrument of punishment. In the upper right corner a hand is extended from a cloud, with the two fore fingers and thumb extended in the act of benediction. Over the centre-piece is an inscription.

"When employed in the studio of Mr. Ayton in getting the triptych photographed, a gentleman came in, and, after examining it, said that he had seen several exactly of the same shape, which had been taken from the dead bodies of the Russian soldiers in the Crimean war."

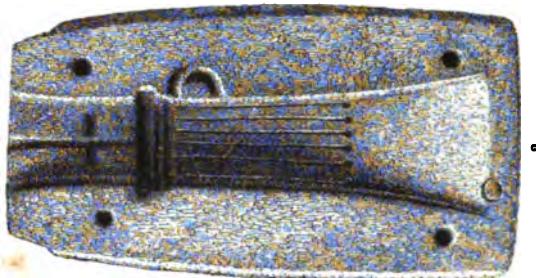
By Mr. Robertson, on the part of Mr. James Douglas, Watergate: a brass breastplate of one of the Kilkenny Volunteer Corps, viz. The Kilkenny Association, of 1798, as appeared by the inscription upon it.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

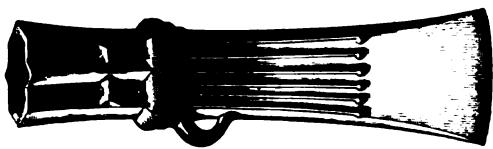
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

R

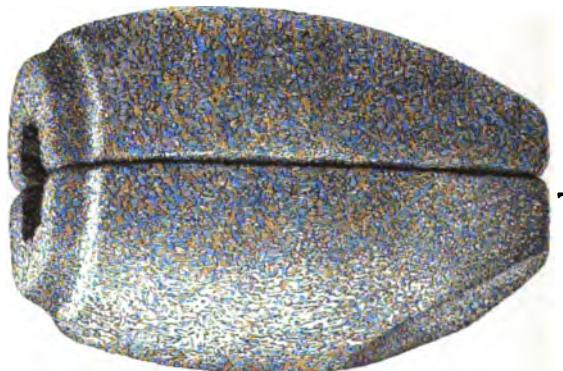
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6



1

[Scale—One-third.]

Beauchamp Colclough, Esq., Wexford, presented a bronze celt, deeply patinated, which had been found on the land reclaimed from the sea at Begerin; also some old coins dug up on the site of Westgate, Wexford. The coins were—a Rose Penny of Edward VI., struck at York; a French billon coin of about 1607; a George III. halfpenny; and an unpublished Tradesman's Token—obverse, JOHN N [. . . .], in the field a man rowing a boat; reverse, FERRY [.] A R R C K, in the centre HALF PENY in two lines—this token was, in the opinion of Dr. Aquilla Smith, struck at Ferry Carrick, on the Slaney, in the county of Wexford—the phonetic spelling "Carrck" is curious.

Mr. Robertson, on the part of Mr. Patrick Lonergan, a subcontractor for the new railway viaduct in Upper John-street, presented a carved stone, found built up in a house which had been taken down in the course of the formation of the Kilkenny Junction Railway at St. John's Green. It was so much defaced, that it was difficult to ascertain its original design. Being carved in the early English style, it is probable that it had been removed from St. John's Abbey.

Mr. Robertson exhibited an ancient bronze bifurcated ornament, of that class generally supposed to have been suspended from bridles: at the present day the horses of hussar regiments carried a somewhat similar ornament suspended to their bridles.

Mr. P. Cody, Mullinavat, sent for exhibition a stone mould for casting celts. This very curious object was peculiarly interesting, as having been found in Ireland, and thus establishing the fact of the native manufacture of these bronze antiques, which some persons assert to have been imported by the Phenicians, or some other ancient trading people. The plate which faces this page gives an accurate representation of the mould, and also of the casting it was intended to produce. The drawing is to scale, as indicated on the plate. The object intended to be cast was what is called by archaeologists a pocketed celt. Mr. Cody sent the following paper, explanatory of the time and place of the finding of the antique, and the object for which it was intended. The only mistake made by Mr. Cody was in the supposition that the celt was intended to be cast solid. In using the mould a core would be inserted, which would produce the usual form of pocketed celt:—

"I feel much pleasure in being able to place at your disposal, for exhibition at your next meeting, the matrix of one of those wedge-like implements, so frequently discovered in the British Islands, as well as in France; and which, in the absence of the name by which they were known by the Celts, the aboriginal inhabitants of these countries, to whom they are attributed by antiquarians, have been distinguished under the general appellation of 'Celts.' Like the round tower, the cromleac, and the pillar-stone, the hand of time has invested this relic of remote ages with a veil through which the most acute antiquarians have not been able to

penetrate ; and, considering the many conflicting theories respecting their origin and use, it is most probable they will continue a puzzle to all succeeding ages. That the battle-axe formed a part of the military equipment of the battalions of the Celts, many centuries previous to Christianity, and even since, is a matter of historical fact; but the difficulty is, to show that it was the same pattern as that produced from the mould now presented to you. The length of the blade, in the present instance, is 4·7-10th inches from the edge to a moulding at the other end; the length of the edge is 1·9-10th inches, and at the moulding, already mentioned, the blade is 1·1-5th inches wide, and 1 inch in thickness; the moulding occupies a space of 7-10ths of an inch, and is considerably raised; and beside the moulding, on one side of the weapon (as shown by the matrix) is a cylindrical ring-like loop of half an inch in diameter. From the moulding to the other extreme end of the weapon is 1·9-10th inches in length; this part, which is nearly square, is 1·4-5th inches in thickness; and the length of the weapon from the edge to the other end is 7·2-10th inches. It does not appear that the instrument had a socket in the gross end, by which a handle could be fitted to it in the manner of a hatchet; but that end, being nearly of square dimensions, could readily be inserted into a groove in the handle, in which it might be securely fastened by the help of a brace of metal passing round the handle, and through the loop on the side; but this is all conjecture, and proves nothing. On examination of the article, each person may judge for himself. I need only refer to this antique curiosity as a proof of the early acquaintance of the inhabitants of Ireland with the art of hewing stone. The peculiarity of the execution of its several parts, and their exact correspondence, together with the regularity and design of the various decorations thereof, all bespeak a high degree of skill in the artist. The material is a hard grit. Through the kindness of Mr. James Aylward, of Ballydagh, in the barony of Iverk, I have been enabled to place this article before you. It was discovered by him in reclaiming a piece of bog, about four feet below the surface; and I hope you will agree with me in saying that, in justice to him, the fact deserves to be recorded."

The Rev. Luke Fowler observed upon the great interest attaching to such remains; and the meeting agreed with Mr. Cody, that Mr. James Aylward deserved every credit for preserving the curious relic.

Mr. Prim, by permission of Mr. G. W. Kinchela, exhibited a copy of that rare work, printed in 1825, for private circulation, by the late Richard Power, Esq., Kilkane, "The Private Theatre of Kilkenny, with Introductory Observations on other private Theatres in Ireland before it was opened." Only eighty copies were ever printed; and the chief interest attaching to that now exhibited was that, having been defective when presented to the late L. C. Kinchela, Greenville, Esq., that gentleman had made good the deficiency in manuscript so effectively as to excite the admiration of the late Lady Power, who had consequently presented him with several engravings to illustrate it, including two etchings executed by Richard Power himself, when in Italy. It appeared from some ma-

nuscript introductory notes by the late Mr. Kinchela, that the Kilkenny Private Theatricals commenced on the evening of the 2nd February, 1802, and finally ended on the night of the 28th October, 1819, during which period the gentlemen of the Kilkenny Theatrical Society performed, in fourteen seasons, on 125 nights. The sums realized during that period, and applied to the sustainment of local charities, were very great. In an address from the members of the Charitable and Benevolent Society to Mr. Richard Power, it was stated that the following were the contributions received by the different Kilkenny charities from the gentlemen of the Kilkenny Private Theatrical Society, from February, 1802, to November, 1808, inclusive—Charitable Society, £752 16s. 9½d.; Benevolent Society, £684 12s.; Fever Hospital, £150; Shaw Society, £91 2s. 9d.—Total amount in seven seasons, £1678 11s. 6½d.; exclusive of £100 (on an average) realized each year by charity sermons, the amount of which was paid to the Fever and County Hospitals, thus making in all, received during the period by the charities, £2378 11s. 6½d. In the year 1817 the eight plays of the season realized, over and above expenses, £1040; two balls, £180; a charity sermon, £110; in all £1330.

The following communication, relative to the cromleac of Leac-an-Scall, from Thomas Joseph Tenison, Esq., of the county Armagh, accompanied by two drawings, was submitted to the meeting:—

"A description of this highly interesting cromleac, of which I here-with send two rough pencil sketches, may not be uninteresting. It is situated at Kilmogue, barony of Knocktopher, and county of Kilkenny. It stands in the grounds of Edward Whitby Briscoe, Esq., J. P., and a short distance from that gentleman's residence at Harristown. It is still held in respect, if not in reverential estimation, by the country people, and by them called 'Leac-an-Scall,' which in the Irish language (on the authority of the learned O'Donovan), means '*The stone of the warrior or chieftain.*' The top or incumbent slab of this 'monumental edifice' measures fourteen feet in length, nine feet in breadth, and is two feet three inches in depth. It is supported on three upright stones, each about eleven feet long, seven feet broad, and two feet in thickness. These stones are composed of siliceous breccia. Their surface is somewhat weather-beaten, and without any marks, that I could trace, of the hewers' chisels or other tools. A small enclosure formed of side stones appears under the great top stone, which is raised nearly six feet from the ground at one end, and about thirteen feet at the other extremity,—the entire measurement of the several stones of which it is constructed being six hundred and fifteen cubic feet. The above description applies to the erection as it now exists. Comparing its present appearance with the description given of it in Mr. Tighe's 'Statistical Observations relative to the county of Kilkenny,' published in the year 1802, I am led to conclude that since that period it has suffered from the removal or mutilation of some of the stones, displaced or destroyed, perhaps, by seekers after hidden trea-

sure, or relics of the past. I have not, however, any authority for stating that it has been opened for either purpose. It might be deemed presumptuous, and would be foreign to my intention, did I attempt to distinguish or conjecture as to the origin, intention, or uses of those rude but curious remains; it is, however, certain that several speculative, and in some instances superficial observers of the last century, regarded them as altars on which the Irish Druids or Celtic priests of our country offered sacrifices; and Roland, if I rightly remember, says that *Crom* in the Irish language signifies God, and *Leac* an altar (*Crom-leac*).¹ No confidence can, however, be placed in opinions which were adopted in the absence of all knowledge of their intended uses; yet, notwithstanding their evident absurdity, those erroneous inferences captivated the minds of many shrewd and educated men. Their opinions are now openly impugned by all well-informed commentators, who, after careful consideration, have come to the conclusion that cromleacs are sepulchral, and that within were deposited the mortal remains of some chief or warrior,

‘Who under the grave-stone
So long had slept, that fickle fame
Hath blotted from her rolls his name.’

The former opinion has been adopted by Roland, Stukely, Ledwich, Vallancey, Bryant, and other writers, but whose researches partook of the general prejudice with which their precursors had regarded such subjects; whilst the latter theory, if theory it can be called, is now entertained and affirmed by the great majority of our eminent British, Hibernian, and foreign antiquaries. As a further proof (if proof be wanting) that these monuments are sepulchral, antiquaries who are entitled to be considered authorities, assert ‘that the cromleac is the origin of our church-yard tombstones.’ Many conjectures, no doubt, are still current amongst the country people as to the manner in which those sepulchres were raised; and they frequently form a favourite subject of conversation at the cottager’s fireside, when the inmates of the cabin are gathered round the hearth during the long winter’s evenings. So far as I can ascertain, the popular name of them, traditionally acknowledged, is ‘Leaba Diarmid agus Graine’—*id est*, ‘Beds of Dermot and Graine,’—the legend being, that when these constant but persecuted lovers were flying before Fion Mac Cumhal, they built one of these “beds” every night, and reposed therein after the fatigues of the day.”

The Rev. John O’Hanlon sent the following, relating to the counties of Armagh, Londonderry, and Donegal, in continuation of his papers on the Ordnance Survey MSS. :—

“In the Catalogue of the Ordnance Survey MSS., I find the follow-

¹ *Crom-leac* signifies the crooked stone—not “the altar of God.” But the old rock-monuments, now generally so denominated, were unknown in Ireland by any such appellation till very modernly, when their Welsh designation of *Crom-*

lech was introduced. The Irish-speaking peasant never knew of such a term, and the name which has come down to him from past generations is simply *leaba*—literally, bed or resting-place—i.e., a grave.—ED.

ing matters relating to the counties of Armagh, Londonderry and Donegal.

1. **ARMAGH**.—I. Names from Down Survey, and Book of Survey and of Distribution.—(See Ulster, vol. i.¹) II. Extracts. (See page 33. See also those bound up with the Letters.²) III. Letters, one volume, including Monaghan.³ IV. County Returns, 4. V. Name Books, 34. VI. Name Sheets, 27. VII. Parish and Barony Names, one sheet in vol. A. VIII. Memorandums on Orthography, one volume. IX. County indexes to maps, one volume. X. Memoir papers.⁴ (See detailed list annexed.) XI. Sketch of antiquity, one.⁵

2. **LONDONDERRY**.—I. Inquisitions in Common Place Book L., and Rough Index of Places to do.⁶ II. Extracts.—(See page 33; also see Common Place Books D. and L. from Book of Survey and Distribution in Common Place Book U., Colgan's Works.)⁷ III. Letters, one volume, and index detached.⁸ IV. Name Books, 36—(34, and two books between Antrim and Tyrone.) V. Name Sheets, 33 and 13, total, 46. VI. Parish and barony names. (See Name Sheets.) VII. County index to names on maps. VIII. Memoir Papers.⁹ (See detailed list annexed.) IX. Names and descriptions from Down Survey. (See Ulster, vol. ii.¹⁰) X. Sketches of antiquities, 229.¹¹

3. **DONEGAL**.—I. Names from Down Survey. (See Ulster, vol. i.¹²) II. Extracts, two volumes. (See also page 33, and Common Place Book L. Rough index of plans to do.¹³) III. Letters, one volume.¹⁴ IV. Name Books, 105, and two sheets of small names. V. Parish and barony names, one sheet in vol. A. VI. Memorandums, one volume. VII. County index of names on maps, two volumes. VIII. Name sheets, 51. IX. Inquisitions in Common Place Book L. Rough index of places to do.¹⁵ Memoir papers.¹⁶ (See detailed list annexed.)

" I. **ARMAGH**.—I. *Names from Down Survey and Book of Survey and Distribution*. (See Ulster, vol. i.) The matter referring to Armagh has been already noticed, in the general description given of the contents of this MS., when treating on the county of Down Ordnance Survey Records.

" II. *Extracts*.

" III. *Letters, one volume, including Monaghan*. These MSS. are now bound in one medium sized quarto volume of 290 written pages of various sizes, but for the most part quarto shape. The first is dated Newry, April 22nd, 1835, and commences at page 1; the second bears the same heading and date, page 4; the third, Armagh, Friday, April 24th, page 8—all of these were written by John O'Donovan; the fifth, locality unnamed, and dated October 29th, page 11; the sixth, Ardee, October 30th, page 14, both on small note paper, written by Henry Tucker; the seventh and

¹ Already noticed in the Paper under county Down Ordnance Survey MSS., Jan. 1862.

² In the Royal Irish Academy.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Already referred to under county Antrim O. S. MSS., Jan. 1863.

⁵ In the Royal Irish Academy.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Already referred to under county Antrim O. S. MSS.

¹⁰ Already noticed under county Down O. S. MSS.

¹¹ In the Royal Irish Academy.

¹² Already noticed under county Down O. S. MSS.

¹³ In the Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ In the Royal Irish Academy.

¹⁶ Already referred to under county Antrim O. S. MSS.

eighth, locality unnamed, both dated October 31st, pages 16, 18, both on small note paper, written by Thomas Larcom; the ninth, locality unnamed, dated October 29th, page 22, written by Henry Tucker; the tenth, Ardee, November 21st, page 27, written by Henry Tucker; the eleventh, Aughnacloy, April 30th, page 28; the twelfth, Emavale, May 1st, page 31; the thirteenth, Emavale, Saturday, May 2nd, page 35; the fourteenth, Monaghan, May 4th, page 38; the fifteenth, Monaghan, May 6th, page 58; the sixteenth, Monaghan, May 8th, page 62; the seventeenth Monaghan, May 8th, page 65; the eighteenth, Monaghan, May 9th, page 68; the nineteenth, Ballybay, May 11th, page 71; the twentieth, Castleblayney, May 13th, page 74; the twenty-first, dated in Irish characters, on *Uill lu x be m̄ na beallcaine*, 1835, Castleblayney, page 75; the twenty-second, Carrickmacross, May 14th, page 83; the twenty-third, Carrickmacross, May 15th, page 87; the twenty-fourth, Carrickmacross, May 20th, page 93; the twenty-fifth, Carrick-Magheross, May 21st, page 101; the twenty-sixth, Cootehill, May 25th, page 104; the twenty-seventh, Cootehill, May 27th, page 120; the twenty-eighth, Cootehill, May 28th, page 132; the twenty-ninth, Clones, May 29th, page 135; the thirtieth, Cluain Eois, May 31st, page 142; the thirty-first, Cluain Eois, May 31st, page 145—all the foregoing letters written by John O'Donovan. The remainder of this volume is devoted to extracts from "the Four Masters" and Colgan. There are a few maps, traces and a sketch, bound up with the volume, to which an index is prefixed.

"IV. *County Returns*.—They are four in number, and were printed at Armagh, by Robert Stevenson, Scotch-street, A. D. 1822. Each contains from eight to eleven pages, in oblong shape, and stitched with blue paper covers. The general title of each runs: *County of Armagh:—Return of the Townlands in said County, with contents of each denomination, description of Land, &c. Compiled from the reference Books of the New Survey, designed as part of the Apparatus for effecting a more equitable apportionment of the Grand Jury Cess. By Thomas R. Evans, Secretary to the Grand Jury.* One of them has the special title: *Part I.—Barony of Armagh.* Another: *Part II.—Barony of Tureny.* Another: *Part V.—Barony of Upper Fews.* Another: *Part VI.—Barony of Lower Fews.* The series would therefore seem to be imperfect; and from the several titles, the nature of the information contained in tabulated form may be inferred.

"V. *Name Books*.—In number they are 34.

"VI. *Name Sheets*.—On counting them I find 27, and they correspond generally in matter, as they do in appearance, with those already described, when treating on the Down O. S. Records.

"VII. *Parish and Barony Names, one sheet in vol. A.*—These names are contained in a 4to thin volume, covered in boards, and already noticed, when referring to the county of Louth, O. S. Records. It only contains six folded and tabulated sheets, giving the orthography and authorities for the names of the baronies and parishes in the counties of Fermanagh, Monaghan, Armagh, Louth, Donegal, with references to Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone and Down, on the title page. We have also a reference to the Name Sheets; and at the foot, *Ordnance Survey Office, 14th of January, 1842.* One sheet only is devoted to the county of Armagh.

"VIII. *Memorandums on Orthography, one volume.* A medium sized

4to volume of 401 numbered pages, with an index of six pages, double columns, prefixed. It contains notes, scraps of writing and traces by different persons. A few loose notes are placed in the volume.

"IX. *County Index to Maps, one volume.*—A folio volume of twenty-eight thick leaves, containing townland, barony, and parish names, with area of each denomination.

"X. *Memoir Papers.* (*See detailed list annexed.*)—The following documents are found, descriptive of Ballymore parish, Ballymyre, Balleep, and town, Carrickmacross parish, Clonfeacle, Cregan Lower, Drumcree, Forkill, Glish, Jonesborough, Keady, Kilclooney, Killeavy, Killyleagh, Killyman, Kilmore, Loughgall, Loughgilly, Montiagh, Mullaghbrack, Newtownhamilton, Seagoe, Shankill, Tartaraghan, Tynan.¹

"XI. *Sketch of Antiquity, one.*—This is probably the sketch, now bound up with the Extracts and Letters, as I can find no other relating to the county of Armagh.

"2. LONDONDERRY.—I. *Inquisitions in Common Place Book L., and Rough Index of Places to do.*

"II. *Extracts, &c.*—These Common Place Books, already detailed, are now bound together, with the Extracts in one medium sized 4to volume, lettered on the back. "Extracts, Docura's Narrative, &c., Counties of Antrim and Londonderry."

"III. *Letters, one volume, and Index detached.*—These letters are contained in one medium sized 4to volume of 284 written pages, with an index prefixed. The first letter is dated Dundrum, Monday, July 21st, 1834, page 1; the second, Newry, July 23rd, page 4; the third, Banbridge, July 23rd, page 7; the fourth, Belfast, July 24th, page 10; the fifth, Moville, Saturday, July 27th, page 13; the sixth, Londonderry, July 30th, page 16; the seventh, Dungiven, August 1st, page 19; the eighth, Dungiven, August 2nd, page 22; the ninth, Dungiven, August 4th, page 29; the tenth, Dungiven, Wednesday, August 6th, page 33; the eleventh, Dungiven, August 7th, page 36; the twelfth, Clady, August 11th, page 40; the thirteenth, Londonderry, August 12th, page 43; the fourteenth, Newtown Limavady, August 16th, page 46; the fifteenth, Coleraine, August 18th, page 60; the sixteenth, Maghera, August 22nd, page 63; the seventeenth, Maghera, August 23rd, page 67; the eighteenth, Maghera, August 24th, page 75; the nineteenth, Maghera, Tuesday, August 26th, page 87; the twentieth, Maghera, Wednesday, August 27th, page 103; the twenty-first, Maghera, Wednesday, September 3rd, page 115; the twenty-second, Maghera, Wednesday, September 3rd, page 119; the twenty-third, Maghera, September 5th, page 131; the twenty-fourth, Maghera, Saturday, September 6th, page 137; the twenty-fifth, Maghera, Sunday, September 7th, page 140; the twenty-sixth, Drapers-town, September 8th, page 151; the twenty-seventh, Draperstown, September 10th, page 163; the twenty-eighth, Draperstown-Cross, Thursday, September 11th, page 171; the twenty-ninth, Draperstown-Cross, September 13th, page 183; the thirtieth, Draperstown-Cross, Tuesday, September 16th, page 195; the thirty-first, Draperstown-Cross, Wednesday, September 17th, page 203; the thirty-second, Draperstown-Cross, Sep-

¹ See also the paper on the O. S. Records for the county of Antrim.

tember 18th, Thursday, page 211; the thirty-third, Monasterhore, September, Thursday, page 219; the thirty-fourth, Draperstown-Cross, September 19th, Friday, page 227; the thirty-fifth, Draperstown Cross, September 20th, Saturday, page 231; the thirty-sixth, Draperstown Cross, September 22nd, page 235; the thirty-seventh, Moneymore, Saturday, September 27th, page 243; the thirty-eighth, Moneymore, September 27th, page 246; the thirty-ninth, Moneymore, September 29th; the fortieth, Maghera, Sunday, October 6th, page 270; the forty-first, Maghera, October 8th, page 273; the forty-second, Maghera, October 8th, page 276; the forty-third, Maghera, October 8th, page 279; the forty-fourth, Londonderry, October 9th, page 282. All these letters were written by the indefatigable John O'Donovan.

"IV. *Name Books*.—In number they are 36; but of these, two have reference to parts of the counties of Antrim and Tyrone, so that there are only 34 referring exclusively to Londonderry.

"V. *Name Sheets*.—At present they are tied in two separate parcels; one parcel containing 27, and the other 19, in all 46; similar to those already described.

"VI. *Parish and Barony Names*.—(*See Name Sheets*). No separate volume represents this title, and we are referred to the preceding documents for all information under this heading.

"VII. *County Index to Names on Maps*.—It contains 18 large folio leaves, written on each page, and it is unbound. A few unwritten pages close the sheets. Townland, barony and parish names, with the sheets of the map to which referring, run in closely written parallel columns on each page. This is not uniform with the other County Index volumes already described.

"VIII. *Memoir Papers*.—(*See detailed list annexed*). On referring to the detailed list, we find Memoir Papers noted as having relation to the following places, viz.:—Arboe parish, Ballinderry, Bovevagh, Derryloran, Desertoghill; Garvagh Petty Sessions, cases tried at, relative to various parishes; Kildollagh parish, imperfect scraps relative to; Killelagh, Londonderry county, Valuation Papers (2), Catalogue of Memoirs received from Mountjoy; Geological Tables, Maghera parish, Magillegan, Tamlaght.¹

"IX. *Names and Descriptions from Down Survey*.—(*See Ulster, vol. ii.*) Already referred to at county of Down Paper, in the paper on the O. S. Records for that county.

"X. *Sketches of Antiquities*, 229.—These sketches are contained in two oblong large volumes, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. i. contains the following sketches :—1. Artificial caves in Craigmore, parish of Aghadowey; 2. Ground plan of do.; 3. Tombstone in Aghanloo old church-yard; 4, 5, 6, 7. Tombstones in do., all in Aghanloo parish; 8. Ballyaghan old church; 9. Old tombstone in Ballyaghan old church-yard; 10. Armorial tablet in Ballyaghan old church; 11. Portstewart, parish of Ballyaghan; 12. Clogh-na-staghta, in Strawmore, parish of Ballynascreen; 13. Remains of Ballyreagh castle, Portrush, parish of Ballywillan; 14. Window in Balteagh old church; 15. In-

¹ See also the paper on the O. S. Records for the county of Antrim.

dented stone N. W. of King's Fort, Donald's Hill, parish of Bal
 16, 17, 18. Tombstones in Banagher old church-yard; 19. Banagl
 church and sacristy; 20, 21. Door of, inside, do. outside; 22, 23.
 South window of, inside, do. outside, &c.; older south window o
 family arms of O'Donagh and M'Donachy, and of Lynch, from, &
 Windows of monk's house, near, &c.; 27. Caugh Glen, old altar in
 28. Rock at the foot of which is the old altar; 29. Wooden imple
 found in an old vat under reclaimed bog in Caugh—all in Banagher;
 30. Bovevagh old church; 31, 32, 33. Tombstones in Bovevagh
 church-yard; 34. The Dun, or Duan Fort, in Altmover Glen
 Duan Fort (ground plan); 36. Duan Fort (sections of, in Alt
 Glen), all in Bovevagh parish; 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42. Monument
 inscriptions on, in Coleraine church; 43, 44. Arms of various si
 from Coleraine church; 45, 46. Tombstones in Coleraine church
 47, 48, 49. Sir Tristram Beresford's house, front, rere, and groun
 of; 50. School-house and new jail; 51, 52. Salmon fisheries, fro
 left and right bank of the river—all in Coleraine parish; 53. Tom
 in Cumber church-yard; 54. Standing stone of Artground; 55. (Nero's, &c.; 56. Old seal; 57, 58. Stone moulds—all in Cumber pa
 Upper and Lower; 59. Derryloran old church; 60. Tomb of the S
 family in Derryloran old church, parish of Derryloran; 61. St
 stone in Ballydullaghan, parish of Desertoghill. Vol. ii. contains t
 lowing sketches in continuation:—62. Drumachose old church; 6
 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72. Tombstones in its interior and grave
 73. Tombstone of the Beresford family; 74, 75, 76, 77, 78. Tomt
 in the grave-yard of new church—all in the parish of Drumachos
 80. The Temple at Down Hill, two different views; 81. Mausole
 &c.; 82. Down Hill Bridge, looking north; 83. Cliffs at, &c.; 8
 and new bridge near, &c.; 85. Artificial cave near the old churc
 Waterfall near Down Hill; 87. View from Dungannon, Dow
 House; 88. Down Hill strand; 89. Tomb of the Bruce family; 90.
 of bridge at Down Hill—all in the parish of Dunboe; 91. Dungiv
 church; 92. Interior of east window; 93, do.; 94. East window, or
 95, 96. South window, outside and inside views; 97. Tablet in Du
 old castle; 98. South window of Dungiven old church; 99, 100
 102, 103. Tombstones in the interior of, &c.; 104, 105. Tombstc
 the old church-yard; 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113. Tomb
 in the old church-yard; 114. Dungiven castle; 115. Old castle of
 given—all in Dungiven parish; 116. Waterfall at Faughanvale
 Second waterfall on Faughanvale River; 118. Old church; 119. W
 in old church—all in Faughanvale parish; 120. Tombstone in Kil
 old church-yard, Killowen parish; 121. Pedestal of carved stone in
 old church-yard; 122. Tombstone in, &c.; 123. Ancient stone
 entrance into, &c.; 124. Side of stone facing the road; 125. Side o
 facing the grave-yard; 126, 127. Cromleac of Macosquin, two view
 in the parish of Macosquin; 128. Maghera church and round
 Maghera parish; 129. Carnowery waterfall; 130. The Umbra, Mag
 parish; 131, 132. Clogogle; 133, 134. Honymug stone, Tamlaght p
 135, 136, 137. Ballykelly old church, three different views; 138.
 tablet in the exterior of the chancel of, &c.; 139, 140, 141, 142

his views by the reviewer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of May last. Without mentioning the vast difference between the dimensions of the two kinds of monument, the Fanaux seldom exceeding 30 feet, there are many other points of dissimilarity omitted by Mr. Westropp, but fatal to his theory. Whatever the Fanaux were intended for, they were incapable of being inhabited, and were certainly not capable of being used for defensive purposes. They are almost invariably provided with altar slabs, for service—none of which occur, I believe, in the Round Towers of Ireland. Many of them have been erected on artificial eminences; and some of them—as those of Montmorillon and Fontevrault, the latter of the thirteenth century—are simple chapels, sometimes surmounted with a small shaft, capped with the usual openings for the lamp. No existing Fanal, I believe, with one or two exceptions, is older than the thirteenth century, and none later. They are as often square as round, and of such narrow diameter, that they were probably ascended in the same way as our chimneys are by the cleaner.

"These, certainly, are points of difference which must be fatal to the theory that the builders of our Irish towers imported the idea from France. Whatever be the date of the earliest Round Tower, it is certainly far anterior to that of the oldest *Fanal de Cemetière* in France. The distribution of these monuments, also, is very partial. None exist in the north of France, in Normandy, Britany, and many other provinces. In Poitou, I believe, they are most frequent. It is a curious fact, also, as stated, that they seem to have been in fashion for little more than a century.

"As to their having been replaced, as at Bordeaux, by ordinary towers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, I have considerable doubts. M. Du Caumont has given no other reason for such an assertion than the fact that the base of the Tower of Peyberland was used as a sepulchral chapel in 1397. As to the belfry of St. Michael, in the same city, he merely suggests that it *might* have been built on some sepulchral vault. Even admitting the fact and the suggestion, we have not a shadow of proof that *fanaux* had preceded the present structures; and even had they existed, neither Mr. Westropp nor the reviewer can, I think, adduce any instance of a Round Tower in Ireland having been ever built over a sepulchral chapel. That both the Fanaux and the Irish Towers were more or less connected with churches, no one, it is hoped, in these present days, doubts. But surely such a fact furnishes but very feeble support to the theory that two structures, so dissimilar in proportions and detail, are borrowed one from the other. As Irish missionaries played so important a part on the Continent soon after St. Patrick's days, the French Fanaux are, if any connexion exists between them at all, much more likely to have been traditional copies of the Irish prototype than the reverse, as suggested by Du Caumont. That to look, therefore, to these curious Fanaux—or, as they are sometimes called, *Lanternes de Mort*—for the origin of the Round Towers, is, I fear, hopeless.

"Mr. Westropp has also, at page 159 of the present volume of the 'Journal,' stated that 'crosses like those in Britany are to be met with at Monasterboice Clonmacnoise, &c.' The crosses he alludes to are those mentioned by Du Caumont, and more usually known as Calvaries. No-

thing can be more dissimilar to the Irish crosses than these Calvaries, the oldest of which claims the disputed date of the last part of the fifteenth century, most of them being of the two next centuries. They are almost confined to Lower Britany, and are remarkable for exhibiting the costumes of the numerous figures of the period.

"I do not know, and have never heard, of any such crosses or Calvaries in Ireland; but I can answer that no cross bearing the least resemblance to the Irish ones is to be found in the whole of Britany.

"Allow me also to correct a slight error in the note at page 206, with reference to the Dromiskin find. I stated that in the large deposit of stone implements found in the chamber at Tumiac, the finest tumulus in France, the larger stone celts were neatly fractured across, evidently on purpose. The various articles amounted to forty in number, and are kept in the Museum at Vannes. This fracturing of stone implements is excessively rare, *and not frequent*, as mentioned in the note. I remember no other instance of the same kind, though common enough in the case of bronze implements in this and other countries. The kistvaen, also, such as we have in these islands, is rarely met with in Britany.

"There is one fact, however, of which a note should be taken, and that is, in the megalithic structures of Britany—(the dolmen or cromlech)—none but *stone* or *gold* articles are ever discovered. No instance occurs, as far as I am informed, of any bronze implement having been found in such structures, though common enough under other circumstances. If any cromlechs yet remain in Ireland undisturbed, it would be desirable to notice whether the same rule holds good. The result would be important, as indicating the older date of the cromlech, previous to that of the so-called bronze epoch, as regards, at least, these islands."

The ensuing notice of Ballyhaly Castle, in the county of Wexford, was received from Captain Michael Phillips, of Belturbet :—

"The Castle of Ballyhaly, in the parish of Kilturk, barony of Bargy, was probably the earliest residence in Ireland of the Cheevers family (now of Killyan, county Galway), descended from Sir William Le Chevre, one of the knights who accompanied Fitzstephen in 1169. The Castle of Ballyhaly was besieged by Cromwell, and, after its surrender, was, along with the estates attached to it, granted to Col. Bunbury, and property in Galway assigned to the dispossessed family of Cheevers. Ballyhaly Castle was almost destroyed during the siege, with the exception of the towers, of which traditions of the neighbourhood say there were *four*; two of which were taken down by Col. Bunbury, and used in building Ballyhaly House. Of the two other towers one is still nearly perfect; the other, part of which was standing when I first resided in the neighbourhood, was subsequently carted away by the peasantry. The square tower, still extant, is in wonderful preservation. Beneath the first landing, on the staircase, is a deep pit, which may have been a dungeon, or else the draw-well of the castle. The descendants of Colonel Bunbury sold it and the estates early in the last century."

The following Paper was also contributed :—

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS DINELEY,
ESQUIRE, GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO
IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

COMMUNICATED BY EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, ESQ., M. A., M. P.,
WITH NOTES BY THE REV. SAMUEL HAYMAN, B. A.

(Continued from p. 109.)

YOUGHALL is a Seaport Town in the County of Cork, scituate at the ffoot of high rocky mountaines, upon the mouth of the River called the Blackwater,¹ which parts this Town and the County of Waterford, whereto they ferry over,² at a place called Ferry Poynt.³ Hither also come those of the County of Waterford with their Provisions to Youghall Market. Hence they very easily putt to Sea between Capell Island⁴ and Ring Poynt,⁵ a very small matter of tideing, (if any) serves turne, according to my lowest sketch of this Town over this leafe. The Harbour is very sure and safe. The chiefest Trader and richest Merchant of the town is one Mr.

¹ Spenser celebrates this beautiful river ("the Irish Rhine," as it has been denominated) in his account of the bridal of Thamessis and Medua. He gives both its native, and translated, name:—

"Swift Awnduffe, which of the English man
Is cal'de Blackwater."

Fairies Queen, book iv. canto xi.

² The ferry of Youghal was one of the old seigniorial rights of the Geraldine proprietors of the Town. By an Inquisition, taken at Cork, 4 Nov. 27 Eliz., on the attainerder of Gerald, the hapless 16th Earl of Desmond, he was found seised (with others) "de le fferrybote et le fferry apud Youghill." By letters patent, dated at Dublin, 18 July, of the year following, the Queen conveyed these rights to the Corporate body of Youghal, at the rent of 6s. 8d. per annum. The Corporation sold their interest in the Ferry to the Youghal Bridge Commissioners, in 1829, for the sum of £8500, or a rent-charge of £400 per annum, until said principal sum be paid.

³ This remarkable spit of land extends itself nearly half-way across the Harbour of Youghal, and possesses some interesting historical associations:—

When Sir Charles Vavasour arrived before Youghal, Feb. 25, 1641-2, with reinforcements from England for the Earl of Cork, then besieged in the town

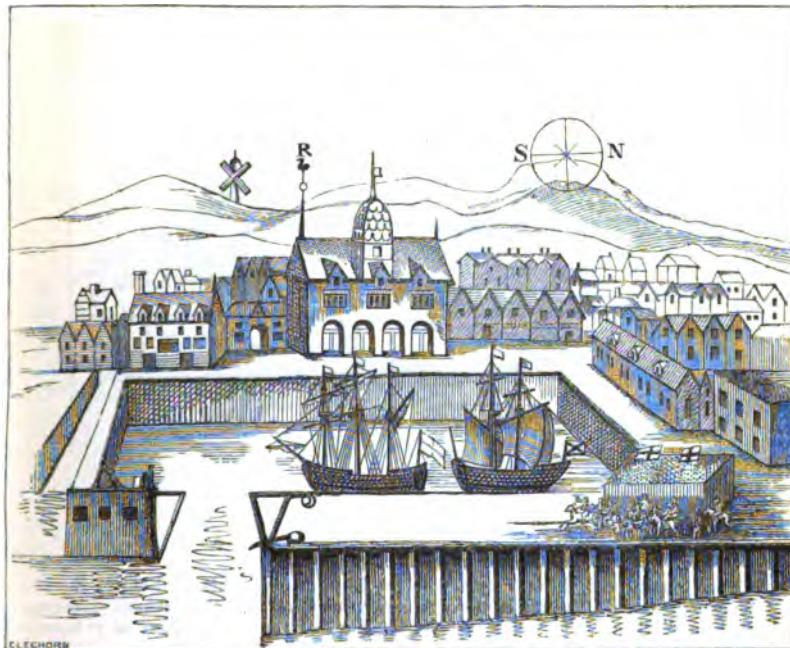
by the rebels, he effected the landing of his regiment of 1000 foot with great difficulty. For, the Irish had placed in battery here three pieces of heavy ordnance, brought from Waterford after the revolt of that place, and from this position they maintained a hot fire upon the troops as they disembarked.

Here, also, Lord Castlehaven, in June, 1645, planted his caanon for the annoy-ance of the town. He tells us ("Memoirs," pp. 71, 72), that by night he passed the Blackwater at Templemichael, and before day had two guns planted at the Ferry Point, within musket shot of two Parliamentary frigates, one of which, the *Duncannon*, blew up at the second shot he fired at her.

⁴ The peasantry call this *Inn na co-pul*, or Horse Isle, and affirm that it was once accessible from the mainland by stepping-stones, one of which was shapen like a horse's head. May it not have been an appanage of The Nunnery, or Chapel of St. Anne's (see First Series, vol. iii., pp. 326-329), and therefore denominated *Insula Capella*, or Chapel Isle?

⁵ From the Irish *pin*, a promontory. The passage between Capell Island and Ring Point is now seldom used save by coasting-vessels, hookers, and row-boats.

Laundy¹ who erected an additional wharfe and hath built and contributed much to the decoration of the Town by fair houses thereon, towards y^e Blackwater.



Youghall's Exchange and Key.²

R. The Exchang. R. The head of one Dromada³ (whose father hangs in chaines near Youghall), and who with five more were executed at Cork for Piracy and murder committed upon a Dutch vessel. A principal actor in this Villany, (who advised to leave not one alive therein) was one Fox.⁴

¹ See notices of Mr. Laundy, in page 151 of this volume.

² In this graphic sketch, Dinsley preserves several local features of Youghal, for which it were now vain to inquire. Central is the Exchange, which was erected by Mr. Laundy, in 1672, and was taken down in 1847. North of the Exchange, and somewhat withdrawn, were some low buildings, used as the Custom House; and to the south stood the Water Gate, sometimes called the Key Gate. By his placing soldiery on the Pier, our Tourist reminds us of a local custom long disused. Annually, on the 23rd of October, the Youghal guilds, train-bands and garrison escorted the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Corpora-

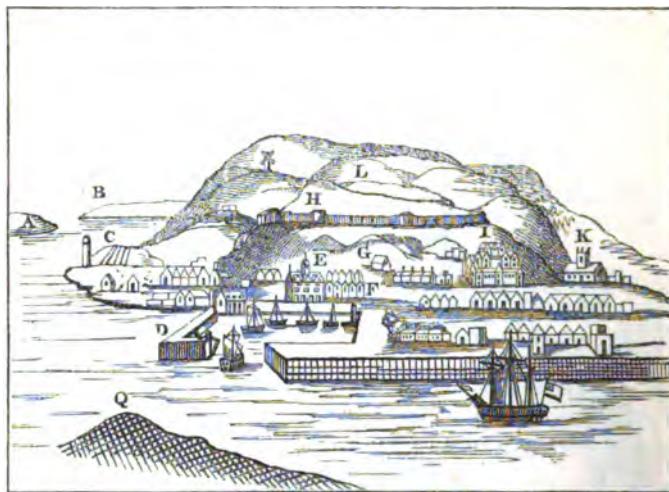
tion to St. Mary's Church, where service was performed, and a Sermon was preached, having reference to the great Rebellion. The procession then passed through the town; and on the Pier Head the health of the King was drunk, with "Confusion to his Enemies."

³ Cooke, in his MS. History of Youghal, gives an illustrative notice:—

"John Dromadda, a most notorious offender and common robber, was taken within the liberties of this town. He was tried before the Mayor, Recorder, and Bailiffs, convicted, and executed. His head was fixed on the Clock Castle, by virtue of the Charter granted in this reign (James I.).

⁴ The "London Gazette," No. 1024, de-

The inhabitants are civil, renowned for trade and navigation¹ not onely with England but Holland, Hamborough, the Indies, &c.



Youghall.

A. Capel Island. B. Ring Poynt. C. y^e Light House. D. y^e Fort. E. The Exchange. F. Custome House. G. Q^r. meeting house Quakers meeting. H. The Wall. I. The Colledge. K. St. Mary's Church. L. Part of y^e barony of Inchiquine and within Imokyllie.

Youghal, or Youghall, took its name from the vulgar *O-Kyle*, which

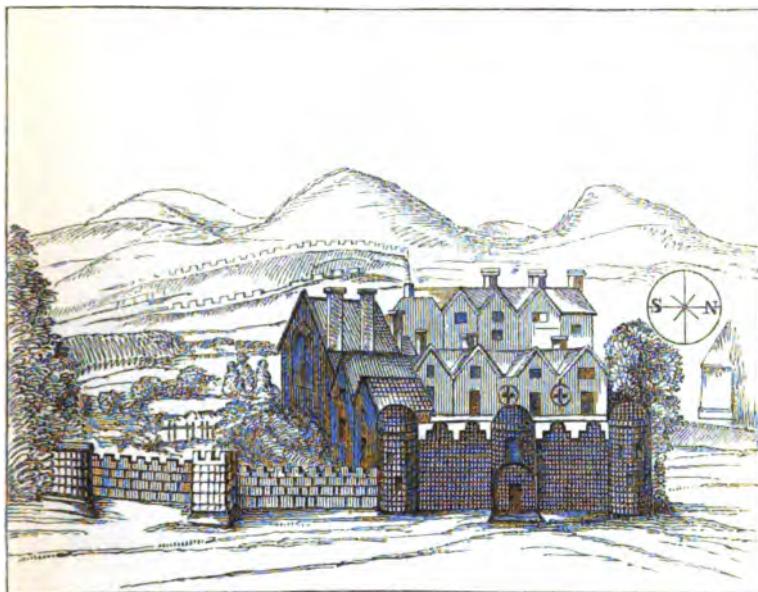
tails these outrages:—“*20 April, 1675.* On this day, Peter Fox and five more, pretending to be passengers in a very rich ship belonging to Holland, called the *St. Peter* of Hamburg, bound to France, murdered the master and three of the crew, and brought the ship into Glandore harbour, Co. Cork. But by the vigilance of Robert Southwell Esquire, Vice-admiral of Munster, five of the malefactors were taken and executed, viz.: Edward Fox, brother to the above Peter who ran away, John Fitzgerald, John Hood, John Crouch and John Morris. Their heads were set up along the sea coast, viz. at Waterford, Youghall, Cork, Kinsale and Glandore; and a great part of the cargo was preserved and secured for the owners.”

¹ Mr. O'Flanagan, in his “Guide to

the Blackwater,” page 8, thus speaks of Youghal Seamen:—

“Several of the early settlers [of Youghal] had been companions of Raleigh in his expeditions against the Spaniards, and there are some faint traces of their having kept up their old connexion with the buccaneers. During several generations the spirit of naval adventure was rife in their families, and during the wars in the first half of the last century several privateers were fitted out and manned from Youghal, the crews of which were celebrated for their desperate bravery, which set all odds at defiance. Even so late as the last French war, Youghal sailors were distinguished in the navy by their readiness to defy the perils of storm and battle.”

signifies "Of the Wood,"¹ its original foundation being where was a thick wood, as I was informed by a very reverend Divine, Raymund Bourgh, al^l Bourk, of the University of Dublin,² also of



The Colledge.

a very considerable family of this Kingdom, whereof are severall nobles of that name, and minister of the Protestant auditory of this place.

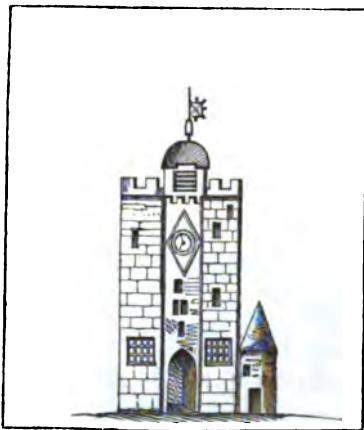
The founder hereof I could not trace out, but they own the en-

¹ Youghal is derived from *eo òaille*, The Yew Wood, an arboreal designation similar to *Cullentry*, The Holly Wood; *Derry*, The Oak Wood; *Loughil*, The Elm Wood; *Farney*, The Alder Plain. Into the names of some places, the word *eo*, or Yew Tree, enters as an affix instead of prefix; viz.: *Ard-eo*, or *Ardo*, near Youghal, The Height of the Yew, with its townlands of *Ardo-chesty* and *Ardo-guinagh*; *Achadh-da-eo*, The Field of the Two Yews, now Aghadoe, near Killarney; and *Magh-eo*, The Plain of the Yews, now Mayo, in Connaught.

The Anglo-Norman colonists of Youghal, hearing *eo òaille* pronounced, wrote down "*Y-o-chil*;" and accurately transferred the sounds to the tongue they spoke. But they laid the foundation for the strange metamorphosis into a word that is now pronounced as if written "Yawl."

² Probably, the "Burgh," whose name appears in the list of "Scholars," anno 1674 ("Dublin University Calendar," 1833, page 150). Mr. Burgh was collated to the prebend of Cooliney, in the diocese of Cloyne, April 5th, 1677 (Cotton's "Fasti," vol. i., page 341).

joying some priviledges (upon a signal victory obteined) to the



The Iron Gate of Youghall w^{ch} serves for the Prison
called the Marshalsea.¹

conduct, valour, and success of one Tho : Paris born in this Town,



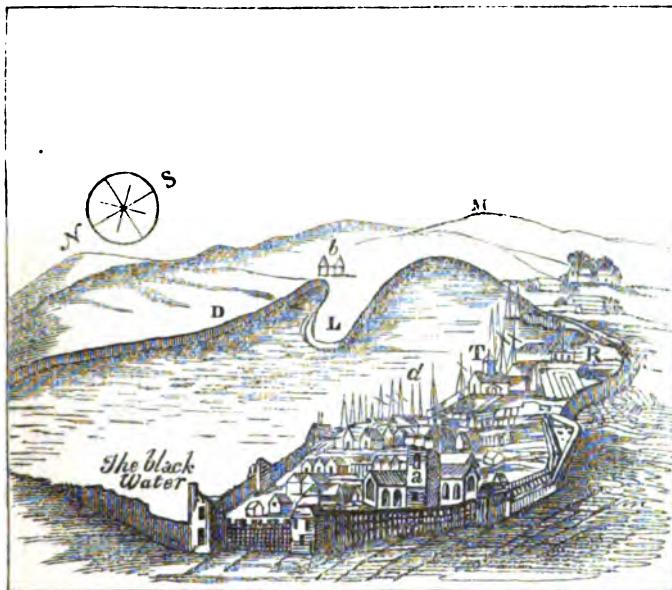
St. Mary's Church, in Youghal.²

¹ This bar, or gate, was also known by the name of "Trinity Castle." It spanned the High Street, uniting the base, or lower, town, with the principal quarter. Trinity Castle became the gate-house, or prison, in lieu of the North Gate, anno 1618 (Liber. A. page

111, Municipal Records). It was taken down in 1777; and soon after, the present Clock Gate was erected. The latter edifice was used as the bridewell of Youghal, until 1837.

² This view of S. Mary's is from the south. The unroofed choir is absurdly

and whose ancient Monument¹ is seen in St. Mary's Church here, with a dove in his hand which was sayd to be sent as a miracle to notifie to the King that he was the principall Instrument by whom the Conquest was made, and who afterwards desired no reward but Priviledges to this Town, which were granted.



The Prospect of Youghall from Cork road.²

a. The Church St. Marys. b. Ruines of Ensilbegg Church. d. The Key. T. The Exchange. M. Monastr Hill in the County of Waterford. R. Colledge Garden. L. The Ferry Point. D. Part of the Dessa.

The Publick works of this Town, and First, the sacred, as Churches and Religious Houses, are these: St. Mary's Church, which I have sketched off, page []. The Ruines of an Abbey³ neer Cork road leading into this Town, and some small remains of an ancient Monastery⁴ on that end of this Town which leads towards the ancient Light-house⁵ and mouth of the harbour seawards.

shown, as if disunited from the nave. Two chauncry chapels are seen. The one to the west of the church was called Portingall's Chapel, and will be noticed hereafter. The other, called Trinity Chapel, stood at the junction of the south aisle and south transept. Both chapels have long since perished.

¹ This effigy remains at St. Mary's, in excellent preservation. It is described

in our "Journal," first series, vol. iii., p. 107. Dineley recurs to it.

² This view was taken about midway up the old road to Cork, called at present Cork-hill.

³ The Dominican Friary, described in our first series, vol. iii., pp. 333-336.

⁴ The Franciscan Friary, *ibid.* pp. 329-333.

⁵ S. Anne's, *ibid.* pp. 326-329.

St. Mary's is the chiefest, and in use though much out of repaire. It was anciently a Collegiate Church, and at this time sayd to be the fairest parish Church, of the Province. The first monument you renconter at the entrance into the remaines of the Chancell, is this marked B. but without Armes or Inscription.

[In this place, Dineley introduces a sketch of the altar tomb in the Choir of S. Mary's Church, which we have already engraved in our "Journal," vol. iii., page 118, first series. He here, through some inadvertence, declares it to be "without Armes or Inscription;" but, as he proceeds with his account, he correctly quotes the brief legend carved on a shield at the crown of the arch: "*hic jacet Thomas Fleming.*" We may here take the opportunity of stating that Dineley's drawings of monuments, which are now existing, are not (for that reason) engraved in this present paper.]

Entring into the Church this way and having passed under the ancient Organ loft,¹ your left hand leadeth to a Chappel, founded by Richard Bennet and Elizabeth Barry his wife, as appears by this next monument and Inscription sett up at the charges of Sir Richard Boyle, Lord Boyle, Baron of this Town, Viscount Dungarvan, Earle of Cork, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, &c.

[Here follows a drawing of the tomb of Richard Bennet and Ellis Barry. The inscriptions on this and the other Youghal monuments have all been corrected from the originals. A very full account of this tomb has been given in our first series, vol. iii., page 108.]

The Inscription at large to this Monument follows in proper Character:

HERRE LIETH ANCIENTLY ENTERRED THE BODDIES OF RICHARD BENNET AND ELLIS BARRY HIS WYFE THE FIRST FOVNDERS OF THIS CHAPPLE WHICH BEING DEMOLISHED IN TIME OF REBELLION AND THEIR TOMBE DEFACED WAS REEDEDIFED BY RICHARD LORD BOYLE BARRON OF YOGHALL WHO FOR REVIVINGE THE MEMORY OF THEM REPAIRED THEIR TOMBE AND HAD THESE THEIR PICTVRES CVT IN STONE PLACED THERON IN AN^o DNI 1619.

Upon the Pavement also, neer this, is read the Inscript^{on} following :

HERE LIES THE BODY OF SIR EDWARD VILLERS,²
WHO DIED LORD PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER, ANNO DOMINI 16[26.]

Munster may curse
To make us worse
Of noble parts,
But those whose hearts
But if they presse
Munster may blesse

The time that Villers came,
By Leaveinge Such a name ;
As none can Imitate
Are married to the State ;
To imitate his fame,
The time that Villers came.

¹ This was the ancient rood screen of which we shall presently have another

very interesting notice.

² He was half-brother of George Vil-

From the aforesayd Richard Bennet and his wife Sr. Richard Boyle purchased the sayd Chappel¹ and still keeps it in good repair² to conserve a fair monument of various colour'd marble and curious artifice erected to the memory of his and his honourable Lady's family. Wherein the chiefest Figures lying at length are these two. First that in the highest place represents the thrice vertuous lady Alice Fenton,³ daughter to the honourable Doctor Robert Weston, once one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdome of Ireland and for 6 years Lord Chancellor of the same: wife to Sr. Geoffry Fenton K^{nt}, Principall Secretary of State in Ireland, who served Queen Elizabeth and King James in that Quality 27 yeers, and mother to the lady Katherine, Countess of Cork : she died the 29 of May 1631. Whose Effigies is made kneeling opposite to that of Sr. Geoffries in that splendid monument erected by the Earle of Cork in St. Patrick's Church, Dublin, and which I have sketched off, page [].

The second principall Figure is that of Sr. Richard Boyle, Lord Boyle, &c. Earle of Cork, underneath the Arch, leaning on a cushion on his left side, in armour with his Robe of Peer, and his right hand upon the hilt of his sword.⁴

Over his head are the Escutcheons, Pedegree and Matches of his sons and daughters, which (being in that compass too small) I have described at large, page []. The Arches at his head and feet conteine his two Wives, Joan, the daughter and coheire of Williā Apsley Esq^r, and the other of Katherine, Daughter of y^e

liers, the famous Duke of Buckingham; through whose interest, on the decease of the Earl of Thomond, he was appointed Lord President of Munster. He kept his court at Youghal; and, while holding the office, he died in that town, September 7th, 1626.

"He lived there," writes Sir Henry Wotton, "in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality; and died as much to the grief of the whole province as ever any Governor did; before his religious Lady, who was of a sweet and noble disposition, adding much to his honor."

This tomb was anciently overhung by Sir Edward Villiers' pennon, morion, and coat-armour. A blue silk banner, embroidered with the arms of Villiers, has been lately presented by Lord Stuart de Decies, and now droops over the last resting-place of Munster's honoured Lord President.

¹ This is absurd. The founders lived in the thirteenth century, and Sir Richard Boyle in the seventeenth. It was

from the Corporation of Youghal, to whom this chapel or chauntry, with its lands, had been granted by Queen Elizabeth, Boyle purchased, 29 March, 1606; and in the deed of sale he covenanted that he would not molest the ancient burials in the place.—Smith's "Cork," vol. i., page 111.

² The Tourist should have said—"His son and successor, Richard, the second Earl of Cork," does so. The first Earl, who purchased the transept and erected the tomb, died at the College of Youghal, in September, 1643.

³ In our description of this monument (first series, vol. iii., pages 108, 110) we have followed Dr. Smith, the Cork historian, in assigning this effigy to Joan Naylor, the Earl of Cork's mother, and not to Alice Fenton, mother of his Countess.

⁴ This is an error. On the monument, the Earl is represented as holding in his right hand a purse, indicative of his office of Lord High Treasurer of Ireland.

s^d S^r Geoffrey Fenton, by whom he had issue 7 sons and 8 daughters. Some of whose figures are described in the following monument in little. The Inscriptions of the monument at large are on the other side this leaf.

[We omit pages 224, 225, 226 of Dineley's MS., inasmuch as they contain only the inscriptions, with a drawing, of the great Boyle monument, still extant. The accompanying plate is after a drawing of the monument by Mr. William R. Hannan of Youghal, and is presented by the Rev. S. Hayman. The Inscriptions are given *in extenso*, in our first series, vol. iii., pages 109-112.]

In the Chappell opposite to that called the Earle of Cork's Vestry, and which forms this Church into the shape of a Cross, are seen these monuments following, viz. Peter Miagh, Francis Tobyns and Thomas Parys his.

[Drawing of Peter Miagh's altar tomb. But this we do not engrave, as it forms one of the existing monuments of S. Mary's Church. We supply a verbal description. Miagh's tomb is erected against the northern wall of the north transept, at the eastern extremity. The plinth has a skeleton, within a shroud, rudely engraved on its outer shape. Above it rise Corinthian columns, between which are armorial bearings. On an escutcheon of white marble, Az., a chevron ermine between three trefoils slipped ar. Crest, an eagle displayed with two heads sa., armed. Two figures of angels surmount these pillars, and on the summit is a third, the right hand pointing upward, and the left bearing a cross.]

The Inscriptions at large follow:

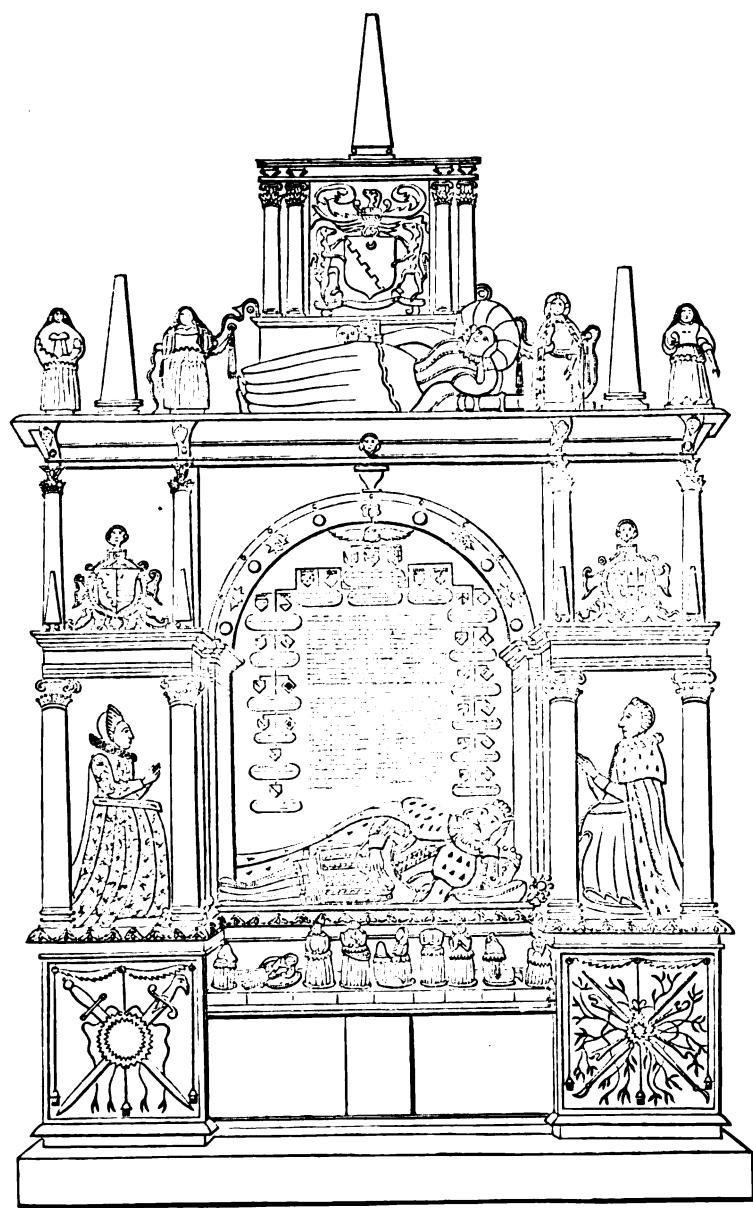
D.	O.	M.
DNO	PETRO	MIAGH
CIVI CONSULI PRÆTORI YOGHOLENSI, ¹		IVSTITIAE
CVLTORI, PIETATIS AMATORI, PVBLICÆ VTILITÆ		
TIS ZELATORI, MARITO SVO VNICE DILECTO VXO ²		
PHILISIA	NAGLE	
MESTA POSVIT SVMPTIBVS VIRI		
PETRA TEGIT PETRI CINERES, ANIMAM PETRA CHRISTVS,		
SIC SIBI DIVISIT VTRAQVE PETRA PETRVM.		
VIXIT AN. XLIII. VITA FVNCTVS		
VIII KAL AVG: MDCXXXIII.		

³PRAY FOR THE FOVNDERS HEREOF PIERS MIAGH FITZJAMES OF YOGHALL, ALDERMAN, AND PHILLIS MIAGH ALS NAGLE HIS ONELY WIFE, WHO MADE THIS MONVMENT FOR THEIR LAST LODGING IN THIS WORLD.

¹ Peter Miagh was Mayor of Youghal, in 1630.

² This inscription (*Pray for, &c.*) does not now exist. Dineley's sketch shows that it was cut on a stone, inserted at the side of the tomb in the eastern wall

of the transept; and, in the spot thus indicated, is still found a small black slab, shapen like that in his drawing, but bearing now these words:—"Underneath is the Burying-place of the Family of Mount Uniacke, 1761."



The Earl of Cork's Monument, in St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Youghal.

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Even with the Pavement is this following of Francis Tobyn, Burges and Mayor of the Town of Youghall, who died in 1551.

[Drawing of tombstone of Francis Tobyn. Dineley should have written "1557." Francis Tobyn was Mayor of Youghal in 1552. This interesting slab bears in relief a stepped cross, the limbs fleurèed and connected with concave tracings, and the date is placed within a circle on the shaft. The inscription surface is of cement, and appears to have been cast in a mould or stamped from a die. Tobyn's tombstone is the oldest, dated, stone in St. Mary's. It is now placed immediately under the great north windows of the north transept. We supply the inscription, with an interlinear translation :—

hic. iact. benemerens. franciscus. tobyn. burgg. ac
Here lies the worthy Francis Tobyn, Burgess and
mator. ville. de. yuoghil. q. obiit 17 aprilis. anno. 1557.
Mayor of the town of Youghal, who died 17 April 1557.]

This following is of the aforemēcon Thomas Parys in the same Chappel without Inscription, holding a Pigeon in his hand.

[Drawing of the recumbent effigy of Thomas Parys. We have described at length this fine effigy, in our first series, vol. iii., page 107. It had lain, at different times, in different parts of the Church; but, in 1853, it was restored to its original position, the pointed sepulchral recess of the north aisle. Dineley's identification of an effigy, which would otherwise have been unknown to us, is very interesting. The name of "Parys," in connexion with Youghal, occurs in the Memorandum Roll, 16 Edw. II. The Treasurer of Ireland, 6 October 1323, directed payment to be made (among others) "To Edith Parys, of le Youghell, for two cranocks of Salt."]

• Which because it hath nothing of a Warrior about it, I rather took it for the figure of a Monk in his weeds, and the bird to represent the Holy Ghost, than to believe the groundless tradition of the Townsmen.¹

The Recorder's² Seat, built over a vault, hath on its back this inscripcōn and armes following:

[Drawing of a shield of arms: Sa. on a bend argent three trefoils slipped of the first. But Dineley is here inaccurate. As depicted on the tomb, the arms are, Gules, on a bend argent three

¹ It is difficult to read this hypothesis of our excellent Tourist, without a smile. The bird, resting on the right hand of the effigy, is a falcon, not a dove, and denotes the rank of the deceased person. If we turn over the pages of Montfaucon,

we find fac-similes of this representation of Thomas Parys, among the sepulchral portraiture of the *Seigneurs* of the French Kings, Louis VIII. and IX.

² The Recorder at this time was Owen Silver, Esq. *Vide infra.*

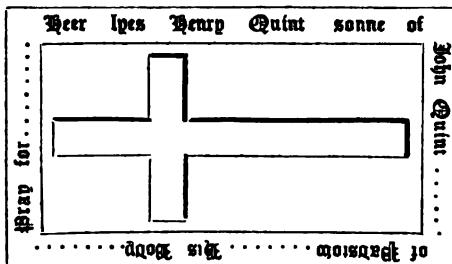
trefoils slipped vert. At the dexter side, impaled with this shield is, Azure, a chevron argent between two fleurs-de-lis in chief, and a lion rampant in base of the second. And, on the sinister is similarly impaled, argent three roses, two and one. At the top are painted the Royal Arms, inclosed in a garter with motto, indicating that Harford was Mayor of Youghal when he erected this memorial, and fixing the year as A. D. 1618, in consequence.]

A BVRIAALL FOR CRISTAS HARFORD HERE IS MADE WHERE HE & HIS INTED FOR TO BEE LAID	HIS LIFE IS KNOWNE BOTH WHAT HE WAS AND IS WHO HOPES TO END THE SAME IN HEAVENLY BLISE.
---	--

Neer this is seen a Chappel without Timber, Nayle, lead or other metall, all of carv'd polisht stone,¹ and under a rude staircase leading to the ancient Organ loft, another Monument not unlike that of Thomas Paris, which is of such a matter as not to be broke with an hammer. This hath an ancient Inscripton, so plaister'd and defac'd, as not to be read.²

King Cormon, an Heathen and Magician, hath here a Sepulcher of the same matter but without Figure.³

The middle Isle of the Church hath this ancient monument even wth the Pavement :



¹ Unless this be a crypt, it is difficult to understand our Tourist. We have no knowledge of such an appendage to S. Mary's, though possibly it may exist. The site, as indicated by Dineley, would be contiguous to the northern rood stairs, a not unlikely position for a subterranean chapel.

² Our own readers will find themselves able to do this. The effigy is that of Matthew le Mercer; and the Norman-French inscription, with an interlinear translation into English, will be found in our first series, vol. iii., page 113.

We may here mention that, so far from the "matter," i. e., material, of the effigy being such "as not to be broke with an hammer," it is a fine Bath-stone that could be easily cut up with a penknife.

³ This is another of the Tourist's blunders. Some lying Sexton, or Youghal quiz, was here imposing on the stranger. It is probable that Dineley was shown one of the numerous cross-slabs, commonly called stone-coffin-lids, which have been already described in these pages (first series, vol. iii., pp. 114, 115).

Neer the Font at the West end of the middle Isle Church¹ is read this Inscriptōn upon the Tombstone of a D. Trade.²

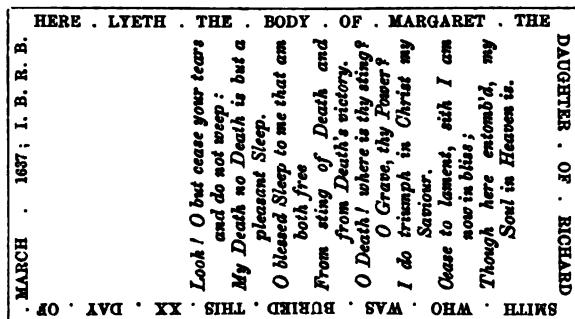
SPE RESURGENDI :

Here lyes interr'd, his body turn'd to clay,
He liv'd to dye, he dy'd to live for aye.

THOMAS SMYTH

DYED MAY YE 21, 1669.

He lov'd & liv'd, courteous to all & kinde,
He joyed much in a contented minde ;
He cared not for things heer below,
But still sayd My Redeemer lives I know.



[Drawing of an escutcheon, Gules, three lions passant on a lion's jamb or. *Motto*, VIVERE. SPE. VIDI. QVI. MORITVRV. The whole enclosed in an ornamented border, surmounted by a cherub's head, winged.]^s

Hic Jacet Thomas Fleming.

As thou art, so was I;
As I am, so shalt thou be.

Imperfectly understanding the Longobardic lettering, he misread "MERCI," or "GIRI ICI" as "Magician," and so on with the remainder of the (so-called) King Cormon's epitaph.

¹ This indicates the original position of the font, near the western door, on the inside. Here it stood until 1791.

³ Not so: Smyth was a tide-waiter of Youghal. In the "Parish Register," his burial is thus entered:—

"1669 . Maye 22nd. Thomas Smyth,
this Port . Buried."

His epitaph was intended to
not a play on words, but si-
Christian's holy life and happy

The Tourist's notes here confused. He gives us, in this epitaph on the fine altar-tonnel—chancel—a tomb which he ascribed as being "without inscription."

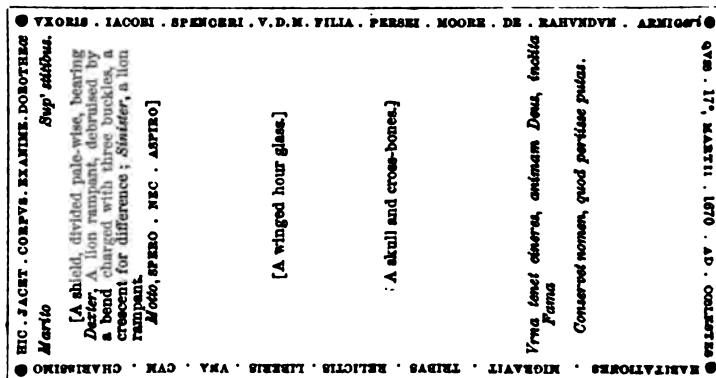
[Drawing of the mural monument of William Lewellin, with this epitaph:]

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF WILLIAM
LEWELLIN ESQVYRE SOMETYMES
ALDERMAN OF THIS TOWN OF YOVG
HALL HAVING TWYCE BEENE MAIOR OF
THE SAME WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
FOWRET DAY OF MAY IN THE YEARE
OF OVR LOR D GOD 1628.

[He was Mayor of Youghal in the years 1620 and 1623.]

The Organ loft and division between ye chancell and Church
hath been very rich and well carved, as appears by its remaines
doubly guilt over which are painted ye arms of the twelve Tribes
of Israell.¹

The Roof of this Church is admirable, of whole sapplyns.²



[Obliterated drawing of an oval shield, charged with a lion passant sa.]

HEERE LYETH THE
BODY OF THOMAS HOULDSHIPP, SOMETIMES MAYOR OF
YOVGHALL,³ WHOR
DYED THE THREE AND TWENTITH OF MARCH, ANNO DOMINI 1624.

¹ We have already expressed our conviction that this was the rood-loft; and it is interesting to read our Tourist's account of the ornaments, which the reformation had spared. From the Youghal "Vestry Book" (page 47), it would appear that the rood-loft remained *in situ* until 1726, when it was wholly cleared away. But, scattered about in different pews, are many well-carved

oaken pannels, of intricate design and elaborate workmanship, which may have once formed portions of what was, no doubt, the pride of S. Mary's Church.

² Refer to the account of the painted ceilings of the Church, in our first series, vol. iii., page 104.

³ Houldshipp was Mayor of Youghal, in 1621. His tomb is in the north transept aisle.

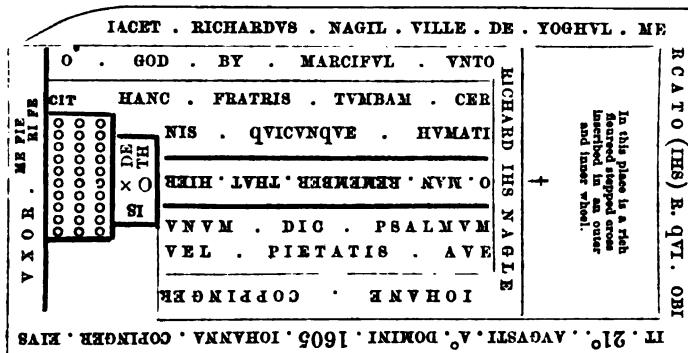
The bearing to this last Epitaph are Argent, 3 black Lions passant two and one.

In the Chappel adjoining to the West end of this Church, called here The Portingall's Chappel, built by a family of that name,¹ are the remaines of these Gravestones following.²

[Drawing of Edward Coppinger's tomb.]

HIC . JACET . EDVARDVS
COPPINGER . VILLE . DE . YOGHIL . MERCATOR . QVI . OBIIT 12
IVLII . ANNO . DOMINI
1624 . HELENA . RONANE . VXOR . EJVS . POSVIT .

Besides this in Portingal's Chapell is seen another, altogether as fantastical as that of Edmond Birne in Tullagh town, in the county of Catherlaugh. The Tomb of Richard Nagil.



[On the tomb next noticed, according to our Tourist, was a shield divided palewise, *dexter*, erm. a saltire; *sinister*, no charge

¹ The family of Portingall was of great antiquity in Youghal. Richard Portingale was made comptroller of the Port, July 4th, 1375 ("Rot. Pat." 49 Edw. III, No. 287); and various individuals of the name were Mayors of Youghal, during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. The last record we can trace is in the Parish Register, where we have the burial of the "Widow Portingale, March ye 26th, 1741." She died old and very poor.

Their mortuary chapel, though not identified as such, was described in our First Series (vol. iii., pp. 102, 103), and may be seen at the western extremity of the South Aisle, in the ground plan which we then supplied. Dineley, in his draw-

ing of S. Mary's, shows it as in his day roofless, but having its walls standing to their full height. Not a vestige of the little Chapel is now to be found.

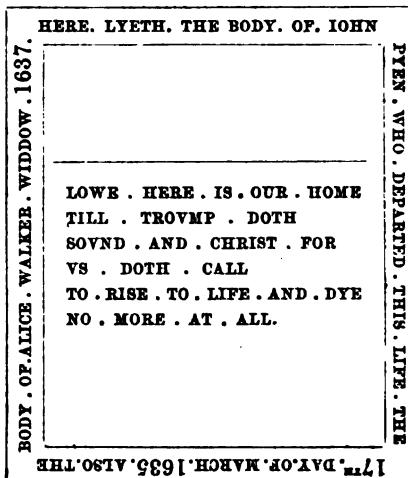
² These stones were removed, in 1814, to an adjoining part of the Churchyard, where they remain in good preservation. Beneath Edward Coppinger's Tomb, in clearing away the clay and rubbish, a very interesting relique was at that time found. It was a Pectoral Cross of bronze, retaining traces of having been originally gilt. The Cross is very similar to those worn by Roman Catholic Bishops, and opens on an hinge at the back for the admission of relics, for which purpose its interior was divided into several compartments, or chambers. It is 6*3*

given. A stone, which appears to be the same, now lies near the western door, on the inside. The raised shield is visible, but the devices are defaced. Near the chancel arch of St. Mary's is a flat stone, which covers the vault of the Earls of Grandison. It repeats this epitaph *verbatim*, and it further tells us that John, first Earl of Grandison (who was grandson of John Fitz Gerald, of the Decies), removed his grandfather's remains, as well as those of Lady Katharine, to this new resting place, in the year 1736.]

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
JOHN FITZ GERALD OF THE DECIES
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
FIRST OF MARCH ANNO DOMINI
1662.

ALSO HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
KATHARINE HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER OF
THE LORD JOHN POWER BARON OF
CORROGH MORE IN THE COVNTY OF
WATERFORD WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
THE 22D OF AVGUST ANNO DOM.
1660.

CHURCHYARD.—Superscriptions upon Gravestones in the Church Yard are these following :

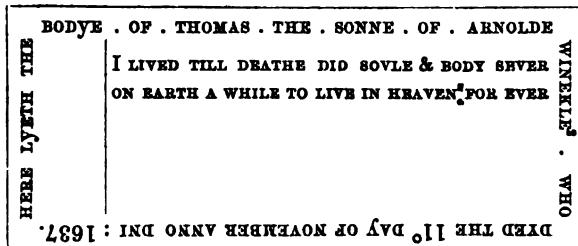


inches in length, including the suspension-ring, and has upper and lower arms, of $2\frac{1}{4}$ and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, respectively. The obverse has a figure of the crucified Redeemer, with the customary INRI over his head. On the lower crossing

and under portion of the shaft is engraved, in Roman letter, the prayer of the penitent thief, DOMINE MEMENTO, inscribed on the lower crossing, and MEI perpendicularly downwards, beginning about half an inch below the

The Piens¹ are of the House of Mogealy, formerly the of Sr Walter Rawleigh, who, after having granted them an for fourscore yeers and upwards, at the same time proferr'd to simple for a Goshawk, which Pien the ancestor refused Sr W and the lease being expir'd is now in the hands of the Esq Cork, and sett for the best part of an hundred pounds per annum by his Agent.

[A marginal comment, partly cut away in the original adds, "Mogealy is in... Tallough in.... county of Wa.... Journe... Ballyclogh... Youghall."]



Here follows another very pleasant one in the Church after this manner in Roman Capitals.²

[A drawing of an escutcheon—quarterly, 1 and 4 blank 3 a bird.]

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF SUSANA THE WIFE OF CAP. ROBERT RUSSELL
DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 22 DAY OF DECEMBER AN^o DNI 167^o

feet of the figure. Beneath this again, at the base, is a skull. The reverse is ornamented with florid chasings of the late period of Gothic; which, taken in connexion with the Roman characters of the inscription, enable us to assign the cross to the reign of Henry VIII., but will not suffer us to go to an earlier period.

This interesting relique is fully described and carefully illustrated in "The Ulster Journal of Archaeology," April, 1854, where the writer claims it for John Bennet, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, a great benefactor to S. Mary's, and a reputed descendant of the Founders, Richard Bennet and Ellis Barry, his wife. Bishop Bennet died in 1536, and is supposed to have been buried in Youghal.

¹ See some notices of this family, in connexion with one of the Tradesmen's Tokens of Youghal, in "Journal" of this Society, new series, vol. ii., pp. 229, 230. John Pyen's tombstone, now much

broken, is yet at S. Mary's.

² Arnold Winkell was an trooper; and, on the distri lands in Ireland, he obtained outside the Base, or lower, Youghal. These yet retain h

³ Susanna Russell's table-t excellent preservation still. on the rising ground, south of transept. The horizontal freestone, and is laid on a brick. At the top, within entwin branches, is a lozenge divided 1 and 4 (defaced), 2 and 3, a s lant. To understand the epig turn of these doggerel verses, should know the several empl the three husbands. Stile wi mercer or a weaver; Clove inner; he was Bailiff of Youghal and Russell served in the arm the quaint allusions to the the "glass," and the "trump at the last day, respectively.

ÆTATIS SVÆ 64.

Enterd in mould here lyeth she
 who for a time was a wife to three.
 In constant sorte she liud awhile
 with one whose name was Rich. Stile.
 When Stiles the thread of time had wove
 she weded was to Stephen Cloue,
 And with him liud in all content
 until his Glase was also spent.
 THIS virtuos piece when Clove was DED
 did Captaine ROBERT RUSSELL wed,
 Where she her vertues did display
 till death did call her debt to pay.
 HER life on earth with good was blest,
 in sweete repose she here doth rest ;
 Till trump shall sound hence to away
 with Christ to live in blise for aye."

The Free School here is the Guift of the sayd R^t Hon^{ble} Sr Richard Boyle Kn^t, Lord Boyle, Baron of this town, &c., Earle of Cork. It hath a Master and Usher, who have salaries of thirty and ten pounds p aⁿ. for ever, and a good house, Rent free.¹

An Almes House is also seen here, the guift of the s^d. noble Earle, for 15 poor widdowes, with 5^z p aⁿ. a piece.

The Secular Buildings are these.² That called the Colledg³ which I have drawn, p. [] was anciently a Seminary for Priests, and as such became forfeited to the Crown; was bestow'd by Queen Elizabeth⁴ of blessed memory on her faithfull servant, the famous Sr Walter Rawleigh, of whom y^e sayd Earle of Cork purchased it.⁵ This hath two Courts with a Fountain in one of them; fair Roomes, with well wrought ancient Chimney pieces. Its Garden is extream pleasant, being on the side of the mountaine overlooking the whole Town, Colledg and Harbour, with Walks one above another, which Nature itself hath contributed much to, and stone stepps of Ascent to each, the uppermost walk hath also a spring at the end thereof, which it is sayd the Earle of Cork intended to supply fountaines with below, to form delightfull throws of water.

The Exchang and Town house have little to recommend them. The Government is by a Mayor and two Bailliffs.⁶ The present Mayor is Richard Yates Esq.

¹ For a full account of these foundations, see Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," vol. i., page 160.

² Dineley's ideas of "secular buildings" are curious. He exempts the Grammar School and Alms House, and includes the College.

³ We have fully described the college, in our new series, vol i., pp. 16-28.

⁴ The grant to Sir Walter Raleigh of

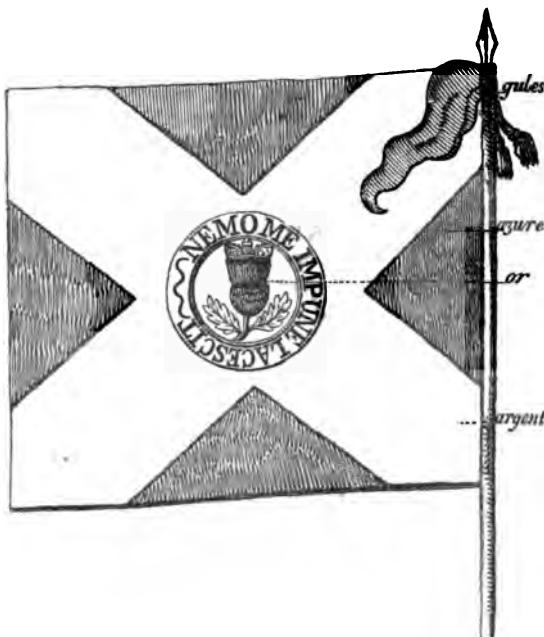
certain portions of the Earl of Desmond's forfeited estates bears date February 3rd, 1585-86. It was confirmed by letters patent, dated October 16th, 1586.

⁵ On the 7th of December, 1602.

⁶ According to the Charter granted by King Richard III., May 17, anno regni secundo. The chief municipal officer of Youghal until then was called "Sovereign."

The Recorder is a very worthy learn'd Gentleman, Owen Silver Esqr.¹

The Garrison consists of two Companyes of the Ancient Scotch, comonly known by the name of The Douglass Regiment, under the command of the Earle of Dunbarton: one whereof is commanded by y^e Lord Grenade, as L^t Collⁿ.; and the other by my Major,² George Arnot, as Captaine. The Officers in Town were Lieuteñ Barclay, Lieut^t. Hamilton and Ensigne Grant, who have been in eminent service for the Crown of France. They still beat the Scotch march, and the Colours of the Lieut^t. Colonel are those I have touched off below, with a flame in the Canton, which in England shews it to be the Ensigne of a Major.



Flag of Douglas Regiment.

The Main Guard is kept in the Town House, neer which is the chief Inn and Ordinary at the Red Lion, kept by a sadler who hath his Shop adjoining.

The Town chiefly consists of one fair street, continued from

¹ The Silver family is now represented in Co. Cork by the Olivers of Incheragh and Castle Oliver.

² Dineley had been Arnot's subaltern, when he served under the command of the Duke of Beaufort.

Gate to Gate, and afterwards through its suburbs towards the sea-ward. The Houses are fair, built after y^e English manner, though low, not unlike those of Portsmouth, in England.

Its scituacion is in an healthfull Air.¹ Remarkable that Edward, the son of Edward Crockford of Minehead and Anne Laundry of Youghall had living six Grandmothers without Intermarriage, viz.: his Father's mother, Mother's mother, his two Grandfathers' mothers, and his two Grandmothers' mothers.

Another observaçon of an honest Irish Family is that of the Mirnyes² of Ardmore, in the County of Waterford, who have enjoy'd an estate of ten pounds a year, convey'd to them by 4 lives, above these 400 years, notwithstanding the Insurrections, Warrs, y^e York and Lancaster Dispute, frequent Rebellions and alteraçons. Never chang'd the name, once onely wanted one heire male in a direct line, which was supply'd by the collateral. They are neer this Town on the other side the river, east from the Blackwater. And it is s^d that the present possessor, being 80 years old, never saw this nor any other town, nor will be courted to it.

The Fort³ marked D defends the Harbour.

The Passage from hence to Minehead in England, or Bristol, is less than 40 hours, provided the wind be fair, you have a good Vessell and able Marriners. The passage is a crown a head, besides payment for a Cabbin. Half a douzen Horses, besides the entry at y^e Custome House which is 2^o 6^t, their freight is 10^o each horse: 4 horses pay 12^o p horse, and 3 15^o p horse.

Now the wideness of this great Ditch, which the Author of Nature hath placed to separate Ireland and England is [] leagues.

¹ Longevity is not uncommon among the inhabitants of Youghal, and was yet more generally attained to. The old Countess of Desmond lived and died at Inchiquin Castle, within four miles of the town. Contemporaneous with her, for nearly twenty years, was Daniel Adams, whose tombstone is in the Churchyard of S. Mary's. He was born in 1588, in the year when Raleigh was Mayor of Youghal; and he died January 3rd, 1714-15, at the age of 126 years.

² In "Fraser's Magazine," September, 1845, is an interesting account of this family. According to Dr. Smith, they

had lands, at Ardmore and in its neighbourhood, granted to them, in the year 1197, by Christiana Hy Dorothy, a Danish lady. Smith ("History of Waterford") states that he saw the original deed, in 1745.

³ This Block-House is shown in the picture-map of Youghal, given in the "Pacata Hibernia," and in the View of Youghal, anno 1750, in Smith's "History of Cork." On three sides the Fort was washed by the tide. It mounted seven guns, three presented in front, and two on each side. In 1763, the Fort was converted into a fish-market.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held in the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 8th (by adjournment from the 1st), 1863.

The VERY REV. THE DEAN OF OSSORY, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Professor John T. Hodges, M. D., Queen's College, Belfast ; and James Torrens, Esq., Belfast : proposed by Edward Benn, Esq.

A. Knight Young, Esq., M. D., Monaghan ; Rev. John R. Darley, The Rectory, Cootehill ; and R. M. Tagert, Esq., M. D., Carrickmacross : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Robert De Ricci, Esq., M.R.C.S.I., 31, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin : proposed by Charles Tandy, Esq.

E. R. Rowland, Esq., Surveyor of Income Tax, Kilkenny : proposed by J. G. Robertson, Esq.

Rev. Richard Galvin, P. P., Rathdrum, county Wicklow ; and the Rev. John White, R. C. C., Roundwood, county Wicklow : proposed by the Rev. James Gafney.

Rev. James Corr, R. C. C., Callan, and Mr. Thomas Shelly, Callan : proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

Rev. Thomas Doyle, P. P., Ramsgrange, Arthurstown : proposed by Richard Long, Esq., M. D.

Rev. Patrick O'Neill, R. C. C., Marlborough-street, Dublin : proposed by Joseph Hanly, Esq.

John Laffan, Esq., Londonderry : proposed by A. G. Geoghegan, Esq.

William E. Martin, Esq., C. E., 10, Waterloo Avenue, North-strand, Dublin : proposed by Mr. W. Lawless.

Mr. Thomas Francis M'Evoy, Maynooth College : proposed by Mr. Prim.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Society of Antiquaries of London: "Archæologia," Vol. XXXIX.

By the Geological Society of Dublin: their "Journal," Vol. X., Part 1.

By the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," No. 76.

By the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland: their "Journal," Part 23.

By the Suffolk Institute of Archæology: their "Proceedings," Vol. III. No. 3.

By the Numismatic Society: "The Numismatic Chronicle," new series, No. 9.

By the Society for promoting Scientific Inquiries into Social Questions: "Report on the Patent Laws," by James A. Lawson, Esq., LL. D., Barrister-at-law.

By the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society: their "Magazine," No. 22.

By the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society: their "Original Papers," Vol. VI., Part 3.

By the Rev. Burgh Byam: "The Cambrian Journal," for March and June, 1862, containing a Memoir of the Byam Family.

By the Publisher: "The Gentleman's Magazine," for May, June, and July, 1863.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1054–1071, inclusive.

By the Author: "Cashel of the Kings: being a History of the City of Cashel, compiled from scarce Books and Original Documents." By John Davis White, of Cashel, Solicitor, Sub-librarian of the Cashel Diocesan Library, &c., Clonmel, 1862: Part 1.

The Rev. James Graves said that this work was worthy of the notice of the Members. From the specimen now before them, and from his knowledge of the untiring research and accurate habits of investigation which characterized the author, he was sure it would comprise everything worthy of note which has been handed down relative to that ancient seat of Irish royalty and episcopacy. He (Mr. Graves) considered this history as one of the many good fruits which had sprung from the establishment of their Association. He believed he might say that Mr. Davis White was induced to turn his attention to the History and Antiquities of Cashel, by the fact of his having become a Member of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society.

By the Right Hon. John Wynne: a curious stone box, of very small size, inclosing one of yew timber, with a bronze pin contained in the latter; and also the cranium of a skeleton, buried beside which, in a stone cist, the box was found, at Dromiskin, county of

Louth. These objects had been described and illustrated by the Rev. G. H. Reade in the October number of the Society's "Journal" (vol. iv., pp. 199 to 206), and had excited much interest in the archaeological world.

The Rev. G. H. Reade sent the following account of another interment discovered in the same field :—

" This grave was discovered in the same manner as the former—by the plough—as the same height of earth, five feet, had been taken from off it also ; thus verifying the opinion which I expressed last year that it was the cemetery of the old ecclesiastical buildings formerly existing here, and reference to which has been made in the ' Annals of the Four Masters.' "

" The grave had been kept nearly undisturbed for my inspection ; but the skull had been taken up, and part of one side broken ; and some small bits of charcoal had been taken away, as my search for charcoal on the former occasion had made the people think there was some peculiar value attached to it. The skeleton lay entire, stretched on the back, with the head towards the west, in the opposite direction to that of No. 1 (the box owner) ; it was distant about three and a half yards from No. 1, and completely filled the flag coffin ; it was at the same level exactly, lying on the yellow till. The kistvaen differed, however, in shape, being built in the form of a coffin, but otherwise was constructed in exactly the same way ; viz., where the side flags were not high enough, the required height was built up with small stones, placed horizontally, as in building a wall. The flags were smaller than those of No. 1, as indeed was the whole flag coffin, the largest side flag being only 18½ inches long ; it was of the clay slate or Lower Silurian formation of the district. The depth of the coffin was only 10 inches, and the greatest breadth 15 inches. The extreme length of the thigh bone was 17½ inches. The skull appeared at first to be covered with hair, as some very fine and soft-looking roots had spread over it ; a few of the teeth also remained, but they were very much worn down, as those of a very old person, used to masticating hard food.

" Several small shells—of two different kinds—one a flat helix, and the other a very small volute—were also found about the middle of the kistvaen, as if they had been laid for ornament on the breast ; they were not, however, perforated. A small quantity of wood charcoal was also found, but not in so large a quantity as in the kistvaen No. 1. From the position in which this skeleton lay with regard to No. 1, it strikes me there may be a circle of graves, somewhat similar to that which I discovered beneath the Jonesborough monolith ; but as the field has been since cropped with potatoes, I cannot have the necessary examination made at present.

" Christian cemeteries were not circular ; and if these be Christian, then it would appear that No. 1 must have been an ecclesiastic, and therefore interred with the head to the east. The remains now described are those of a woman, and the interment is evidently of the same date as that of No. 1. The great height of the prominence over the eyes, or superciliary ridge struck all present. The skull and facial bones I have presented to Dr. Thurnham, and add his description of them, and his opinion relative to the probable date of the interment.

the skulls, being aided in doing so by Mr. Hamilton, assistant to Doctor Corbett, of this city, and annex the particulars, as follows :—

"SKULL No. 1.

	Inches.	Tenths.
Horizontal circumference,	21	—
Longitudinal diameter,	7	3
Frontal region—length,	5	1
" " breadth,	4	6
" " height,	4	—
Parietal region—length,	5	5
" " breadth,	5	—
" " height,	5	9
Occipital region—length,	5	—
" " breadth,	5	—
" " height,	3	5
Intermastoid arch,	14	3
Weight of the skull, empty,	19 oz. av.	
" filled with fine white sand, 96 "	96	"
Internal capacity of skull,	77	"
Greatest length,	7	5
Greatest breadth,	7	—

"The internal capacity was ascertained by filling the skull with the finest dry white sand, which I brought from the sand hills at Dunsanaghy, on the north-western Donegal coast. The measurements are *all external*.

"SKULL No. 2.

	Inches.	Tenths.
Horizontal circumference,	20	—
Longitudinal diameter,	7	1
Frontal region—length,	4	9
" " breadth,	4	5
" " height,	3	—
Parietal region—length,	5	3
" " breadth,	4	5
" " height,	3	9
Occipital region—length,	4	5
" " breadth,	5	1
" " height,	3	5
Intermastoid arch,	12	5
Weight of the skull, empty,	15 oz. av.	
" filled with white sand, 79 "	79	"
" Internal capacity,	64	"
Greatest height,	5	5
Greatest breadth,	5	5

"It will be remarked that there is a decided difference between the dimensions of the two crania, especially in the frontal regions; can this be accounted for by the conjecture that No. 2 is the skull of a female? The owner of No. 1 had apparently received a severe wound on the crown, where there is an incision of two inches in length in the bone, with sharp edges, as if made by the down blow of some weapon, probably a hatchet.

The basilar process of No. 2 cranium is perfect, with the orifice for the spinal column in good preservation ; in No. 1 the process is entirely gone. The facial bones of both skulls are wanting, as will be observed from the photographs.

"**ANCIENT IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL BELLS.**—No. 1, cylindrical-shaped ; height five inches ; found on the top of a mountain, in the parish of Lower Budooney, county of Tyrone, in the year 1856. It was dug up by a peasant cutting turf, from about two feet below the surface. The party who found it stated that it had then a tongue or clapper, but this has been lost. The bell is now in the possession of Doctor Trinor, of Omagh.

"No. 2. This curious bell has been pronounced by the late John Corry, Esq., of Newry, a well-known antiquarian, a rare specimen. In a letter to Mr. Kelly, dated November 15, 1849, on the subject, he writes :—'The bell is genuine, and a rare specimen ; it belongs to a very early period, as no fewer than thirty-one of the same kind were found in a bog at Parsonstown, along with bronze spears, celts, gongs, &c., in a cauldron, some time ago. You are, perhaps, aware that it is the opinion of the best antiquarians that at the very earliest period they were used as cattle bells, and not for Druidical worship, as some visionaries imagine. You must, however, take care not to class your bell with the circular sheep bells, which were brought from England, and used to the close of the 17th century. I have some of this period with initials in modern English capitals.' The bell is now in the collection of William Kelly, Esq., of Londonderry.

"**ANCIENT IRISH HARP.**—Found at the bottom of a bog at Taughboyne, county of Donegal. The wood was lying beside, crumbled to dust. There is a tradition in the neighbourhood that a battle was fought in former times in the locality where the harp was found. The workmanship is of a superior description. As the bards joined in the onset of battle, it is not improbable that this is the iron framework of the *clairseach*. This interesting relic is now in my possession. The parish of Taughboyne (*Ceac baetin*) is referred to by Dr. O'Donovan, 'Book of Rights,' p. 131, n."

The following Papers were then submitted to the Meeting :—

NOTES ON A FAC SIMILE OF AN ANCIENT MAP OF LEIX, OFALY, IRRY, CLANMALIER, IREGAN, AND SLEEVEMARGY, PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY HERBERT F. HORE, ESQ.

THE accompanying fac simile of an old map of the above named countries is accurately taken from the original in the Cottonian collection, in the British Museum, and has been collated with a copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which latter map seems to be of later date, and has some local denominations more clearly and correctly written than on the former. From internal and other evidence, it appears that the Cottonian chart was

*This map re... It was not in the book May 4, 1927
O'Brien*

made about the year 1563.¹ This fac simile therefore pourtrays the principal features of these regions as they appeared about the middle of the sixteenth century, or three hundred years ago. Of the few ancient maps elucidatory of the topography of different parts of Ireland, which exist in various depositaries, not one, so far as our knowledge extends, equals this in interest to Irish archaeologists. To them, it tells its own tale. Yet the picture it gives of a country almost in a state of nature, inhabited by primitive, pastoral clans, and intruded on, for the second time, after a lapse of nearly four hundred years, and at the very date of the map, by English colonists, will be rendered clearer by the ensuing notes on the history of these districts. The broad features of this chart are, certainly, the natural ones, such as the huge and wide mountains of Slievebloom and Slievecomar ; primeval forests, as "the great wood;" and vast heaths and morasses, as "Frughmore," or the great heath of Maryborough, and part of the bog of Allen. There was not a single market town in the whole region. The only two places in which men had congregated, and there in but small numbers, were the forts of "Dengin" and "Protectour," the recently formed germs of the present capital towns of Philipstown and Maryborough. These were then quite new settlements. Of still more modern date are the borough of Portarlington, and market towns of Mountrath, Mountmelick, and Tullamore. There were two old feudal fortresses, Lea and Geashill, which had been erected by the Fitzgeralds in the twelfth century, but which, with Dunmase, were in ruins. There were some smaller castellated houses, repaired or constructed by Celtic chieftains in later ages ; there were also humbler dwellings, in which the bards, brehons, and physicians of the country dwelt ; and there were miserable villages, clusters of cabins, inhabited by serfs, the wretched earth-tillers. Last, and by no means least, were the ecclesiastical edifices ; some considerable monasteries, as Abbey-Leix, Killeigh, and Monasterevan ; with a sprinkling of the small, rude, rural churches of a poor country that was little gifted with roads. So far otherwise as the

¹ The consignment of Leix to colonists was made in 1556. (Printed Calendar of State Papers.) In that year, a castle was erected on the site of O'Connor's "Dengin," and the royal arms of England, with the date, 1556, were sculptured on it. Captain Portas (whence the "C. (castle) Porter" on the map?) was one of the consignees of that year. Captain George Delves, from whom, probably "C. (castle) Delves" was named, had not arrived in this kingdom in 1561. (Calendar S. P.) Of other places named on the map, "Edenderry, alias Cowleys-town," was granted in 1563, to Henry

Cowley (Calendar). The frequent recurrence of the surname Cowley on the map may imply that it was made by Walter Cowley, Surveyor-general. The names of Maryborough and Philipstown seem not to have been used till 1567, when these places were made market towns. "Dingan" is still so called in State Papers of 1557, '64, and '69. So little was the region here mapped out known to John Goghe, the maker of the map of Ireland of 1567, published in the State Papers, that none of it appears on his chart. It was then absolutely *terra incognita!*

Irish had made their marks on the soil, we see them in possession, as clans, of tracts of land which probably had been possessed by the same races for more than ten centuries. The sept, or seven-partite system,¹ had endowed the clans of Donil, Dermod, Kedagh, O'Kelly, Lalor, and others, with separate parcels of land; while two fertile districts bore the names of *managh*, or monks, and of *priorie*, or friars. Interspersed were the fortified houses of the new colonists, "Castle-Cosby," "Castle-Pigot," and other similar evidences of a strong, armed settlement. These signs of the changing times, when clanship was yielding to feudalism, are not visible in the three districts of Eri, Iregan, and Clanmalier, because these territories had not yet been doomed to feel the conqueror's yoke. Indeed, the map-maker does not seem to have penetrated the almost virgin forests—the "backwoods" of the Pale. The sylvan condition of the whole country is remarkable. Several notices of the "the great wood of Ofaly" could be cited, such as by the traveller Moryson, who mentions it as singularly extensive. The entire region of Iregan is traditionally said to have been a continuous forest of oak, wild pine, and yew. A glance at our chart shows that, in this instance, popular report was, as regards three centuries ago, not erroneous. In Mason's Statistical Survey of this district, it is stated that "an English commander received the thanks of Queen Elizabeth for conducting a party of her cavalry in safety through the woods of Iregan, from Birr to Athy."

The original of the fac simile now presented to our readers is coloured; and, had the cost of producing coloured fac similes not been quite deterrent, such close copies would have possessed the value of the original chart, which is significantly tinted, the mountains being represented by a brown hue, and the rivers by a blue tinge; the woods are light green; the arable, or corn-bearing lands, as it would seem, are a greenish yellow; the bogs, a light purple; the pastures are uncoloured, and the passes, or rude roads, are marked by short straight lines, coloured grey. A perfect fac simile, tinted like the original, may be seen in the Society's Museum.

Of all the features, the artificial one, of the passages through woods and bogs, is certainly the most curious to the antiquary, since it exhibits peculiar points in the strategy of the Irish clans, contained in their practice of inhabiting thickets, and fortifying these natural fortresses in their special manner of plashing, as it

¹ Dr. Johnson, though deriving the word *sept* from the Latin *septum*, considers the word as Irish; yet derives heptarchy from the Greek *epta*, seven. This term is not Gaelic, but seems to be either from the French *cep*, a scion, or plant, or more probably from the Latin *septem*, as signifying the seven-partite,

or heptarchal division, frequent in Celtic tribes, as in the cases of the British and Caledonian heptarchies. Besides the instances of seven septs in Leix and Offaly, it is worthy of remark that the *Fermanagh* were also divided into seven tuatha, or peoples.—("Annals of the Four Masters," anno. 648).

was technically termed, or pleating and intertwining the boughs and branches. The idea may be here corrected, as mistaken, that the Irish selected a wood full of large timber as a redoubt, since we have the authority of an ancient document to the contrary effect, viz., the following paragraph in a paper,¹ written in Cardinal Wolsey's time, on social reform in this kingdom:—

“Good provision of wood-axes must be, to cutte their (the Irish clans') woods; not the great woods of oaks, which they repute no fastness, but the thyke woods of hassell and sallis, which they take for great assurance; and the same beyng cutte over in bred where it is narroest, and a waye made thorough so brode that xx men may go together in a frownt, they be exiled from that wood, and will no more take it for any fastenes. Ons their castells taken, and ways cutt throw their woods, they be matyd, and past all succours.”

Some of the difficulties that Saxon settlers had to contend against may be imagined by inspecting this map, which, however, does not pourtray the liveliest obstacles, as they existed in the shape of lithe and active Irishmen, who occasionally gave warm skirmishes. Chief Baron Finglas, in his “*Breviate*,” written in 1529, mentions among the dangerous passes in this kingdom, “two passes in Feemore, in O'Morye's country.” *Fiadh-mor* signifies the great wood. In 1548, a pass in Leix is described as three miles long, through a forest of great timber mingled with hazel (“*Calendar of State Papers*,” p. 90). Such a road was easily converted into a fortified defile, as when, fifty years subsequently, Owen O'More bravely defended the way, afterwards called the Pass of Plumes, against Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and his army.

Were it now attempted to trace the fortunes and fate of the regions depicted in the map before us, down to the period of its date, the result, however pleasant in performance to the writer, might be deemed prolix by the reader, and moreover, would, as embracing the early history of two counties, require more space than there is at command; so it suffices to give a sketch of the stories of the principal clans that inhabited these districts, in order to mark the events which led to the confiscation of their lands, and, consequently, to the making of this map. And we may, if the value of this facsimile to chorographers of the countries it depicts could be questioned, cite the “*Annals of the Four Masters*,” edited by the late Dr. O'Donovan, to show, by the frequency of the references that eminent topographer made to the original, how useful he considered it.

In examining the history of these countries, the fine district called “*Leis*” has the first claim to notice, as being endowed by nature with

¹ Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 159, p. 16.

a fruitful soil, forming, as English colonists in the sixteenth century considered it,¹ an "exceedingly pleasant" country; and as having been possessed up to that period, as an independent clan-territory and kingdom, by seven septs, of whom the noble and valiant O'Mores were seigneurs and kings. This territory was originally divided into seven parts, the boundaries of which met at a stone called Leac Riada, on the plain of Magh Riada, now Morett.² This heptarchy was under the government of seven petty kings, who were under the jurisdiction of an arch-king, called *Righ Riada*, who usually resided at Dun Mask, now Dunamase.³

According to the bards, Ua-Laeighis, a tribe which gave its name to its country of Laeighis, Leis, or Leix, descended from Laeighseach, or Lewis Ceanmhór, son of Conal Cearnach,⁴ chief of the heroes of Craebh-Ruadh, in Ulster, in the first century. The bardic account of the original acquisition of this territory, is as follows:—Lughaidh Laeighseach, son of Laeighseach Ceanmhór, obtained the territory afterwards called Laeighis from the King of Laighin (Leinster), in the reign of the monarch Feidlimidh Reachtmar, for the assistance which he afforded in expelling the men of Munster, who had invaded and seized on Leinster as far as Athruisteann, a ford near Mullaghmast ("Book of Rights," p. 215, and "Four Masters," p. 106). After the establishment of surnames, the chief family of Laeighis took the surname of O'Mordha, from Mordh, i. e. the great or big.

From the "Duan Eireannach," an ancient legendary poem on the

¹ John Dymock.

² Notes to "Four Masters," A. M. 3520, and A. D. 1198.

³ A very ancient poem in the "Book of Leinster" mentions "Bernas, ubi Laighes Reta Mor," on which the editor, (O'Curry, "Lectures," p. 481), notes that "bernas" means a gap in a hill, that "Laighis" is Leix, and "Reta Mor. i. e. great Reta, is Magh Reta, now Morett." There is some confusion about this place, which deserves to be cleared up, because *Riada*, wherever it was, was one title of the Kings of Leix. The plains of Magh-Reicheat and Magh-Riada are mentioned in the "Annals," A. M., 3520; on which the editor notes that the former is Morett, and the latter a plain in Leix, containing the forts of Lec-Reda and Rath-Bacain, where the chiefs of Leix resided, and the church called Domnachmor.

⁴ This ascribed descent, from a hero who flourished in the first century, was a matter of family faith with the O'Mores in the seventeenth, as appears by the following description of their

crest, which is introduced in the funeral entry of John Mackuey, of Carnagh, Queen's County, who is said to have descended from "the O'Mores of Leasy" (Add. MS. 4820, p. 41), viz:—"The crest is a man slaughtering of his enemies, and cutting off their heads, and his man behind, with a pole full of their heads. This man was Conall Cearnagh, my ancestor"—(signed) "Roger Moore."

This attester to the origin of that terrible crest was the celebrated Colonel Roger Moore, or O'More. The entry states that "William, eldest son of John Mackuey, of Carnagh, was of Ballian M'Ewy, or M'Evo, of Ballyneelingskeagh, Co. Eastmeath, Esq." Wil-skeagh, is mentioned in the Meath and other inquisitions. His surname is a form of *Mac Aodha buidhe*, or McHugh-boy; of which the clan name was Clanaodha-buidhe, or Clandibuo. The arms of the O'Mores are, ar. between a chevron sable, three pheasants proper.—(Carew MS. 625).

early colonization of Ireland, composed as it seems, in the ninth century,¹ we learn that the inhabitants of Leix were originally Picts. The bard declares that "Eri" (Ireland) "is full of the race of Ir;" and he proceeds to enumerate the clans whose descent is traced to this patriarch. However, we may venture to opine, regarding this name "Ir," that it is purely mythical, and that it was invented as the name of a pseudo-patriarch of the Irish, just as "Brito" was said to have been progenitor of the Britons, and as other *semblable* appellatives were assigned to the supposed originators of various nations. The author of the "Duan" mentions, among other descendants of "Ir," the seven septs which inhabited Leix, whom he styles "the seven Laigse of Leinster." This tribe, according to a note by the editor of the poem, comprised the seven septs of this name, which, agreeably with tradition, were, after the establishment of surnames, the O'Mores, O'Kellys, O'Lalors, O'Devoys, or Deevys, Macavoys, O'Dorans, and Dowlings, who are still numerous in the Queen's County. Their heptipartite condition is among the proofs of their Pictish origin, which is affirmed by a paragraph in the "Book of Lecan,"² enumerating "the seven Laighsi" among "the Cruithnians of Eri." Few of our readers require the explanation that Cruithnian is synonymous with Pict, and perhaps some may concur in our suggestion, that the people under consideration retained the appellation of Picts because they retained the practice, which had originally caused their race to be known by this name, down to a time when their continuance of that custom distinguished them from other tribes of Celtic race. Besides the Leix heptarchy, there were, among the Cruithnian caste, "the seven Soghans," a tribe inhabiting part of Meath and Connaught; the Dalaraidhe, or aborigines of Ulster (of whom, in later ages, the clan Magennis was chief); the Conailli, and numerous other clans in the five provinces. The last-mentioned tribe was, like this under view, sprung from the hero of romance, Conall Cearnach. In order to conceal the Pictish extraction of these clans, an unworthy device was resorted to by Gaelic genealogists, who were ignorant that the words Pictish and British are synonymous, and fancied that some disgrace attached to the British origin. They therefore invented a certain "Loinceadha," whom they feigned to have been daughter of a Caledonian Pict, and to have been espoused by several patriarchs; from which circumstance, said these perverters of history, her offspring are called Cruithnians.

The first mention in the "Four Masters," of this country, is in 860, when Ceinnedioch, son of Gaithin, Lord of Leix, is said to have demolished Longfort Rothlaibh, now Dunrally, in the townland of Courtwood, parish of Lea, on the boundary between Leix and

¹ Irish version of Nennius, p. 265.

² Nennius, p. lxxiii.

Clann-Maelughra. This chieftain was afterwards slain by his own people. In 1026, "Aimergin, son of Cinaeth, son of Ceinndich, son of Mordha, *d quo* O'Mordha, or O'More," was slain. If we may judge, as in the instance of the O'Conors, of O Faly, by the *ghairm-sluagh*, (i. e. call to the tribe), or slogan, the O'More's war cry, viz. *Conlan-aboo*, points to a patriarch of the name of Conlan. No such name appears in the "Annals of the Four Masters:" So that the origin of this clan's slogan is still to seek.

At the epoch of the English invasion, "O'Morthe, li sire de Leys," as he is called in the Norman poem describing the conquest, appears to have been loyal to his *sire*, or senior, Dermot Mac Murrough, against whom, on the contrary, "Mac Donchad, seignur de Osserie," and "Mac Kelan, rei de Offelan," were rebels. The King of Ossory, indeed, was a prime enemy to the King of Leinster, and, having engaged some of the new warriors, invaded Leix, where his ravages were only arrested by the submission of O'More; who, however, presently applied to Dermot for protection, on which this king marched thither with his new allies, chased the "traitor" lord of Ossory away, and then, by way of precaution, took hostages of the "sire de Leys." Notwithstanding the apparent fidelity of O'More, his territory was conferred by Strongbow upon his comrade in arms, Geoffrey de Constantine, to whom, according to the poem, Kelberi and Rathei Marthi were granted. By the first local denomination we understand Kilbery on the fac simile, and by the second, the rath of "O'Morthe," as that chieftain is called in the poem. This grant is read, in Harris's "Hibernica," as of "Kilbixie and Rathmarthie;" and a charter from Walter de Lacy to Geoffrey de Constantine is referred to, to prove that these lands were in Meath. But this is erroneous, for "Leix, the land of Geoffrey de Costentin,"¹ was assigned by Henry II. to pay feudal suit and service at Wexford, as part of the lordship of Leinster.² It would seem that the grantee's descendants soon lost possession of this territory. King John, in the ninth year of his reign, granted the entire province of Leinster to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, each of whose five coheiresses inherited the lordship of a county as her dowry, excepting Eva, the youngest, who was only entitled to the manor of Dunainase in Leix, with certain other lands in the county of Kildare. She married De Braos, whose heiress married Lord Mortimer.

The first entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters" as to the O'Mores, subsequent to the invasion, is anno 1196, and mentions

¹ "The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society," vol. i. 28, quoting Ho-veden.

² He was one of the magnates of Ireland, 5 Hen. III.—(Lynch's "Feudal Dignities," pp. 297 and 289).

the loyalty of Donnell, then seigneur of the tribe, who is declared to have resisted and killed a brother chief, who was bearing off spoils taken from English people. There is abundant evidence that, for a hundred years or so after the invasion, the colonists, who came in great force, overpowered the natives of Leinster and Munster, took possession of the fertile plains, and drove the aborigines into waste places. During that space of time, the clan in question seems to have been confined to the woods,¹ the skirts of Sliabh bloom,² and to Slievemargy, from whence, when their numbers increased, while the strength of the colonists waned, they emerged, and gradually reassumed large portions of their ancient territories. In 1308, the coroner of the county of Kildare, being aged, was superseded, as unable to execute his office because of Irish enemies in Leys. This is stated in the printed Patent Rolls. Our next citation from these archives is confirmatory of our conjecture that the chiefs of the O'Mores were, primarily, obedient to the crown, and the record in point is singular testimony of confidence in Gaelic lords. Edward the Second, by patent dated 1310, committed to Leyssagh Omorthe the custody of lands which belonged to Patrick de Rochfort, at Kildebrenyn, in Leys. The only other entry these rolls contain, as to lands in this region held by colonists, is of John Wolf, acknowledging that he has no right in lands or lordships in Ballym^cgillewan and Loghdyok. This was in 1377; and, as the latter place was, doubtless, the Loughty, *luchtighe*, or mensal land of O'More, the acknowledgment may have been made to pacify this then rampant chief. There are scarcely any notices in native annals of the clan in point until the middle of the fourteenth century, so we turn to the chronicle compiled by Clyn, a friar who lived in Kilkenny until that period, to whom the chieftains in question of his time may have been personally known, and who has recorded some characteristic particulars regarding them. Prior to citing these passages, it should be observed that the Scottish invasion, in 1315-18, by the Bruce's, had the effect of weakening the power of the Strongbonian settlement to such an extent, that it became easy to the Leinster chiefs to throw off the yoke, and take rank as independent kings. During that invasion, James, Earl of Ormond, received a gratuity for opposing the Omorthes, Onolans, Obrynes, and M'Murghts, who had risen in arms.

We read in Clyn's Chronicle:—

“ 1335. Die Jovis in crastino Invencionis Sancte Crucis, occiditur dominus Remundus le Ercedekne, cum duobus filiis suis Patricio et Silvestro, dominus Willelmus le Ercedekne, et de illo cognomine xi. per

¹ For “ the people of the Yellow Wood,” see page 355.

² Called “ the Clandibuoy.” See page 349.

Leyath O'Morthe, filios et familiam suam, in parlamento apud Clar-Goly."

This slaughter of two distinguished Kilkenny knights and their kinsmen, at a parley, created a mortal feud, thus noticed in the chronicle :—

" 1336. Item in estate illa fuit guerra inter dominum Fulconem de la Frene, tenentem et soventem partem Anglicorum Ossorie, et Leysaght O'Morthe; que ortum habuit ex morte domini Remundi Lercedekne et suorum; nam idem O'Morthe omnes Hibernicos communiter totius Monmonie et Lagenie, suasionibus, promissionibus et muneribus aexit ad guerram; solum autem Scanlan McGilpatrick et Herry O'Regan partem tenebant Anglicorum et pacis."

This civil war seems to have been the occasion when this brave and bold chieftain, Lysagh O'More, emancipated himself. It is said¹ that he was retained by the absentee, Mortimer, Earl of March, and heir of Eva de Braos, in the lordship of Dunamase, to be his captain of war in Leix, against the Irish on the borders, and that, betraying his trust, he destroyed Dunamase, the principal house of Lord Mortimer, and recovered the country. This event is referred to the begining of the reign of Edward II.; but we should read Edward III., since it is noticed² by Clyn in the following succinct account :—

" 1342. Parum ante Natale Domini obiit Leysart O'Morthe, a proprio servo in ebrietate occisus, vir potens, dives et locuples, et in gente sua honoratus. Hic fere omnes Anglicos de terris suis et hereditate violenter ejectit, nam uno sero, viii. castra Anglicorum combussit, et castrum nobile de Dunmaske domini Rogeri de Mortuo Mari destruxit, et dominium sibi patrie usurpavit; de servo dominus, de subjecto princeps effectus."

The chronicler is quite to be credited in this account. No notice of these events is recorded by " the Four Masters," who were not fully informed of historical passages relating to Leinster. Further, the chronicler mentions the progress of the resurgent clans of this district in recovering their former patrimonies :—

" 1346. In ebdomada post Dominicam in Albis, castra de Ley, Kylnemehide, et Balylethan, capiuntur et franguntur per O'Morthe, O'Conkur, et O'Dymiscy."

These attempts to annihilate the feudal fortresses which com-

¹ By Chief Baron Finglas, in his Brevia, written in the year 1529.

² In November 1336, O'Dymsey had an order for £10 for his expenses in

going with John Darcy, justiciary against Lessagh O'Moyche, and the other Irish who had made insurrection.—(Rymer, ii. 951).

manded the country were avenged by the Anglo-Irish governor and the principal nobleman, as the chronicler records :—

“ 1346. Capitur Rury filius O'Morthe. Item, in hyeme illa fuit guerra inter Anglicos, videlicet, W. Bermegham, comitem Kildarie, et O'Morthe et O'Dymiscy, et terras eorum invaserunt et combusserunt, paucos tamen homines occiderunt.”

The annalist, Grace, writes that the Justiciary (W. Bermingham), and the Earl of Kildare, “ invade O'More, who had burnt the castles of Ley and Kilmehede, and compelled him to submit, although he resisted obstinately.” Yet it was the fate of this family to find their worst foes in their own household. Friar Clyn writes :—

“ 1348. Die Martis in crastino Purificationis, Connili O'Morthe, patrie sue princeps et dominus, per germanos ejus in quibus confidebat, cum quibus ipso die simul epulabatur confidenter, quorum filios pro fidelitate et subjeccione sibi servanda tunc habebat obsides, natorum suorum necem non formidantes, et in perjurii crimen incidere non verentes, ambicio dominandi fraternali fedus disjunxit et seperavit; et rupto vinculo fraternitatis, spreto amore et federe sanguinis, eum prodicione occiderunt, et quos venter et uterus unius mulieris suscepit, tota illa terra et patria recipere non valebat; nec auferunt nec etiam differtur inde vindicta, nam octavo die Anglici de Ossoria, qui partem ipsius Conyl sovebant, patriam intrantes, communis consensu populi filius ejus primogenitus Rury in principem est electus et acceptus, et Anglicis Ossorie ad sua ut volebant reverentibus, David O'Morthe, occisi germanus, eis obstitit cum quibusdam Anglicis comitatus Kildarie et Cathirlaht, in quodam passu arto aliquos equos, qui sarcina et arma Ossoriensium portabant, abstulerunt, et ibi occisus ipse David, vir potens, dives et discretus post Conyl de sanguine parem non habens, et sic vitam perdidit, regnum et germanum; alii vero fratres omnes consentientes exulati patriam dimittere coguntur.”

This domestic tragedy, one of a thousand cases in which tanistry, or election, as opposed to inheritance, rendered, as Shakespeare says, “ the nearest in blood, the nearest bloody,” was neither the first of its kind in this family, nor the last; for the “ Four Masters” record that, in 1354, Rory O'More, Lord of Leix, was slain by his own kinsmen and household. The “ Annals of Conmacnois” have this entry, in translation, anno. 1358 :—“ O'More, of the country of Lease, gave a great discomfiture to the English of Dublin; there were killed of them 240 persons.” From entries in the Patent Rolls, it seems that Slemargy was the resort of the most turbulent of the O'Mores, who were in great force, 32nd and 46th Edward III. Referring again to the native chronicle so often quoted, we read that, in 1404, Gillapatrick, King of Leix, lost his wife, but found consolation in defeating the Sassenachs signally, in a battle in which he took much of their horses, arms, and armour. In 1415, Lord

Furnival, afterwards the famous Earl of Shrewsbury, devastated the land of Leix. Having now perused the short and simple annals of this region, we take a glance at its interior condition by the following extract from a translation of a native chorographic poem,¹ dated about 1420 :—

“ After Ui-Failge of the ancient lands,
 Let us approach Laoighis² of Leinster,
 Brown-haired heroes for whom showers fall ;
 We shall devote some time to their history.
 The great territory of Laoighis of slender swords,
 Laoighis Reata,³ of it I speak,
 Belongs to O'Mordha⁴ with bulwark of battle
 Of the golden shield of one colour.
 Under Dun Masc⁵ of smooth land,
 O'Duibh⁶ is over Cinel-Criomhainn,
 Lord of the territory which is under fruit,
 Land of smoothest mast-fruit.
 The old Tuath-Fiodhbhuide of fair land
 Is a good lordship for a chief ;
 The Muintir Fiodhbhuide⁷ are its inheritors,
 The yellow-haired host of hospitality.
 Over Magh-Druchtain⁸ of the fair fortress
 Is O'Ceallagh⁹ of the salmon-full river ;

¹ “ Irish Topographic Poems,” just published by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

² Usually Anglicised Leix, pronounced Leese. This territory comprised the eastern and southern baronies of the present Queen's County, exclusive of Upper Ossory, Portnahinch, and Tinnahinch.

³ One of the seven, or sept-partite divisions of the territory, containing the fort of Rath-Bacain and the rock of Leo-Reda. See “ Annals of Four Masters,” A. M. 3529, and A. D. 858, note a. Query the “ Rathai-Marthi,” granted to De Constantine?

⁴ This name is anglicised O'More, and sometimes Moore.

⁵ Now Dunamase, in the barony of East Maryborough, Queen's County. It is said to have derived this name from Masc, son of Augen Urgnuidh, the fourth son of Sedna Siothbhaic, ancestor of the people of Leinster. See “ Four Masters,” A. D. 843, note a. It is a lofty isolated rock, on which formerly was an earthen fort or stone cathair, but which the English crowned with a strong castle, now in ruins.

⁶ Now Deevy and Devoy. Their ter-

ritory, extending round the fortress of Dun-Masc, is comprised in the barony of East Maryborough.

⁷ The late learned editor of the “Topographic Poems,” from whose notes these annotations are mostly taken, says that the situation of this sept has not yet been determined. Their name means “ The People of the Yellow Wood,” and is one of many instances in which clans had other than patronymic denominations, such as “ The Old Evil Children of the Wood,” near the city of Limerick; and the Clan-Ceitherne, or Children of the Kerne or Caterans, in Ulster.

⁸ The above-quoted editor states that this territory is still locally known, and is considered the best district in the whole Queen's County, extending from the ford of Ath-baiteoige to the ford of Ath-fuseoge, near Luggacurran. He also identifies it with the district, on the map, now published, called FERANOKELLE, as extending from Ballymaddock southwards to the hills of Slem margie, and as comprising the park near Stradbally, the churches of Grange and Ogbeoge, and Coragh Castle.

⁹ O'Kelly, whence Feranokelle, the land, or correctly, the men of O'Kelly,

Similar is the smooth surface of the plain
 To the fruitful land of promise.¹
 Gailine² of the pleasant streams,
 To O'Ceallaigh is not unhereditary,
 Mighty is the tribe at hunting
 On the sunny land of Gailine.
 Crioch Ombuidhe³ of the fair sod,
 Along the Bearbha⁴ of the bright pools,
 To O'Caollaidhe⁵ the territory is fair,
 A shepherd prepared to encounter enemies.
 The territory of the Uí-Barrtha⁶ of the fine glebe
 Of the race of the melodious Daire Barrach ;
 O'Gormain⁷ received the lands,
 Rapid was he in the battle meeting.
 Pass across the Bearbha of the cattle borders,
 From the land of corn and rich honey,
 From Dinnrigh⁸ to Maistin⁹ the strong,
 My journey is paid for by their nobility."

Here, then, we take leave of the chorographic poet.

Such were the septs of this district in the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth, the "seven septs of Leix" were the "Moores, Kellys, Lalors, Clain-Mellaghliins, Clainbois, Dorains,¹⁰ and Dul-lings." See their petition, dated 1607, among the State Papers.

During all this time, while the O'Conors of Ossory were despoiling

the present reputed head of whom is Mr. Denis Kelly, of Castletown-Orney.

¹ "These words," observes the above-quoted editor, Dr. O'Donovan, "clearly show that O'Heerin was well acquainted with the fertility and beauty of this territory."

² Now Gallen, or Dysart-Gallen, in the barony of Cullenagh, Queen's County. See "Four Masters," A. D., 1349, p. 733, note s.

³ A territory comprised in the present barony of Ballyadams, in the Queen's County.

⁴ The river Barrow, which flows between this territory and that of Uí-Muireadhaigh, which latter is called O'Murethi by Giraldus, and was the tribe-name of the O'Tuathails, or O'Tooles.

⁵ This name, observes the editor of the poem, is still common, but always incorrectly anglicised Kelly.

⁶ Uí-Barrtha, i. e., descendants of Daire Barrach, second son of Cathaoir, King of Leinster, and of all Ireland, in the second century. This sept was seated in the barony of Slemmargy, in the south-east of the Queen's County.

See *Leabhar na g Ceart*, or "Book of Rights," p. 212, note m.

⁷ This family was driven from this territory after the English invasion, and the chief of them ultimately fixed his residence in the barony of Ibrickan, in Thomond.

⁸ That is, the Hill of the Kings. This was the most ancient palace of the Kings of Leinster. The remains are in the townland of Ballyknockan, on the west side of the River Barrow, about a quarter a mile to the south of Leighlin Bridge.

⁹ Now Mullaghmast, a remarkable fort on a hill of this name in the parish of Narraghmore, about five miles to the east of Athy, in the county of Kildare.

¹⁰ The O'Dorans, rightly *Ua Dervais*, were a family which supplied the chief brehons, or judges, of Leinster. They were seated at Chappell, in the barony of Bantry, Co. Wexford. One of them paid the Earl of Kildare a fee for protection while dwelling in Leys (Rental Book; see p. 124). O'Feneyn (O'Fan-nin, or Fanning) seems, by the next entry in that book, to have been leech, or physician, to the clans of this country.

the Strongbonian colony on their eastern frontier, the O'Mores were no less predatory over their own borders. In 1448, says the chronicler, "O'Mordha his sons gave a defeat to the county of Kilkenny."¹ At this time the principle of primogenitural male succession was beginning to be adopted by this family, and, as one consequence, the Lord of Leix, firmly seated in his territory, and assuming the right of ownership of the soil of his clansmen's country, founded in 1447 an abbey at Leix, endowing it with an estate.² We continue to extract some passages respecting this family from "the Four Masters," though they are unusually meagre.

In 1489, Ross, the son of Owny, or Owen, O'More, was slain ; and in 1493, Conell (son of David), the O'More, was killed at the castle of Baile-na-m-bachlach, i. e., the town of the shepherds (near the River Barrow, in the county Kildare), by a party of Lord Kildare's people; after which Niall, son of Donell, was inaugurated king.³

In 1520, Con (Conell ?), son of Melaghlin O'More, slew one of the chiefs of the Geraldines (F. M.). Kedagh,⁴ son of Lisagh or Lewis, the O'More, died in 1523, and appears to have been succeeded by Connell, who the same year submitted, with the rest of the Gael of Leinster, to the Earl of Kildare. From this chieftain downwards, the pedigree of the leading men of the clan is tolerably clear, and, in elucidation, the following notes are now published :—

Connel was the O'More, or chief captain of Leix, from 1520 to 1537. See printed "State Papers" ii., 78, and iii., 88, where he is called Congallus ; committed ravages in the county Kildare, and was invaded by the earl, 1523 (Cox) ; is mentioned in the printed inquisition of Elizabeth, as son of Melaghlin, and father of Rory ; and by "the Four Masters," as Con, son of Melaghlin, in 1520 ; and as Connell in 1523. He had five sons, viz. :—

1. Lysaghe ; see a notice of Lysaghe M'Conyll despoiling the citizens of Kilkenny on their way to fairs, before 1537, in our "Annuary," vol. i., p. 107 ; slain in a tanistic quarrel before 1538. (S. P., iii., 26). His son, Morris, became Lord of Slemargy, and was slain in the massacre of Mullaghmast, in 1577.
2. Kedagh Roo.
3. Piers.
4. Gillapatrick, or Patrick.
5. Rory Caech.

¹ Firbis. "Arch. Misc." i., 201.

² "Four Masters."

³ There is said to be, or to have been, a tomb of curious workmanship, still standing in Lord De Vesci's garden, at Abbeyleix, with this brief memorial expressed on it :—

"Malachias O'More, Lassie Princeps, requiescat in pace. Amen, mcccclxxxvi."

There is no mention of any such man in the "Annals of the Four Masters."

⁴ Lisagh and Wony (Oweny) his sons, are mentioned in the Kildare Rental Book see p. 123.

The third named, Piers, was the O'More in 1538; see his curious submission, S. P., iii., 88.

The second, Kedagh Roo, or the Red, is called "eldest and best son." (S. P., iii., 24). Was of Stradbally in 1538. (Calendar of S. P.) He wounded James, Lord Butler, in Silken Thomas's rebellion. (S. P. iii., 25 and 27). Received a state pardon, 33, Hen. VIII. (Printed Patents). In 1541, he was to have been summoned to parliament as a baron. (S. P. iii., 307.) Was slain in rebellion before 1540, by Domill M'Cahir (Calendar), leaving several sons, viz.:—

Lysagh, who seems to have been chieftain in 1561; see Calendar of State Papers. Caher, an outlaw. (Calendar.) These two sons of "Kedo O'Moore, once captain of Leix," were inveigled by Sir Henry Sydney to come in to him, and were then tried and executed. ("Ulster Journal of Archaeology.")

Thomas and James. These two took the name of Meagh. The former was servant to Gerald, Earl of Kildare; has left his name inscribed on the walls of the state dungeon in the Tower, and was the first to broach the idea of transplanting the seven septs of Leix into Kerry (which was done in 1609), as appears by his "offer" in 1584, "to deliver the Pale from the annoyance of the Moores, to be performed by James Moore, their chief, and brother to the said Thomas Moore, or Myagh." He calls them "a heap of murthering theives."

The fourth son of Connell, viz., Gilla-Patrick, or Patrick, is accused, in 1538, by Piers, Earl of Ormond, of having been one of the murderers of his son, Thomas Butler. (See S. P., vol. iii., page 25; vol. ii., part iii., page 162; and "Four Masters," anno 1532.) Was the O'More in 1546, when he rose in insurrection. (F. M.) Slew his brother Rory. (Printed Inquisitions, Com. Regine.) In a note in our "Annuary," vol. i., page 104, this event is referred to 1555, and is said to have led to the forfeiture of Leix; but the correct date seems to be 1545. In 1548, he died suddenly, in England. (F. M.) In the above note, he is said to have married a daughter of O'Conor Faly, and to have had a son (query, a grandson?) Callagh, or Charles, who was living at Naples in 1611. These particulars are mostly verified by Carew's pedigree of the latter house, setting forth that Patrick O'More married Elizabeth, daughter of Callogh O'Conor; and that she espoused, secondly, Brian, first Lord Upper-Ossory. In Lodge, vol. ii., 335, Elizabeth, third daughter of Bryan O'Conor, is said to have been the second wife of that nobleman, to have survived him, and to have had license, anno 1551, to go to England. There is much confusion about Gilla-Patrick's sons. The annalists mention that his son Conall *Buoy* was slain in 1579. This Christian name is assigned to a son of Lady Upper-Ossory, by her first marriage, in a state

paper letter from Thomas (Hussey of) Galtrim, to his father in Ireland, dated Naples, 1582, mentioning that "Mr. Conall O'Moore, son and heir to my Lord O'Moore, deceased, whose mother married oulde Lord Ossery," has a pension of twenty-eight crowns a month from King Philip of Spain.

The fifth-named son of Connell, namely, *Rory Caech*, i. e., the one-eyed, is so styled by "the Four Masters." By order of the Dublin Council, 34 Henry VIII., this chief was made captain of Leix, as next heir to his brother Kedagh. (Carew MS. 602.) Is described as of Stradbally, in a grant of English liberty, which he obtained for 20*s.*, in 35 Henry VIII. (Printed Patents.) Seems to have been the King's O'More, or chieftain loyal to the crown, in opposition to the popular chief, in June, 1544, when, as "captain of Leix," he addressed to Henry VIII. a statement of the services of his ancestors and himself, and complained of ill usage by the Lord Deputy, who, to his extreme prejudice, behaved partially towards the rebel O'Conor. In the ensuing year, either he or the opposition chief entered into a secret combination with the Earls of Ormond and Desmond. Was slain by his brother Gillapatrick, in, as it seems, 1545; and appears to be "the O'More" who is written of by Walter Cowley, in 1546, as having been much devoted to the Earl of Ormond, and as lately dead. In 1565, the lord deputy was ordered to inform the home government as to the manner of his death, why his lands were annexed to the crown, and what was expedient to do for his son Kedagh. He married a daughter of Piers, Earl of Ormond, by whom he had (according to the Carew MS., 635, folio 110^a) two sons, Callogh and *Rory Oge*. Sir Henry Sidney, in his autobiography, also mentions that this chief married a daughter of Ormond's. But, according to Lodge's Peerage-book, he married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Butler, third son of Earl Piers. His issue appear to have been *Rory Oge*, the notorious rebel leader, killed in 1578; and two other sons, namely:—

Keadagh. For his suit, see Calendar of S. P., page 280, anno 1565; died about 1569.

Calvagh, or the Callogh. Born after his father's death. The Council book, which begins in 1559, contains a notice of "an act to give Kedagh and Calluagh, the sonnes of Rory O'More, in respect of their father's fidelitie, £20 yearlie apeece, to maintain them at Oxford for three years." In 1569, Thomas, Earl of Ormond, writes of him as his cousin; and he, styling himself of Gray's Inn, asks for continuance of the pension allowed to him and his deceased brother, Keadagh. In 1571, this "Callogh" writes to the government, stating that his father was murdered for serving his sovereign, he himself being yet unborn; and he demands recompence for his inheritance, which, he says, he might claim by law, were it not for

the act of parliament which gave Leix to the Queen. The next year, Ormond states that the father of his kinsman, the Calloghe, had a patent from the crown for his lands, and was slain in service. On the 22 April, 1574, he had a grant of lands to the value of £30 yearly. See page 104 of our "Annuary," wherein he is said to have obtained a grant of Ballina, to be identical with Charles O'Moore, the antiquary, and to have been father to the celebrated Colonel Roger,¹ or Rory, O'More. (See also Morrin's Calendar, i., pp. 32, 638).

Who it was that was chieftain of Leix after the death, in 1548, of Gillapatrick, does not clearly appear. The calendarer of the State Papers, considering *Rory Caech* to have lived longer than he seems to have done, indexes him as chieftain up till 1551; but the calendarer fails to notice Gillapatrick; and his references to *Rory Caech*, as the O'More whom, in 1549, the viceroy was desired to displace, and in 1550, as the chieftain then subdued, must be assigned to some successor to Gillapatrick.

Connell Oge is the next leader mentioned in the State Papers, and by the annalists. In 1556, as *Connell Oge O'Moore*, he obtained promise of a patent for lands in Leix. "The Four Masters" record, anno 1557, the killing of O'Conor's hostages, and that "*O'More (Connell)* was taken by the English, and put to death by them at Leighlin. It was grievous to the Irish that their free-born noble chieftains should be overtaken by such an evil destiny; but they could not afford them any assistance." Ware states that Conall was, in 1557, sentenced to death as a stubborn rebel, and executed at Leighlin Bridge. In 1561, Shane O'Neill complained that Viscount Mountgarrett, father-in-law to this man, who was "chief of his name," invited him to his house, and then sent him to Captain Heron (governor of Carlow), who, without trial, executed him.

Rory Oge, son of *Rory Caech*, is the fierce chieftain rebel whose six years' career is chronicled in native and colonist annals, and concerning whom there is frequent mention in the state papers, until he was slain, 30th June, 1578. He left issue, Owen, and a daughter,

Doryne, married to James, second son of Sir Edward Butler; secondly, to Captain Tyrrell. (S.P., 1601, pedigrees of competitors for the earldom of Ormond.)

Owen, son of Rory Oge. The interesting correspondence respecting the taking captive of the 10th Earl of Ormond, by this chieftain, has recently been published by this Society.

We continue our extracts from manuscript and printed sources, elucidatory of the history of this clan, down to the date of the map.

The independence of the Kings of Leix, as these potentates are

¹ Callough O'Moore, of Kilmainham leaving his brother, Roger, his heir, Wood, county of Meath, died in 1618, aged 26 (Printed Inquisitions).

styled by Firbis, at the early part of the sixteenth century, is visible in every record of the time. In 1534, O'More agreed to "suffer Woodstock and Athy to be repaired; and O'Conor at the same time put in pledges to re-edify Kissavanna¹ and other piles which he had prostrated." (Calendar S. P.) It appears that the chieftains of both these lines took the precaution to range themselves, respectively, under the banners of the two great lords of the Pale, namely, the Earls of Ormond and Kildare. The date at which they first entered into this proviso for better security is uncertain; but it is clear that the O'Mores were allied, by marriage and policy, to the first-mentioned noble house, and the O'Conors, by similar ties, to the last-mentioned. Neither of these chiefs, or kings, however, relinquished their clan customs for the feudal system, but continued opposed to the crown of England's laws and power. Evidences of this position are abundant. We cull a few from the mass, in illustration, and particularly, the characteristic "articles" alleged by O'More in 1538, the which, having already been printed, we give as a note.² In fact, the political relations of the kings of the regions depicted on this map, growing naturally out of their social condi-

¹ *Coissh-a-bhanna*, the passage of the water—Casheboye.

² "Certayne articulis, alledgide for the partiee of O'More, concernyng how grevously my Lorde Deputie entretynthe hym, and agayne the late O Morres sonnes, (S. P. vol. iii., 26).

"Furste, the said O More, being, according to the anciente custome of that contre, by right lyne successore to the last O More, withoute contradiccion, did come to the Erle of Ormonde, and desiride him to be meane to my Lorde Deputie to be his good lord in the denominacion of hym to the name of O More, and by the advis of the said Erle condissendide to give a certayne some for the good will of my said Lorde Deputie, and further grauntide to bese to the Kinges Deputie perpetually, at certayne seasonys, a nombre of galloglassys; and at suche season as the said galloglassys came to levie their dutie, the sayde late O'Morre's sonnes resistide the same, and violently woulde have expulside them, where Leysaghe, the dist of the said late O'Morre's sonnes was slayne, of whiche procedid greate mortalite betwen them.

"Item, the said late O Morres sonnes comyttide the sondry enormiteis dayly to the said O More and his tenaunte, so that, for reformacion to be hade therupon, it was appointide that O More

sholde come in at Athy to Stephen Apparrie and others; where he came, and then, and there, in presens of Stephen Appare and the others, Rowry, oon of the late O Morres sonnes, cruelly assallide the said O More, and hadde nerehand slayne hym. And finally Stephen Apparrie toke hym as prisoner, and conveide hym prevely to Rahangan, and from thens to Dublin, and kepe hym there secretly 2 dayes; where my Lord Deputie examynede hym prively, with certayne others, whether the said Erle procuride him to bynde in amite, and to take parthe with O'Conor, whiche matter, being so untruly framyd, the said O More denied: wherupon my Lorde Deputie, in a greate fume, both with words and contenaunce moche manasse the saide O More to confesse suche mater, whiche he woulde not; and then the Kinges Highnes Comissioners, herynge of the said O More's entretinge sent for him, and examineide the mater, and fynally dismisside O More, and awardide restytuytion to hym of suche goodes, as was then takyne from hym at his takyng.

"Then the said O More bonde him further, takyng his dominion of the Kinges Highnes and his successoris, paynge anually certain rente; and therupon my Lorde Deputie, the Kinges Highnes said Comissioners, the Erle of

tion, were so primitively independent of extraneous authority, as resemble the state of the present King of New Zealand.

By referring to the "Annuary" published by our Society, vol. i., p. 104, the reader will see that when, about the year 1537, a writ of *subpœna* was served upon Rory O'More (who afterwards became loyal, and was appointed, by government, chieftain of Leix), he took the document irreverently, and threw it in the mire. This contumacious act was significant of the liberty which Irish chiefs enjoyed in relation to English law, and it was on this immunity that their political freedom rested, since, had they acknowledged the majesty of that law, and succumbed to its power, their whole social fabric would have fallen. To attend a crown court, and obey its decrees, was the touchstone of Irish subjection; and instances of such conformity were rare until the seventeenth century. In the previous age, the Gaelic kings resisted every approach of extrinsic authority with as much obstinacy as the King of New Zealand opposed last year, by manifesto, the encroachments of Queen Victoria and her subjects on his dynastic government. By this modern document, the laws of New Zealand are upheld, as to be obeyed by the Maoris; who are to observe the laws of their King, and not those of the said Queen. The code it promulgates is as thoroughly adapted to keep the Maori country for the Maoris, as any one which an O'More could have devised to keep Leix for the O'Mores. Thus:—"If a man sells a piece of land, by the law of the King he shall verily be scourged." "Leases are not good." "Should sheep come, they shall be killed without inquiry." "If a king's subject should steal any goods belonging to a white, it shall be for the king to judge him." "If a man steals, by the law of the king he shall be scourged." "The judgment of the Queen (Victoria) shall not fall upon the men of the king." "If a queen's summons should be received by a king's subject, it shall be destroyed with fire." "The king's subject shall not obey, or go at, the summons of the queen." "Debts due to whites should be properly paid." Here, then, is a code which leaves legal

Ormond, the Lorde Thesaurer, and the Kinges Consalile, orderide the lordshippe of O More to be peasseable renderide to the said O More, with restituytion of certayne castelles, and sent to the last O Morres sonnes to conforme them to that, which, by prive conforthe of my Lorde Deputie, as apperithe sethens, they woulde nothing accomplish. Then the said late O Morres sonnes dud not oonly repougn again that order, but also cruelly mnrdride the said O More is messenger, his serjaunte, and his capi- taine of his kerne, in the churche, moste shamfully, and upon no maner of com-

playnte; ne redres folouide, so as no peaxe was perfornide by the said late O Morres sonnes; and whate so ever O More dud for the same, was after many by the said late O Morres sonnes.

"O More wonderithe, that my Lorde Deputie woulde have mor respecte to a little rewarde or profithe by O Mores sonnes givin to hym, who kepithe a han- dirthe plowe land of the Kinges that the Erle of Kildare peasseably hadde, then to the anuall rente, and other profithe, is grauntide newly to the Kinges High- nes by O More, that non of his aunces- ters never condissendide to yeve."

questions between white and brown men as it found them; no mixed court of commission, to try causes, is established; and the decree closes with a mere moral admonition on the matter of debt between the two races of men—although the difficulty involved in it formed, with cases of murder, theft, and disputed title to land, the common *casus belli* between New Zealander and Old Englishman, as also, in the 16th century, between the Irish of Leix and the English of the Pale.

The stubborn, haughty independence, and bitter enmity of the Irish kings, as regarded the crown of England, were never stronger than at the epoch of the introduction of the Reformation into this country; it was therefore natural that the chieftains of Leix and Ofaly, whose forefathers had succeeded, some two centuries previously, in recovering the ancient territories of their clans, should keep and heighten the courage that had won these lands back, even to the dangerous degree of opposing Henry the Eighth in the field. No sooner did Lord Ofaly, the rash son of Viceroy Kildare, throw off his allegiance, and take arms in revolt, than O'More and O'Conor became his active abettors. But the Geraldines were quickly put down, their leaders were executed, and their lands confiscated. Their allies, however, the denizens of the wilds of Leix and woods of Ofaly, would not allow the new lessees and farmers of the Geraldine estate to till, sow, and reap in peace. So, then, the sword of state was drawn against themselves. The struggle, whether their lands should be for the Irish or the English, was a protracted one, lasting sixty years. Our native annals, with other records and histories of the period, may be referred to by the inquiring reader, to whom we propose to do no more than offer a few original and curious archæologic notes. For example, the following condition, evincing that our round towers were then considered ecclesiastical buildings, was insisted on by the English government in reference to the tower at Stradbally, and was inserted in a treaty with the O'Mores, dated 1538 (Printed S. P., Part III., vol. ii., 541):—“Item, concordatum et assensum est per partes predictas, quod campanile, alias dictum clogas, de Shraibally, in Lexia, semper erit in custodia et possessione gubernatoris seu curati ecclesie ibidem; et quod neuter partium predictarum ullum jus aut titulum eidem vendicabunt.” (See also S. P., vol. iii., 88.)

Our next piece of intelligence is an intimate account of the status of a chieftain of Leix, derived from a printed inquisition.¹ It is set down in this record that:—

“Rorye O'More was appoynted capten of Leyse,² and, upon certaine

¹ Inquis. Com. Regine, 9th Elizabeth; and Morrin's Calendar of Patent Rolls, vol. i., page 505.

² He was so appointed in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. See page 359, *supra*.

controversie depending betwixt hym and his brother Patricke [Gilla-Patrick] O'More, the said Patrick, for his maintenance, did procure a great nombre of the Conors to come to the countereye of Leyse aforesaid, and was spoylinge of the same; and the said Rorke, resisting them in the defence of the country, was slayne by his said brother and the Conors, in a place within the said countreye called Killnesperokyé.—Said Rorke was capten of Leyse at the tyme of his death, and he had no more lands in possession, in right of his captenship as O'More, but only the towne of Stradbally, with the appurtenances, being unto him yearly worth £10. The customes, duties, perquisites, and profits that the said Rorke had in right and belonging to his captenship of Leise, was to him worth every year £100."

He had, of inheritance, and not as captain, Dyrrbroke, and the Great Wood, with the appurtenances; Dyrroghcomer, both the Collenaghs, Dysarteneys, Carrickneparky, Ballyknockane, Graig-nehoyn, and the whole parish of Tulloryne, which land was worth yearly to him three score and ten marks. Also, he was possessed "of all the lands in Swyng"(?) that is to say, the temporalities of Tymokoe, *alias* Farrenepriorie, &c.; and he had the uses and profits of Stradbally monastery, and of Leix abbey, by sufferance from the crown. Of other property, he had much land by mortgage, having lent cows to various persons, to the number of 515 kine, receiving land in pledge.

In 1546, Gilla-Patrick, the O'More, and O'Conor-Faly, joined an insurrection raised by some of the Geraldines, who, in consequence of the attainder of the house of Kildare, had been expelled from their patrimonies. A full account of the expedition made into their countries by the Lord Justiciary, Sir Anthony St. Leger, is given by "the Four Masters." On this occasion, the English seized and garrisoned Ballyadams Castle, in Leix, and the Duinanean, in Ofaly; and these two countries were formally seized to the use of the crown. In the same year, St. Leger adduces, as an instance in proof of the decadence of the Irish chiefs, the fact that, as he says, "Ould O'More would ride everie day in the weik with moo horssemen than all O'More's coutrie is now hable to make."

The sufferance which left the native chiefs in possession of abbey land did not last long, if only for the reason that, while these rulers allowed the conventional clergy to remain in their ancient abodes, the warriors of the country, who were rebels to the Dublin government, either received or exacted sustenance from them.

The accession of Edward VI. reawakened the expectations of suitors for church lands in Ireland. The Protector, Somerset, the Dowager Countess of Ormond, and the young Baron of Upper-Ossory (the king's whipping-boy), were all solicitors, at one and the same time, for the rich abbey of Leix (State Papers). Quiet posses-

sion was, however, not to be had but by first using the sword. The Lord Deputy of the day, Sir Edward Bellingham, a hardy northern-English knight, a zealous champion of Reformation, whether religious, political, or civil, and of whom we are told that "he wore ever his harness (armour), and so did all those whom he liked"¹—this vigorous viceroy "opened," as the Archbishop of Cashel assured the Protector, "the very gate of the right reformation," asserted the strength of government, punished all malefactors, high as well as low, and began the conquest of Leix and Ofaly, by expelling the native horsemen and woodkerne, and settling English colonists in fertile parts. To his energy, the construction of "the Fort of Leix," first so called, then "the Governor," then "the Protector" (in honour of the Duke of Somerset), and lastly "Maryborough," with the mission of the Cosbys, Breretons, Manwarings, and other English settlers, and also the M'Donnells, into the land, are due. In 1550, Gerald Aylmer, Sir John Travers, and others, offer to inhabit and cultivate Leix, Irry, Slemmarge, and other possessions of the O'Mores, which, observe the applicants, are now wholly waste, and for which they offer to pay an annual rent of £600, and one nest of goshawks. (Printed Calendar of State Papers.) The year ensuing, Sir James Croft became Lord Deputy, and advanced the work of colonization.

On the accession of Queen Mary, in 1553, she ordered the garrisons in these two countries to be reduced to 500 men, and the lands to be granted in fee simple. Immediately, as it would seem, on the news of her having come to the throne, the Mores and Conors, who had cost her two predecessors £100,000, rose in insurrection. The Mores attacked the colonists planted by Bellingham and Croft, put man, woman, and child to the sword, razed the castles, and burned everything to the gates of Dublin. (Calendar, anno 1557.) About the year 1555, the fort in Leix was committed to the keeping of the Earl of Ormond, and that in Ofaly to the Earl of Kildare. In September, 1556, the Queen thanked the Lord Deputy (Sussex) for his conduct in obtaining the submission of the Mores, Conors, Tooles, and others. In this year there was a general consignment of lands in Leix to colonists, under the following regulations:—The country to be divided between the English and Irish, the latter to have the part beyond the bog. The chief of each sept to say how many men he will be answerable for, and they are to answer the laws of the realm. Freeholders are to cause their children to learn to speak English. They are to keep the fords open, destroy the fastness, or woods, and cut the passes. None shall marry or foster with any but of English blood, without license. The consignment to colonists contains the names of the Earl of Kildare, Captain

¹ Carew MS., 625, p. 120.

Portas, Harpoole, John Thomas, Eustace, brother to Viscount Baltinglas, Connell Oge O'More, and the rest of the O'Mores, Mur-tough O'Dowlyn, Robert O'Fahy, Turlough M'Cabe, &c.; and it is stated that "there will be planted in sort above-written 160 men, English subjects, in that one country, besides the O'Mores."

The "Act for the disposition of Leix and Offialie" is dated 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary (1556). Chapter II. is an act entitling the King and Queen to Leix, Slemarge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily, and for making them shire grounds. The fort in Leix is named Maryborough, and the one in Ofaly, Philipstown. In the third year of the reign of Elizabeth, returns were made to a commission for reducing and limiting the mears and bounds of the King's and Queen's Counties. These documents are in our metropolitan Rolls Office.¹

It is also worthy of remark that these counties, which were *terra incognita* to the mappist, John Goghe, in 1567, were the only ones surveyed in 1634.

After harvest, in 1557, the expelled natives of the confiscated countries overran them, and destroyed and burnt everything, excepting the two forts. In the year following, in the month of June, they came in greater force than ever, and attacked Fort Protector, but were repulsed by Radcliffe and Cosby.

The accession of Elizabeth temporarily alleviated the miserable condition of the natives, for this queen humanely ordered that the old denizens of these districts should have grants of part of them. "For that the Mores and Chonors wol not be quieted til they have a portion, let them so have, and be placed many together;"—thus is it ordered in a state paper, dated 1st April, 1559,² a document of, however, ominous date. The instructions to the Earl of Sussex,

¹ The following endorsement on an ancient map of Idron, now preserved in the Rolls' House, London, shows of what clan territories the two new shires were made up:—

"The Kinge's County consisteth of these countries following:

"Offaly, lately possessed by the O'Connors.

"Fercal, possessed the O'Meloyes.

"Moynertagan, called the Foxes' cuntrie, and possessed by the Foxes.

"Delvin-Maccoghan, possessed by the Maccoghans.

"And that parcel of Glanmeliry, possessed by the O'Dempsons.

"The Queen's countie consisteth of these countries following:—

"Leix, Slemarg. As much of Glinmaliry as lieth on the south side of the Barro.

"Yregan, possessed by Odun, bordering upon the mountain called Sleblome."

It is generally supposed that the territory of Leix was formed into the Queen's County, and the territory of Offaly into the King's County; but this is erroneous, for the former district comprised no portion of the barony of Upper Ossory, nor of the baronies of Tinnahinch and Portnahinch, and scarcely any of the barony of Slievemargy; while also there is nearly as much of Offaly included in the Queen's County as there is in the King's; and, besides, the baronies of Garrycastle, Ballycowan, Fercal, Clonlish, and Ballybritt, in the latter county, were never included in the ancient Offaly.

² Lansdowne MS., 159, page 97; British Museum.

on his return as viceroy, dated 24th May, 1561, direct him to grant parts of the forfeited countries to the natives. In the same year, Ormond acknowledges a royal letter of thanks for his services against the outlaws of Leix. For many years, these outcasts continued in their almost hopeless state. In June, 1564, the Earl's brother, Sir Edmond Butler, of Cloghrennan, writes that, having met with these outlaws, viz., Lisagh, Cahir, and their company, "at Clonyn, in Idogh, by Garrydenne," near where they had burnt a township, he sends up two heads of the leaders, whom he had killed, along with a dozen of their kerne.

1567, January 16.—The Queen assents to the Lord Deputy's request for making Maryborough and Philipstown market towns. Being constituted boroughs in 1569, they sent burgesses to the parliament of that year. Sir Edmond Butler, on breaking into revolt in this year, turned against some of the colonists in this district; for on the 1st July, Francis Cosbie writes from Stradbally to the Lord Deputy, to inform him that the insurgents last night burnt Stradbally, Ballyknockane, Ferny Priory,¹ and Loughoege, and slew the ward of Ballyknockane.

11th March, 1573, Thomas Lambin, John Whitney, and John Barnys write, expressing their hope that order will be taken "for rooting out those wicked traitors, Rory Oge O'More and his adherents, who intend to overthrow the Queen's County next winter."

Here we may notice the nature of the conditions in the royal grants to colonists, since they are highly indicative of the then existing condition of the country.²

¹ Feranoprior on the map.

² The terms of the grants were nearly similar in each case, being such of those of Jenkin Hetherington, who settled at Ballirone, in Leix, where he obtained 484 acres, with the parsonage. For this estate he was bound to pay the crown £11 7s. 2d. yearly, and to maintain three horsemen of English blood, who should have good and sufficient horses and armour, and should, upon lawful warning, "give attendance, with most part of their household and family, in their defensible array, with three days' victuals, for the defence of the country" (Printed Inquisitions).

The following extract from a Letter Patent, to one of the Cosbys, shows that, while the early provisions for military service were dispensed with, several curious rules, intended to isolate the English, were still deemed prudent:—

Patent, *temp. Jac. I.*, under the Com-

mission to take surrender of lands &c., and grant new titles, &c., to Richard Cosby, Esquire, son and heir of Alex. Cosby, Esq^r, defunct, and nephew and heir to Francis Cosby, Esq^r, defunct, granting him, Arnold Cosby, his son and heir, and their heirs and assigns, the site, &c., of the house of Friars at Stradbally, in the Queen's Co.; also the lands of Stradbally, Ballynowlan, Kelrowrie, Ballereder and Loughill, Parkeballe-colman, Bealemadocke, Kilmarten, als Kilmarter le Grange, Garimadocke, Clonebocke, als Glannevennocke, Balineviccar and Kilmoho, Moyannagh, Carriell, Ranchine, Clonduffe, Noughvall, Ballaghnoe, Shanmollen, and Bally M'Manus; also the Castle, town, and lands of Derribrooke, in the Queen's Co., and a water-mill in the town of Stradbally, except the lands in the said ville of Shanmollen lately granted to Edward Brereton, with all legal rights

On the 7th April, 1573, Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam writes to Lord Burghley, explaining his device for recovering the Queen's County from the O'Mores; he recommends that Rory Oge be banished; states that this rebel leader resorts mostly to his dwelling in Gallin, which is a waste district, being for twelve miles either mountain, wood, or bog, viz., Scaghafoure, Sleunecrie, the Wolf's mountain, Kildowney wood, and a long mountain called Sletemore. In this despatch, the viceroy enters at length into the best means of subduing the entire clan of the Moores. He, however, recom-

thereto belonging. The said Richard Cosby, his heirs, &c., to attend the Governor of Ireland, when warned, with the greater part of his domestics and tenants in defensive array, with provisions for three days for the defence of the said Queen's County and parts adjacent, and to answer to all warlike exercises, called "Hostings" according to the value of his lands. To maintain nine able horsemen of English name and nation, well horsed, and armed as well offensively as defensively, for the better inhabitation and defence of the aforesaid, paying therefor a small money rent annually in current money of Ireland, and the customary labour called "Plough day," for each acre arable, or such labour as the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough shall appoint, or 3s. in lieu thereof at the option of the said Richard Cosby. The chief Governor, or those appointed by him, to have power to cut timber for buildings, &c. And, moreover, that the said Richard Cosby and his heirs shall not use the law called "le Brewhowne Lawe" in any cause against any person subject to the laws of this kingdom, and that his sons and able servants shall use in their lands and houses the English tongue, apparel, and equipments (*apparatus*) for the greater part. No person of Irish blood used to carry arms, and born without the said county, to be retained by him or his heirs, without license of the Constable of the Castle of Maryborough, and the greater part of the free tenants of the said county. The said Richard and his heirs not to pull up or prostrate any castle, bridge, paved causeway, or tougher, orplash, any passage (*vel succidens*, Anglice "shall plashe" *aliquid passagium*) being in or upon the said lands, unless the said passage be adjacent to some Irish country (*aliquam Hibernicam patriam*), neither he or his not to receive pay to attend and serve in war-like fashion, or to be the followers of any person whereby they might be compelled to aid him in any incursions or raids, in *aliquibus itineribus sive roadis*. And, besides, the king grants to Richard and his heirs, the lands, &c., of Moynerath, Cloneneynagh, als Clomenagh, Rosseshelton als Rossequillan, and Tromroe, with their appurtenances, on the same conditions as before recited. The patent also grants to Richard Cosby and his son and heir, Arnold Cosby, the lands, &c., of Ty-mogho, als Farrenne priory, Ballyneclogh, Ballentle, Rathnebaron, Garri-glas, Gosse, Balliclare, als Ballifarra, Balliseare, als Ballinescare, and Ow-lortes, Esker, Clonekyny, and Eskerbegg, with their appurtenances, and the advowson of the Rectory and Vicarage of St. Mocho of Timocho, als Farrenne priory, in the diocese of Leighlin, with their appurtenances, on the same conditions. The said Richard and his heirs to have his principal mansion upon some part of the said lands, and live there for the greater part of each year; not to contract matrimony or gossipred (*compaternitatem*) with any Irish person residing outside of any county of this kingdom, and not answerable to its laws; not to permit the exactions called "Coyny and Liverie," to be taken on his lands by any strangers (*extraneas personas*); and the Letters Patent also direct that if any dowried or jointured female marry any Irishman, then her dowry to cease and determine. The patent then gives power to erect a manor of Stradbally, with its officers, courts, and rights; grants a free market at the town of Stradbally on Saturdays, and an annual fair at the same, on the vigil and feast of St. Peter the Apostle.

mends that Owen M'Hue,¹ a dutiful Irish subject, may inhabit Balliron and Galin.

A document, dated 1599, gives the following as "the names of the chiefe inhabiteres in the Queen's County" (Carew MS. 635, f. 110) :—

"Cosbye, at Stradballye, Galene, Knt.²
 Pigott, at the Disert.
 Whitney, at the Shian.
 Harpoole, at Colbannagher, Blackford, Knt.³
 Erle of Kildare, at Murret, Tymoge.⁴
 Colclough, at Ballinknockane.⁵
 Brereton, at Loghtioe.
 Barrington, at Coulinaghe.⁶
 Hetherington, at Tully.⁷
 Bowen, at Ballyadams.⁸

¹ Probably ancestor of the MacEvoyas, for whom, see "Inquisitions Com. Regine, 6 Car. I." and note to page 352. *extra*. The Mac Evoyas may have been chiefs of the Clandeboye, or Children of Yellow Hugh O'More. Among the miscellaneous records preserved in the Rolls Office, Dublin, is a document setting forth "exceptions to the witness of Ony M'Hughe, on the part of Gerrod Fitz Philip Fitz Gerald, of Alone, gent." reign Eliz.; the witnesses are of Ballybrittas, and the record is a curious description of their character, manners, &c." (Reports of Record Com. vol. II., p. 518.) For "Owney M' Hu," or M'Hugh, was "captain of kerne in the service of the crown." There also was Hugh O'Dempsey, under Clanmalier.

² No knight of this name is mentioned in the Cosby pedigree, in "Burke's Commoners." He probably was Richard, who, by inquisition, died in 1631.

³ The Harpooles, of Shrude, are famous in tradition, and, indeed, have been considered so in legend, by the reminiscences of them recorded by Sir Jonah Barrington. There is frequent mention of Robert Harpoll, sheriff and constable of Carlow, in the "State Papers," from 1558 to 1573. Sir George Carew gives the following pedigree:—
 " — Harpoole, of the Co. Kent, had issue Robert Harpoole, of Blackford, constable of Carlow, who married Grany, daughter of one of the clan Simons, a follower to the Kavanaghs of Odrone, and had issue, Robert, &c."

A document in the "State Papers," dated 1610, sets forth the misdemeanours

and treasons of Sir William Harpole, Knt., when constable of Carlow. Part of his misconduct was, that he promised to marry Owny O'More's sister, and kept Fiach O'Byrne's wife.

⁴ Gerald, Earl of Kildare, died seised of the manors of Tymock and Moystatice, and Leasy, &c., in 1611. (Inquis.)

⁵ Piers Davells was of Ballyknockan in 1623. (Inquisitions.)

⁶ The Carew manuscript already quoted gives the following pedigree of this family:—

" — Barrington, of Essex, had a son, George B., a captain. This George, when the Moores were banished, had lands given him in Leax by the Erle of Sussex. He had issue:—

" John, a captain, married a dau. to Giles Ovington, and had issue — Barrington, who was slain in service by the O'Moores.

" Joseph, slain by the O'Mores.

" Robert, m. a dau. to one of the followers of the O'Mores; she ma. secondly Thomas Ligh, who was slain in service in 1598, by the O'Mores."

The tragic end of so many of this family, by the clan they were supplanting, is remarkable.

By a volume of funeral entries, Harl. MS. 4820, p. 58, it appears that Alexander Barrington, Esq., of Timoge, married Jane, dau. of Edward Brereton, Esq., of Loghtioe, and died 15 Sept., 1635.

⁷ David Hetherington held Ballyrone, and died in 1622. (Inquis.)

⁸ Robert Bowen, of Ballyadams, held 902 acres; died in 1621. (Inquis.)

Hovenden, at Tankardston.
 Hugh boy M'Donnell, at Tennakillie.¹
 Terence O'Dempsey, at Ballibrittis.²
 Edmond M'Donnell, at Rathin.
 Loftus, at Tymochou."

These were the colonists who had to bear the brunt of the insurrection raised during Tyrone's rebellion, and bravely indeed did they endure and outlast the storm. Dymmok, in his "Treatise," dated 1599, published in the Tracts of the Irish Archaeological Society, observes, that the Queen's County "was planted by the erle of Sussex with a mixt people of English and Irish." He adds, "the inhabitants have beeene contynually molested with the first inhabitants, the O'Mores, that hath in manner wasted the whole countrey upon them, and at this daye are growne to stronge numbers and very dangerous."

A curious account of the taking of the Fort of Leix is given by Sir Francis Ruish, in a letter dated 7th January, 1599 (S. P.).

The memorable historic action, in 1599, when Owen O'More disputed the passage of the Earl of Essex and his army through a pass called Cashells, is described in a document printed in the second volume of tracts published by the Irish Archaeological Society. The document is given without the name of the writer, who was Sir John Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, and whose account of the battle in question may be credited, as that of a veracious eyewitness. He describes the Earl as, after having victualled the fort of Maryborough, encamping the same evening "at the foote of a very highe hill called Crosby Duff":—

"The general Ratehill⁴ of the province of Leinster, where the rebell Ony Mac Rory O'More shewed himself with 500 foote and about 40 horse, two myles from our camp. . . . The lord lieutenant having from the top of Crosby duff viewed the country rownde about, and particarlerly the way of that dayes march, led his army towards a passage called Cash-

¹ Hugh Mac Callogh M'Donnell, of Tenekille, died in 1619.

² Sir Terence O'Dempsey, first Viscount Clanmalier.

³ Crosby Duff is five miles from Maryborough. As to O'Duibb, see the topographical poem, cited *supra*.

⁴ This curious notice demands elucidation, which, we hope, may be supplied by some learned reader. It is observed, in a note to the Tracts, that "raths were used as places of meeting for legal and other purposes, from which circumstance they were called Motes and Laws." Certain citations are also advanced to prove this position. The term

above used, a *rate-hill*, may imply some relation between raths and rates, or taxes, ordered to be levied at meetings in these primitive ante-covert, or ante-court, places of parliament. Probably Crosby Duff was no more than the place of assembling for the clansmen of Leix. "Eriottes," or parliaments, held by Bretons on hills, are alluded to in the printed State Papers. The Latin word *iraghtus*, is often used in the printed Rolls (p. 68, &c.), to mean a sept, clan, or special followers. Perhaps, then, it is allowable to conjecture that "Ratehill" may mean the hill where the clans met.

ella,¹ halfe a myle from that night's quarter. The nature of the passage is such, through a thicke woode a myle long, leadeth a highe waye, in moste places ten going paces broade, which in the midst was traversed with a breach, and the woode plashed upon both sydes, from behinde which the rebell might with facillity gaule our men in their passage."

Harrington proceeds to give details as to the engagement, which is also described in the "Annals of the Four Masters," and by O'Sullivan, whose account, however, is not to be relied upon, further than that, as he says, this well-contested road was, by reason of the quantity of helmet-feathers taken from the English cavalry by the Irish, called "*Bearnan na gehleti, or transitus plumarum;*" or, according to the historian Cox, "Barnaglitty, the Pass of Plumes."

In May, 1600, when Owny O'More was detaining the Lord General Ormond, the illustrious captive was kept in the woods of Leix, and removed from place to place every three hours, to prevent surprise.

Were our sympathy not sufficiently and justly evoked for the unhappy clanspeople of this district, who were doomed, in consequence of their faulty system of laws, to make way for feudal colonists, we could no longer withhold it after perusing the following paragraph in a letter from the viceroy, Lord Mountjoy, describing the peaceful and prosperous state of a fertile portion of their country, which had not suffered from the ravages and terrors of war. The viceroy writes, in a despatch dated in August, in Leix:—

"Our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful), the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upward; the only mean by which they were to live, and to keep their bonnaghts, or hired soldiers. It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured,² the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, the highways and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason was, that the Queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came among them."

On the 13th August, 1600, Owny O'More addressed an indignant and eloquent letter to Lord Ormond, protesting that he is outraged at the abominable new device of the Lord Deputy, to cut down the green corn wherever he goes—an execrable course, and bad ex-

¹ Cashell is mentioned in the Inquisitions, as near Kilhelan. A cash, *caish*, or *caissh*, is a pass through a wood, or bog. Colonel O'Neill, in his Journal, which is printed in "Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica," vol. ii., p. 500, speaks of making "cashes or tochers over bogs." In "Lewis's Topographical Dictionary,"

this famous battle is said to have taken place at Ballybrittas, a village in Lea parish; but this is impossible, from the after-course of Essex's march. The neighbourhood of Ballyroan seems a more likely locality.

² Hand-laboured.

ample to all the world. For himself, he declares that he has been taught bad lessons by the English before; and that, as they do not mean to give over schooling him in bad actions, which he protests he loathes, yet, having little to lose, if this be lost, he shall give over tillage, and take to living on the tilling of others, neither sparing friend nor foe. However, he hopes that such cruel dealings may be stopped, and requests the Earl to mediate for him, and obtain for him a government protection.¹

These disjointed extracts suffice to illustrate the history of Leix, from which we shall, at some future opportunity, turn to the stories of the other districts depicted in our map.

¹ Manuscript State Paper. It was an old custom, on both sides, to cut down the green corn. Civil wars always take the internecine form.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING, held at the Society's Apartments, William-street, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 21st (by adjournment from the 7th), 1863.

BARRY DELANY, Esq., M. D., in the Chair.

The following new Members were elected :—

Mrs. Pender, Crumpsall House, near Manchester : proposed by Sir J. Emerson Tennent.

Charles Langley, Esq., Tay Lodge, Kilmacthomas ; and Richard Rothe Burtchaell, Esq., Brandondale, Graigue : proposed by Peter Burtchaell, Esq., C. E.

The Rev. Robert James Bird, Incumbent of St. Bartholomew, 13, Mecklenburgh-square, Gray's-Inn-road, London : proposed by H. Barry Hyde, Esq.

Captain J. H. Blackburne, Brownsbarn House, Thomastown ; and James Ennis Mayler, Esq., Harristown, Ballymitty, county of Wexford : proposed by J. G. A. Prim, Esq.

Robert Day, Jun., Esq., Cork : proposed by John Windele, Esq.

The Rev Patrick Neary, R. C. C., Thomastown : proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

John Somers, Esq., 30, Upper Rathmines, Dublin : proposed by J. S. Sloane, Esq., C. E.

John Grigor, Esq., M. D., Nairn, N. B. : proposed by Andrew Jervis, Esq.

Richard C. Whitfield, Esq., 3, Pump Court, Temple, London, and Hilltown House, county of Wexford ; Frank C. Armstrong, Esq., 2, Brick Court, Temple, London ; and Daniel Percy Sweetman, Esq., Westgate, Wexford : proposed by M. Saunders Greene, Esq.

James Budd, Esq., Waterford : proposed by P. Cody, Esq., J. P.

Joseph R. Kenney, Esq., Enniskillen ; and John Hamilton, Esq., Waterloo-place, Londonderry : proposed by A. G. 'Geoghegan, Esq.

Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., Derby, England : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

George Sutherland, Esq., Forse, Caithness, N. B., and Prior's Land, Cabinteely, Ireland : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Isaac W. Bryan, Esq., J. P., Upton, Kilmuckridge, county of Wexford : proposed by G. C. Roberts, Esq.

Meyrick S. Rainsford, Esq., New Ross ; Mr. William Farrell, Borris-Idrone ; Mr. James Mulroney, Borris-Idrone ; and Mr. Patrick Nolan, Ballyphenan, Borris-Idrone : proposed by Andrew Wilson, Esq.

James Brennan, Esq., Master of the Cork School of Design, 80, Lower Glanmire Road, Cork : proposed by George M. Atkinson, Esq.

The Chairman said he was glad to learn from the Secretaries that the special donations to the Illustration Fund had permitted the procuring of several additional engravings to illustrate the future issues of the Society's "Journal," which was very desirable—the ordinary subscription of Members, 6s. each per annum, being scarcely more than sufficient to defray the expense of printing the papers without illustrations. However, it appeared to him that it might be well to change the form in which the announcement was made of additions, for this purpose, to their ordinary subscriptions, by Members. Thus many sent 10s. instead of 6s., and this was acknowledged as a donation of 4s. to the Illustration Fund. But a sum of 4s.—although several donations to that amount in the aggregate made a good fund—in itself looked so small, that he apprehended people did not like to appear with it set down after their names. What he would suggest was, that those who gave such a donation annually should be set down, not under the heading of subscribers of 4s. to the Illustration Fund, but as "Members who have increased their subscriptions in aid of the Illustration Fund," acknowledging in each case the entire increased subscription.

Mr. Graves observed that the suggestion appeared to him a good one. Several gentlemen who had thus increased their subscriptions had requested him not to record their names for the 4s. donation to the Illustration Fund, but merely to put it to the credit of that fund without any remark.

Mr. Duffy said that if some had actually made that request, no doubt there were many others of the same way of thinking who, however, from motives of delicacy made no remark.

It was then unanimously agreed to adopt the Chairman's suggestion.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

By the Publisher : "The Gentleman's Magazine" for August, September, and October, 1863.

By Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq.: "The Reliquary," Nos. 1-14, inclusive.

By the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: their "Journal," Nos. 77, 78.

By the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: their "Proceedings" for 1861-2.

By the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne: "A Catalogue" of their Library.

By the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society: their "Magazine," No. 23.

By the Numismatic Society: their "Journal," new series, No. 10.

By Robert Mac Adam, Esq.: "The Ulster Journal of Archaeology," No. 36.

By the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: their "Report and Communications," No. 13.

By the Publisher: "The Builder," Nos. 1072-1080, inclusive.

By the Royal Institution of Cornwall: their "Forty-ninth Annual Report."

By the Sussex Archaeological Society: their "Collections," Vol. XV.

By the Author: "Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Bootertown and Donnybrook," second edition enlarged, by the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, A. M.; also by the same: "Dublin, What's to be seen, and How to see it;" a Catalogue of Books by Ellis, and a portion of the file of "Faulkner's Dublin Journal" for the year 1752, comprising twenty-two odd numbers. The issue for "Tuesday, November 3rd, O. S., November 14th, N. S.," in that year contained the following curious notice of the celebration of the birth day of King George II., in Kilkenny:—

"Kilkenny, Nov. 10. This being his Majesty Birth Day, it was observed here with the highest Signals of Joy. The Morning was ushered in with ringing of Bells; a Doe Hunt was intended by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount Castlecomer, to divert the Gentlemen of the Country; but that was prevented by an uncommon Quantity of Snow which fell the preceding Night. His Lordship about two o'Clock came to the House of Mr. John Blunt, in this City, where, by his Appointment, a very elegant Entertainment was prepared. He met the Mayor of the City, the Lord Bishop of Ossory, and many of the Clergy; all the Officers in the Garrison, and a great Number of other Gentlemen. After Dinner a long String of loyal Toasts went round, such as, Long Life and safe Return to his Majesty, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Princess Dowager of Wales and all the Royal Family, the Duke of Cumberland, and all his Majesty's Forces, the Glorious Memory of King William, the Duke of Newcastle, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Lords Justices separately, Prosperity to the County and City of Kilkenny, &c., &c., &c. At Night there were Bonfires and Illuminations, and a Grand Ball at the

Tholsel, where several brilliant Beauties appeared, for Plenty of whom, this City is remarkable. All was conducted and concluded with the greatest Regularity, Unanimity, and Signals of the most sincere Loyalty."

By Mr. J. Meany, Graigue, county of Kilkenny: a tin box containing some documents connected with the family of Kirwan, of Galway, amongst which was a grant of King George III., on the 31st of July, in the thirteenth year of his reign, with the great seal of England attached, removing the legal disability affecting the right of Ambrose Kirwan, son of Thomas Kirwan, of the county of Galway, Esq., to succeed to and enter on the possession of the property of his father, deceased.

Mr. Prim said this document was much injured by damp, and in part illegible, but it set forth that Ambrose Kirwan had, in 1743, embarked from Cork for Bourdeaux, and having continued there for some time trading as a merchant, subsequently proceeded to Nantz, where he failed in business, was reduced to great straits for a means of livelihood, and was imprisoned for debt, when a French officer, named Betagh, induced him, on the terms of paying off the debts and procuring his release, to enlist in King James' regiment of horse, in the French service; and accordingly, in the year 1746, he embarked from Ostend, on board the "Bourbon," a French transport, with other recruits, but on the voyage they were taken by a British ship, and carried prisoners to Dover Castle, and subsequently removed to Canterbury. Whilst there it was found that he had become entitled, by the death of his father in January, 1771, and elder brother, Martin, 3rd of September of same year, to a considerable estate in the county of Galway, but his right of inheritance was barred by the act which declared all persons enlisting into the service of the Kings of France and Spain guilty of high treason. The object of the present grant was, therefore, to declare the removal of his outlawry and forgiveness of all treasons, felonies, and crimes imputed to him, and render him fully qualified to receive and enjoy the family inheritance and enter thereupon. Mr. Meany could give no account of these documents, except that he had found them amongst the books and papers of his brother, the late Mr. D. Meany, of Graigue.

By Mr. James O'Bryan, the Schoolhouse, Jenkinstown: a round perforated stone, of the class known by the peasantry as "fairy millstones" (but much larger than the usual size, being $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter), which had been dug up by a labourer at a few feet from the surface of some land adjoining Jenkinstown demesne.

The Rev. J. Graves observed that some of these stones were used as weights for the spindle. He had no doubt that the unusually large specimen now exhibited had been intended for that purpose.

By the Rev. John O'Sullivan, P. P., of Kenmare: an old trans-

lation of the charter of James I., in the fourth year of his reign, to the Sovereign, Burgesses, and Commons of Dingle, county of Kerry.

The Rev. Thomas O'Carroll, P.P., of Clonoulty, near Cashel, sent a ground plan of the existing remains of Athassel Priory, in the county of Tipperary. Mr. O'Carroll had himself acted as the surveyor, and carefully laid down the plan to scale. From this plan the ruins of the priory would appear to be most extensive, and extremely interesting.

By the Rev. Charles Vignoles, Rector of Clonmacnoise: rubbings of two recently discovered old Irish inscribed tombstones, from the ruins of Clonmacnoise. The rubbings were made by Mr. Molloy. One bore the inscription *Op do bonuit*,—a prayer for Bonuit. The other *Op Comgan*,—a prayer (for) Comgan. An incised cross of the peculiar ancient Irish fashion was sculptured on each stone.

Mr. Graves said that Mr. Molloy, whose farm adjoined the ruins of Clonmacnoise, was a most intelligent man. He (Mr. Graves) had shown him how to take rubbings of the tombs by means of grass—which for coarse sandstone was much better than heelball—and the result was that he had taken rubbings of nearly all the very old Irish tombs at Clonmacnoise, in the most excellent style. Those now sent were of tombs recently discovered, and probably belonged to the seventh or eighth century. Mr. Vignoles had also transmitted to the Society two bronze ring pins of the class described by Wilde, in his "Catalogue" of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 561, fig. 461. One of the pins was 9 inches long, and bore some very elaborate and interesting ornamentation. They were recently discovered in digging up an old by-road or *boreen*, at Clonmacnoise. As the finder was a very poor man, he (Mr. Graves) had given 10*s.* from the Society's funds, to be paid to him for the pins, for which he hoped to have the sanction of the meeting.

The sanction of the meeting was at once given for the outlay, the pins, which were laid before them, being deemed a very desirable addition to the museum.

By Robert Malcomson, Esq., Carlow: an impression, in wax, of a seal recently found by a labourer while digging in the parish of Kilmore, county of Cavan, and now in the possession of the Rev. C. P. Meehan, of Dublin. The material is bronze; the device a shield charged with an oak tree between a lion rampant and a dexter hand couped at the wrist (being the O'Reilly arms) surmounted by a coronet, and the legend round the verge, *HVGQ . KELLIVS . KILLMOREN . VIC . APOST.* There could be little doubt that it was the seal of Hugh O'Reilly, who was Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore, and subsequently Archbishop of Armagh, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Malcomson observed :—

“ I consider this to have been the ecclesiastical seal of Hugh O'Reilly, who was R. C. Bishop of Kilmore, and subsequently Archbishop of Armagh, about the middle of the seventeenth century. The arms upon the seal, however, do not appear to be those of either see, but were probably the prelate's family arms.¹

“ A notice of Hugh O'Reilly will be found in Stuart's ‘History of Armagh’ (pages 352 and following), where he is classed as the successor of Dr. Hugh Mac Caghwell, and the predecessor of Dr. Edmund O'Reilly in the primacy ; and his name appears the first in the list of spiritual peers in the assembly of Confederate Catholics who met at Kilkenny in January, 1646–7. Stuart informs us (on the authority of the ‘Hib. Dom.’), that ‘before his promotion to the see of Armagh he was bishop of Kilmore; and some of his official acts performed whilst he presided in that diocese are still on record.’ In all probability the antique in question was the very instrument which attested those documents.

“ In a letter from Bishop Bedell to the Archbishop of Canterbury (dated April, 1630), that eminent prelate, writing of the Roman Catholic clergy, says : ‘The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house ; the bishop in another part of my diocese further off.’ Toineymore Castle, near the ruins of which the seal was discovered, is distant about two miles from the episcopal palace of Kilmore, and was probably the residence of Hugh O'Reilly at the period in which Bedell wrote.”

Mr. Robertson exhibited a flooring tile, from the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, which had been recently turned up in bringing the flooring to the original level. The type of the ornamental pattern (a fleur-de-lis) on the tile was similar to some of the specimens from St. Canice's Cathedral which were in their Society's Museum.

Mr. Prim referred to a paper on the discovery of some ancient tombs in the Black Abbey which he had contributed to the Society's Transactions in 1851. In that paper he had embodied a statement made to him by the late Mr. John Glindon, of Newbuilding-lane, who had informed him that when the ruins of the transept of the Abbey were being roofed in and restored for the purposes of divine worship, about fifty years since, he (Mr. Glindon) had acted as overseer of the works. One portion of the statement was, that at the original floor level, which till within the past month had been covered up to the height of about three feet, the workmen had found a portion of the old flooring of encaustic tiles in quite a perfect state, and had so left it, when filling in the earth to raise the modern floor. The

¹ The arms of the families of O'Reilly of East Brefny, Knockabbey Castle, and Baltrasna, are given by Sir Bernard Burke as follow :— “ Arms—Quarterly 1st and 4th vert; a dexter hand proper, bloody, supported by two lions rampant or; 2nd and 3rd arg. on a mound an oak

with a snake descending its trunk ppr.

“ Crests—1st. an oak tree with a snake entwined descendant ppr. issuing out of a ducal coronet or; 2nd. an arm mailed in armour couped at the elbow, the gauntlet grasping a dagger, all ppr.

“ Supporters—Two lions or.”

recent clearing away of this modern floor by the Rev. Messrs. Connolly and Skelly, O. S. D., did not sustain this statement, only two or three encaustic tiles having been found scattered amongst the rubbish, so far as he (Mr. Prim) could ascertain. Another portion of the statements of Mr. Glindon averred that some half dozen ancient stone coffins had been covered up under the modern floor. The fact now appeared that there had been only two stone coffins thus concealed, and they had now been removed to the avenue or approach to the Abbey from Blackmill-street.

Mr. George Morant, Jun., of Shirley House, Carrickmacross, sent drawings of two very curious antiques found recently in a crannoge, or artificial island residence, in Monalty Lake, near Carrickmacross. Mr. Morant wrote:—

"I send you a drawing of a very beautiful neck ornament, which three of my sons and I found last week, whilst searching a crannoge in Monalty Lake, near this place. We found also a highly finished little ornament in bronze, very like a watch key, the barrel having within it indications of iron rust. This crannoge is close to the shore of the lake, and, in the low state of the water this summer, was accessible by wading over a few yards of mud. In searching along the little beach on the exposed side of the island, my son observed the top of the handle of the jewelled ornament just projecting above the gravel and stones, and boggy mud, of which the beach is composed. He drew it out, and to our surprise and delight we beheld what I have endeavoured to pourtray in the sketch. The jewel, which you will observe is oval, and set transparently, is, I imagine, a rock crystal; it has numerous flaws within it. The crystal and silver setting measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ across, and is much corroded on the front. The little points are surrounded with a cable twist, as is the jewel setting, of exquisite workmanship. The small ornament like a watch key I found immediately afterwards, lying on the surface of the boggy soil higher up the beach, and close under the winter level of the water. This crannoge has been long ago searched and 'hoked' by a man, now dead, who was in the habit of selling the bronze pins, bits of comb, and other relict which he found, to my uncle, the late E. J. Shirley, Esq., of Lough Fea; so that I attribute our good fortune in finding these curiosities to the fact that the water has been lower this year than has ever before been known. I should be glad to learn from you whether these ancient relics are of a rare order. In another crannoge in Rahans Lake, also near this, we found five Queen Mary shillings, fused into a mass, a bronze pin, and flat spear head, and a stone celt. We also found the hearthstone and a quantity of ashes. The piles around this island are still visible above the water."

Mr. Graves said that he had submitted the drawing to Mr. Albert Way, who, so far as he could judge in the absence of the original, conceived the pendant ornament to be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. He (Mr. Graves) thought the other antique might have been a harp pin.

Mr. G. V. Du Noyer, in reference to the engraving of the stone mould for celts, given at page 307, *supra*, observed with regard to the casting produced by the mould:—

"My idea of this casting is, that the upper portion just above the loop and raised lip was intended to be *removed*, *cut*, or *filed* away, before the implement was fit for use, and that the introduction of this upper angular portion was for the purpose of avoiding the portion of metal last poured into the mould, which, of course, would be more oxydized than that which first flowed from the ladle. Thus the body of the celt would be entirely formed of the purest metal. I think also that cruciform ridges on this removable portion were produced by indentations made for the purpose of giving freer scope to the metal when entering the mould, and to allow of the escape of air. On the opposite side from that engraved the indentations are not so regularly cruciform."

With regard to the same subject, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe suggested that "socketed," not "pocketed celt," would be a more fitting designation of the casting supposed to be produced by the mould.

The Rev. Mr. Graves read a letter from the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe—whose various writings on English bells and bell-ringing are so well known—suggesting that the attention of the Society ought to be called to the desirability of ascertaining how many *old* bells there are in Ireland, and where they are to be found, with their legends, and particularly the stamps and founders' marks upon them, which should be taken off by rubbing or squeezing. Mr. Graves expressed a hope that all the members would aid in forming such a catalogue of ancient Irish bells, which were fast disappearing. He himself, in the "History" of that church, had preserved the legends on the old bells of St. Canice's Cathedral. These bells were recently recast.

Mr. Prim stated that he had a few days since requested the Rev. John F. Shearman, R.C.C., Dunlavin, county of Wicklow, to procure for the Society a rubbing of the inscription on the old bell which formerly belonged to the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, at present suspended in the market-house of Dunlavin. Mr. Shearman had promised to attend to the suggestion.

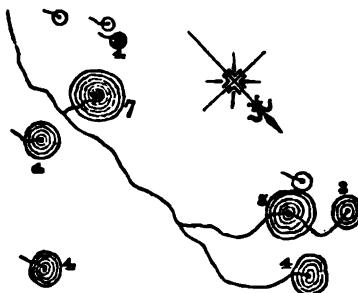
The Rev. James Graves said that the Very Rev. Dean Graves had, in February, 1860, read before the Royal Irish Academy a paper "On a hitherto undescribed class of Monumental Stones found in Ireland" ("Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. vii., pp. 276-7). This paper, it was much to be regretted, has not yet been printed, and the only clue the public have to its nature is the statement that, these rock carvings were supposed by Dean Graves to have served as rude maps "of the raths, duns, and lisses, which are found to be, in general, three by three in straight lines,

in all parts of Ireland." It was a fact, however, that these mysterious rock carvings are not confined to Ireland ; they are to be found on the flanks of the Cheviot Hills, in the Orkneys, near Edinburgh, in Yorkshire, and they abound in Northumberland. Their general type is that of a central cup, or depression, surrounded by one or more concentric rings, through which latter a groove is cut leading from the central cup. By the kindness of a member of this Society, Mr. Richardson Smith, now resident in Scotland, he (Mr. Graves) was enabled to lay before the meeting rubbings taken by him from similar inscribed rocks existing in Argyleshire, on the estate of John Malcolm, Esq., of Poltalloch, accompanied by an elaborately detailed plan of these curious markings, drawn at the request of Mr. Smith by Mr. H. D. Graham to a scale of 2 inches to 10 feet. Two portions have been engraved, two thirds smaller than the original map, and serve to illustrate the following communication from the pen of Mr. Graham, the entire map being so large as to prevent its reproduction in the pages of our "Journal":—

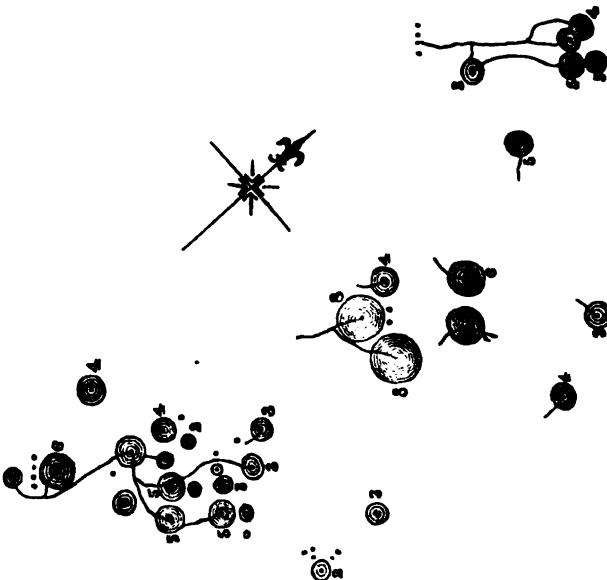
" Every one who has ever passed through the Crinan Canal on the way to the West Highlands will remember the low moory hills round Lochgilphead, which give way to the great open dreary expanse of the Crinan Moss ; all this district, both hills and moss, is rich in objects of antiquarian interest—standing stones, cairns, and other ancient British remains, as well as kilts, crosses, and tombstones of a later period ; but the subject now alluded to probably belongs to the former class.

" About three miles out of Lochgilphead, along the old road to Kilmichael, after passing the farm of Stanalane, marked by its solitary standing stone (whence its name of *Stand alone* in contradistinction to the many groups of similar stones either formerly or still standing), and on the farm of Achnabreck (the spotted field), the ground is very rough and broken ; but after climbing up the brae about 300 yards off the road, on the right, one comes upon a smooth bank of rock sloping at an angle of about 25° like an open desk, some 100 yards in length. The surface of this rock bank is extremely smooth, like a sea-worn rock ; so hard and smooth is it, that the thin vegetation which masks the surrounding bank has been utterly unable to obtain a footing on these hard rugged knuckles, which have probably been held up to the face of heaven since the period which geologists call the Glacial. The resident shepherd called it the 'Slippery Stone,' from his charge sometimes losing their legs when crossing it in slippery weather, and the strange marks cut in its face he attributed to some benevolent genii or Druids (to whom everything unaccountable is attributed), to save the black cattle's legs ; and so it remained unnoticed till recently, when it was observed by Mr. Richardson Smith, who a year or two ago found a rude carving, something similar to these, on a slab forming part of a stone cist, containing bones and flint flakes, apparently of the Stone Period, which slab is now in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum. The face of this rock is incised all over with circular markings, which can only be likened to tattooing. They consist of numbers of circular figures formed by one, two, or more, up to eight, concen-

tric rings, round a central cup an inch or more deep, and two inches diameter ; the rings are about half an inch deep, and very rude and irregular. The peculiar feature common to all is, a little pipe or conduit



cut from the centre through the surrounding rings, and extending some inches, or sometimes feet, beyond their circumference ; and though they generally lead in the direction of the decline of the rock, it is not invariably so ; these conduits are the same depth as the rings, so would not drain the central cup, even if cut in the best direction for securing a fall for water. The larger specimens of these figures have eight rings, making a



diameter of a yard ; four¹ or five is the commonest number, though there

¹ The figures on the cuts represent the number of rings in the carvings to which the yare attached ; on the upper

cut the figure 4 has been attached to a two-ringed carving by mistake of the engraver.

are many with only two or one, besides many cups without any rings at all, which dimple the face of the rock all over for an extent of two hundred feet long, and about twenty broad. In all cases there is great uniformity in the depth and diameter of the centre cups, however much the number of surrounding rings may be. Some of the *spouts* are carried to a considerable length, and intersect and communicate with one another. The only exception to this uniformity is in one figure, on the highest part of the rock, which is a sort of kidney shape, without any cups. About one hundred yards to the S. E. of this rock is another very similar one, though more covered by a thin coating of turf; but on the surface which is exposed are some dozen or so of figures, exact repetitions of those just described, and probably many more lie hid under the growth of vegetation. Inquiry led to the discovery of the popular name of this rock. Of course, in the Highlands these names are very ancient, and can be depended upon; and though they commonly are only descriptive of some peculiarity of the spot, or named after some saint, yet often they are of obsolete Gaelic, such as is only found in Ossian, or Armstrong's Dictionary, and unintelligible to the peasants of the present day; or else the name is of such suggestive import that one instinctively feels that 'thereby hangs a tale,' and the name of this rock with its barbarous decoration does not disappoint one: it is 'Leac na Sluagh,' 'the flat rock of the host or army.' The word Slogan is derived from this word; and it is worth remarking that many of these clan war cries relate to rocks, such as, *Craig an fhùthich*, Raven's Rock—MacDonald; *Croit' u*, Black Rock—M'Pherson; *Carn na cuimhne*, Braemar; *Craig eileachaid*, (a rock on the Spey)—Grants; and several more; as well as in the crests and armorial bearings of several clans do rocks figure very frequently. These carvings are in a district so full of old standing stones, and other mementoes of the most remote or prehistoric period, and are not dissimilar to the rude circular pattern cut on the cist stone, as well as that which is carved on the *Coil Stone* at Kyle, Ayrshire, a drawing of which is given in Wilson's 'Prehistoric Annals of Scotland,' and bears two figures almost identical with them, though wanting the *spout*; and another stone, which he also gives a figure of, has a very similar device carved on it, both of which stones he attributes to the Stone or earliest Bronze Period, so that it is presumable that these also belong to the same. Their meaning, or what they were intended for, is of course for the learned to conjecture. This notice, such as it is, may perhaps lead to some further light being thrown upon their history by those qualified to judge of such matters, or better still should it induce them to come and see for themselves."

The discovery by Mr. Smith of the slab, apparently obtained from a similar carved surface, and used in a sepulchral cist containing burned bones and flint flakes, serves to prove that the carvings belong to a people as old, if not older than the tribes who burned their dead, and buried the calcined remains in small cists made of stone slabs, and who used flint flakes as weapons and tools. In conclusion, Mr. Graves said that it would be most desirable that some account of the Irish incised rocks of this nature should be published, and asked the attention of the members to the subject.

The Rev. James Graves reported the discovery of a most interesting sepulchral chamber on the property of the Rev. Walter Giffard, near Sleabha-Keiltha Hill, in the county of Wexford, which, by the kindness of that gentleman, he had the pleasure of inspecting last August. A detailed notice of this discovery will require to be illustrated by engravings, which are in course of preparation.

Mr. Wilson, Collector of Inland Revenue, Wexford, sent the following notice of the monument of the Galmoy family in the Abbey of Graigue, county of Kilkenny :—

“ I send a copy of the inscription on the Galmoy monument in Graigue Abbey :—

[Two shields of Arms].

Non fortior quam justus.

D. O. M.

Edwardus Butler Eques auratus.
Ill^m ac Nob^m primus vice Comes de Gal-
moye. Dominus de Low Grange, Barrow-
monte, Balliogan, &c.

Vir generis splendore, integritate vitæ, morum
suavitate, prudentia, liberalitate, hospitalitate, verè
fidei zelo, aliisq. viri vere nobilis ornamentis con-
spicuus, reip. in qua publica recte sepe administra-
uit munera, amans et utilis copiosæ prolis optimus
parens, sibi uxori susæ nob^m matronæ Annæ But-
ler liberis ac posteris unde bene et splendide vi-
verent providit, ubi cum illo defuncti in Domino
quiescerunt sepulchrum hoc posuit,

Bene illis precare viator
et te mortalem ac moriturum cogita.

“ Which may be thus translated :—

Not more brave than just.
To God most excellent, most mighty.

Edward Butler, Baronet. The most illustrious, and most noble first Viscount of Galmoye, Lord of Low Grange, Barrowmount, Balliogan, &c.

A man, by the splendour of his race, the integrity of his life, the suavity of his manners, by his prudence, liberality, hospitality, zeal for

the true faith, and other accomplishments of the truly noble man, conspicuous in the state in which he well and frequently filled public offices; the loving, useful, and most excellent parent of a numerous offspring; for himself, for his wife, the most noble matron, Anne Butler; for his children and posterity, whence they might well and splendidly live, he has provided; when with him having died in the Lord, that they might rest, he this sepulchre hath made.

Traveller, for them duly pray, and reflect that thou art subject to death, and soon to die.

"When the present Catholic church, which forms part of the ancient abbey, was being built in 1813, the monument was found amongst the rubbish, and was built into the external wall of the vestry. It appears to be black Kilkenny marble; it has lost its polish, but is in other respects uninjured, and a little trouble would restore it to its original beauty. It is very respectable as a specimen of monumental art—very superior to the work of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. I have no doubt it was originally fixed inside the church. From the absence of any dates it would appear to have been erected during the lifetime of the first Viscount Galmoy, as was the case with the Mountgarret monument in the Cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. It is surmounted with three shields of arms, which are in the main the same as those of the Ormonde family. The falcon crest, the chief indented, the lion sable, the three cups, and the saltier, are common to both. The Galmoy family appear to have had extensive possessions in that neighbourhood. The date of creation of the viscountcy was 1646. The last holder of the title was Piers, the third Viscount, who held a high command in the army of King James, as, I believe, general of cavalry. Indeed, the bulk of the Irish cavalry in that war appears to have been raised in the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, adjoining Graigue. The property was forfeited, and the Viscount attainted in 1697, but for what offence I know not. It could not have been for his participation in the Stuart war; for, as he formed one of the garrison of Limerick at the time of its surrender, he would have had the benefit of the articles of surrender. Indeed, he appears as one of the Irish Commissioners mentioned in the treaty itself, next after Sarsfield. I believe the Galmoy title is the only one of those which had been under attainder in connexion with the Stuart wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to which an heir exists, the attainder of which has not been reversed."

Mr. Prim said he had copied this inscription in 1841, as well as an inscription on what appeared to be the base of an old wayside cross erected to a member of the Mountgarret family, now in the porch of one of the entrance doors of the chapel of Graigue. As to the attainder of Lord Galmoy, his case might have been similar to that of many of the Irish proprietors—for instance, Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, who had been one of the Commissioners for arranging the treaty of surrender—who, although privileged to avail themselves of the articles of Limerick, and remain at home to

enjoy their estates, preferred to proceed to France with King James, and thus incurred the forfeiture of their titles and properties.

The following paper was contributed:—

**A NOTICE OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT, IN A. D. 1596, OF
THE CITY OF DERRY BY THE ENGLISH, TO ITS BURN-
ING BY SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY, IN A. D. 1608.**

BY ARTHUR GERALD 'GEOGHEGAN.

THROUGH the courtesy of Alexander Lindsay, Esq., Mayor of Derry, I am enabled to send the Society photographs of the civic chain, mace, and state swords belonging to the ancient city of which he is the chief magistrate. The chain, which is silver gilt, measures upwards of ten feet in length. From the corporate records it appears that, about a century since, three chains were ordered to be made, according to a pattern submitted by a silversmith in Dublin, one for the mayor, and two for the sheriffs,—the corporation of Derry having the privilege of electing two sheriffs from an early date. This privilege was exercised down to comparatively a recent period. In the Ordnance Survey for the city of Derry, a list of mayors and sheriffs is furnished in unbroken succession from 1662 to 1836. It is, therefore, probable that on the abolition of this privilege in 1841, on the passing of the Municipal Bill, those three chains were linked together, so as to form the one now worn by the Mayor of Derry during his year of office.

The medallion, which is also of silver gilt, was presented by William III., after the memorable siege of 1688; it bears his likeness on one side, with the words GUILM. III. DEI GRA. REX, and on



the reverse the arms of the city of Derry. From the above woodcut of the corporation seal of 1613 it will be seen that these arms are of

a peculiar and somewhat ghastly character ; they bear date from this original corporate seal of 1613. The figure of a skeleton, seated on a bank or rock, with a tower (the heraldic emblem of a city), on the dexter side, is popularly believed to have had its origin as an allusion to the fate of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, by whom the city was destroyed in 1608. Sir Cahir is supposed, according to local tradition, to have been starved to death in his tower or castle, at Buncrana. This, however, the original grant by Ulster King of Arms in 1613, quoted in the Ordnance Survey, it is asserted, proves to be a fallacy, it runs thus :—

"The armes of y^e cittie of Derrie were at first, when the Ho^{bis} Sir Henry Docwra knight made the plantation thereof against the arch traytoure Hugh, sometime Earle of Tyrone, the picture of death (or a skeleton), sitting on a massive stone, and on the dexter point a castle; and for as much as that cittie was since most traytourouslie sacked, and destroyed by S^r Cahire (or S^r Charles) O'Dogherty, and hath since bene (as it were) raysed from the dead, by the worthy undertakinge of the Ho^{bis} cittie of London, in memorie whereof, it is henceforth called by the name of London-derrie, I have at the request of John Rowley, now first Mayor of that cittie, and the commonaltie of the same, set forth the same armes wth an addition of a chief of the armes of London, as here appeareth ; and for a confirmation thereof, I have heereunto set my hand and seale, the first of June, 1613.

" DAN: MOLINEUX, *Ulster King.*"

The mace is silver, figured in the accompanying plate, and without particular artistic merit; the stem is not solid, but consists of silver casing on an oak shaft. This is the identical mace referred to by Captain Ash, in his narrative of the siege of 1688, in the following extract :—

" August 4.—Major-General Kirk came to Derry, accompanied by Colonel Stuart, and several English officers; they alighted at Bishop's Gate, and went through Bishop Street, the Diamond, and Butcher Street, to Governor Mitchelbourne's. The Governors Michelbourne and Walker were with him, on each hand; the *Sword and Mace* were borne by Lieut.-Col. Campsey, and Mr. John Moor; Alderman Squire, and Alderman Cocker, had their gowns on, in company with a good many persons of all sorts. A guard was formed on both sides of the street; the officers standing at the head of their poor half-starved soldiers, all the way from Bishop's Gate to Governor Mitchelbourne's house, where Major-General Kirk dined."

There are two swords, of which I send photographs. No. 2 on plate is evidently a state weapon, and, although dating from before the siege, has no intrinsic value beyond its association therewith; I have no doubt but that this is the sword mentioned in the foregoing extract. The word *Londonderry* is raised in rude letters on the circular knob of the handle ; there is no maker's name on the

blade, and the whole character of the sword is that of one intended to be borne by civic functionaries on state occasions and festivals.

No. 1 on plate is a weapon of a different aspect. It was presented by the city of London to the city of Derry, in the year 1616, a genuine "*Andrea Ferara*," with the maker's name stamped on both sides of the blade. It is well balanced, and has a soldierly and serviceable look. The blade measures two feet ten inches, the handle is ten inches, and is cased with silver chain mail; the cross bar, polished steel, ten inches also in length. In addition to the maker's name the letters "I H S" are impressed on the blade; but frequent cleaning has obliterated "Andrea" on the side photographed for the engraver, where also the sacred monogram reads "H I S."

The fate of this chieftain is intimately connected with the earlier annals of Derry, and the supposed fact of his sword being now carried in peaceful triumph by its civic officers is so suggestive of a retrospect to his brief and memorable career, that I have been induced to make a short extract of the leading events from the first settlement of Derry by the English in 1596, to its total destruction in 1608; premising that, in doing so, I have freely availed myself of the condensed information supplied in the first and only volume of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, as well as of the valuable aid found in the notes to Connellan's edition of the "*Four Masters*," in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan; and in Hempton's "*Siege and History of Londonderry*"—a work which, although meagre in original literary matter, is trustworthy as a compilation. I am further induced to make the attempt, as I consider that two of the most remarkable men of the period mentioned, so far as Derry is concerned, have been unfairly treated by posterity—I mean Sir Cahir O'Doherty, and Sir Henry Docwra. A premeditated political rebellion having been attributed to the former, when in truth it was nothing more than a sudden outburst caused by gross personal provocation; while the services of the latter, although one of the ablest captains of the day, have been overlooked, or coldly acknowledged, even in the very city that owes its corporate origin and existence to his exertions. To render justice, therefore, to both Celt and Saxon—to clear the lamp of historical truth from the mists of prejudice and misrepresentation, and let its light shine on a dark page of our country's annals—is the task that I have undertaken. If I do not succeed, most assuredly the failure will arise, not from want of heartiness in the work, but from lack of ability to accomplish it.

Derry, in Irish *Ooipe*, means literally "*a place of oaks*;" but the word was not used topographically by the ancient Irish without the addition of some distinctive epithet; thus the original Pagan appellation of this place was *Ooipe Calgach*, or *Derry Calgach*, "*the oak wood of Calgach*." *Calgach*, according to the Ordnance Survey,



No. 1.

No. 2.

SWORDS AND MACE OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDONDERRY.

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from which the foregoing and subsequent information is extracted, means a "fierce warrior"—the *Galgacus* of Tacitus. For a long period subsequent to the sixth century, in which a monastery was erected here by St. Columbkille, the name of *Derry Calgach* prevailed, but towards the latter end of the tenth century it seems to have yielded to that of *Derry Columbkille*. From the year 546, when, according to the best authorities, a monastery was built by the celebrated St. Columbkille on the "pleasant eminence of Derry covered with oaks," to the year 1566, the history of Derry is ecclesiastical, and is identical with that of other similar establishments in Ireland. Thus for more than 1000 years we have a registry¹ of successive bishops, a notice of pious gifts to the shrine of St. Columbkille, a frequent record of the plundering of Derry Calgach by foreigners, and burning of the churches by native clans, and pirates. A mention, in A. D. 1198, of a marauding visit of De Courcey to Derry; a similar expedition, in 1214, of Thomas de Galloway, Earl of Athol; another, in 1222, by Neal O'Neill, who "plundered Derry, and the daughter of O'Kane!" affording, as it is truly remarked, "a saddening illustration of the insecurity of life and property, and the amount of misery and confusion which were the inevitable results of such a social system." Truth compels us to state that those depredations were as frequently committed by the native Irish as by foreigners. Especial mention is made in 1197 "of Mac Etig, one of the Kianachts, who robbed the altar of the Temple More of Derry, carrying away four of the richest goblets in Ireland, viz.: one called Mac Riabac (*worth 60 cows*); a second, called the goblet of O'Maoldoraidh (O'Muldorry); and the goblet of O'Doherty, called Cam copann (crooked goblet)—he broke them to pieces, and took off their jewels." However, it is satisfactory to add, that on the third day afterwards the jewels were recovered, and the robber arrested, and subsequently hanged at Cpor na picg (the cross of execution) in Derry, as a warning to all Celtic evildoers. Assuredly this Cpor na picg was needed on the solitary island of the Foyle, for the walls of its monastery afforded but slight protection to the good monks of Saint Columbkille. Neither the property nor the lives of these holy men were ever safe; not only were their churches burned over their heads; their shrines plundered, and their altars profaned, but frequently they sealed with blood their efforts to humanize the lawless men, by whom they were surrounded. Thus we read, in 1213, that, when O'Kane and the Pip na Cpaóibe (men of the Creeve) came to Derry, to storm the house of the sons of Mac Loughlin, the vicar of the church

¹ Among the celebrated men who were born in Derry or its immediate neighbourhood we find, in A. D. 516, St. Ca-

nice, the friend and cotemporary of St. Columbkille, and the patron saint of Kilkenny, and the Diocese of Ossory.

of Derry, who interposed to make peace between them, was slain. Again, in A. D. 1261, sixteen of the most distinguished of the clergy of Tyrone were slain at Derry by Connor O'Neill and the Kinel Owen, assisted by Conor O'Firgel (now O'Friel)—a sad record of a turbulent age.

Up to the middle of the sixteenth century, we find that Derry was in the hands of the native Irish ; around it were grouped the O'Dohertys, the O'Donnells, and (separated by the River Foyle) the O'Cahans or O'Kanes. In the reign of Elizabeth, A. D. 1565, an attempt was made to plant a garrison in Derry. Cox, in his "Hibernia Anglicana," states that in the July of that year an army of 700 men was sent from England to Derry under the command of Colonel Randolph, and there they intrenched and kept themselves safe until the Lord Deputy (Sir Henry Sydney) came to them ; and having staid there six days, left them 50 horse under Captain Harvey, and 700 foot under Captain Cornwal, with a competent supply of ammunition, victuals, and other necessaries.

The English were not left long in quiet possession of their new settlement. In 1566, Shane O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, having collected an army of 2500 foot, and 300 horse, encamped within two miles of Derry. The garrison sallied out, according to Cox, with a force of 300 foot and 50 horse, and attacked the Irish ; a battle ensued, in which O'Neill was defeated with a loss of 400 men. With that remarkable economy of truth, which distinguishes the statements of Cox in such matters, the loss of the English is set down as one man ! but that one was their gallant commander, Colonel Randolph—a loss, which, even in the judgment of the learned judge, would more than balance the numbers slain on the Irish side. Accordingly we find that in 1568, in consequence of an explosion of the powder magazine, by which the town and fort were injured, and many lives lost, the English abandoned Derry. It is stated the explosion was an accidental one : whether it was so, or not, we cannot now say, but we may safely reject O'Sullivan's statement, that the disaster was caused by a wolf with a lighted torch in its mouth, rushing into the magazine, in punishment of the violation of the church and cell of St. Columbkille by the English soldiers. However, whether the explosion was accidental or otherwise, the result was equally the same ; the colony was broken up, and the garrison withdrawn, the foot soldiers embarking for Dublin, and the cavalry returning to the same place. Captain George Harvey and his troop, being loath to kill their horses, boldly resolved to march round through Tyrconnell and Connaught to Dublin—a journey which, though full of hazard and danger, was safely accomplished, to "the great admiration of the Lord Deputy and Council." Taking into consideration the local obstacles he had to overcome, the nature of the country he had to travel, the length of the

journey, and the number of enemies that beset him on all sides, this march of Captain Harvey's through a hostile country, with a force not exceeding 200 horse, was as gallant and daring an exploit as any we read of in the civil wars; and may be placed fairly beside the retreat of O'Sullivan Beare, in 1602, from the passes of Glen-gariff to the country of O'Rorke, after the fall of the Castle of Dunboy. A long interval now elapsed, during which the bell from the slender tower of the Temple Mor, that rose above the wooded slope of Derry, called the native clans to worship in peace at the shrine of St. Columbkille; and for thirty-two years the kerns of the O'Cahans and O'Dohertys drank the waters of the well of the three saints under the shadows of the abbey walls, undisturbed by the presence of a Saxon soldier. Yet it must not be imagined that Elizabeth's generals during this interval were not aware of the importance of the position. Placed on an island, containing at that time, according to Sir Henry Docwra, about forty acres, beside a noble river, navigable to the sea by ships of the largest tonnage, commanding on land the flanking passes that led to the countries of the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, and the O'Dohertys, Derry, in a military point of view, was the Acropolis of the North. Thus we find that one of the chief articles of complaint brought against the Earl of Essex was his neglect to fulfil the instructions given to him to plant a garrison there. "How often," Elizabeth indignantly writes—"how often have you resolved me, that until Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon are planted, there could be no hope of doing service on the capital rebels!"

The ecclesiastical quiet that lay during these thirty-two years over the secluded sanctuary of the Foyle, was in the year 1600 finally broken. On the 16th of May, in that year, Sir Henry Docwra, with a force of 4000 foot and 200 horse, and a fleet of 67 ships and transports, entered Lough Foyle, effected a landing at Culmore, after some opposition from the Irish; and in six days afterwards was master of Derry.

The circumstances connected with this important expedition are told by the Commander himself, in a manuscript entitled :— "*A Narrative of the Services done by the Army y'mployed to Lough Foyle, under the leading of mee, Sir Henry Dowra Knt.*" This manuscript is preserved in the library of the Ordnance Survey; and the extracts from it in the first and only volume published by that department are so interesting, that the non-appearance of the continuation of the narrative, in the promised second volume, is not the least of the many regrets that we experience from the stopping of the publication of that national work.

The narrative is well written; devoid of boasting or exaggeration, its language is concise, plain, and graphic; its details, set down with soldierly brevity, are exact and truthful; forming a

marked distinction in this to the unscrupulous misrepresentations and misstatements of cotemporary writers. After acquainting us that the expedition was to consist of 4000 foot and 200 horse (3000 of the foot and all the horse being levied in England), Sir Henry mentions—

" That he sailed with this contingent from Helbree, neere vnto West-chester, on the 24th April, 1600, to Knockfergus [Carrickfergus], and there remained 8 days, awaiting the arrival of the other 1000 foot which were to be drafted from the old companies about Dublin. The last of them coming in by the 6th of May, on the 7th wee sett saile againe, and the wind often fayling, and sometimes full against us, it was the 14th before wee could putt into the mouth of the bay at Lough Foyle; and noe sooner were wee entered but wee fell on ground, *and soe stucks till the next day, and then at full tide wee weighed o're anchors, sayled a little way, and runne on ground againe!*"

However, those perils and delays of navigation were soon over; and on the 16th May the expedition reached Culmore, at the southern extremity of Lough Foyle, where the river of the same name flows into it. Here, on a low neck of ground that commands the entrance of the stream, Sir Henry disembarked part of his forces, and commenced building a fort capable of holding 200 men. This, however, was not done without some opposition: we read—

" About 100 men lying on shoare, and giving us a volie of shott, and soe retyring, wee landed at Culmore, and with the first of our horse and foote that we could vnshipp made vp towards a troupe of horse and foote that wee saw standing before us on the topp of a hill."

These were, in all probability, the garrison of the Castle of Elagh, situated about three miles distant. The passage of the fleet along the eastern shore of Innisowen would have been observed, and consequently known to Sir John O'Doherty, the chieftain of the district. Seeing the overwhelming force of the expedition, he had withdrawn the garrison from Elagh, and even commenced to pull its fortifications down. However, no skirmish took place, as "by ignorance of the wayes our horse were *presentlie bogg'*, and soe of that day wee made none other use, but onlie to land our men—" a resolution which under the circumstances was the wisest that could be adopted.

Sir Henry appears to have conducted matters with the caution and forethought of an able commander. After spending six days in building the fort at Culmore, he sent out exploring parties to reconnoitre the country around it. Finding from them that the Castle of Elagh, although abandoned and partly dismantled, was still tenable, he had its walls repaired, and placed in it Captain Ellis Flood and his company of 200 men as a garrison.

Having now secured a good base for operations, with a commu-

nication with the sea, the English general began to take more decisive steps; and on the 22nd May he marched with his army to Derry, a distance of four miles, by the river side, leaving Captain Alford at Culmore, with 600 men to complete the works there.

In the narrative Derry is described as—

“ A place in the manner of an Iland, comprehending within it 40 acres of ground, wherein were the ruines of an old Abbay, of a bishoppes house, of two churches, and at one side an old castle ; the river Foyle encompassing it all at one side, and a bogg, most comonlie wett, and not easilie passable, except in two or three places, dividing it from the maine land.”

Here Sir Henry, “ seeing it was somewhat hie, and therefore dry and healthie to dwell upon,” determined to make a permanent settlement. Accordingly, he unloaded the ships of the provisions and warlike stores, and commenced building two forts,—one to keep “ our store of munition and victuals in,” and the other a little above, where the walls of an old cathedral were standing, “ for our future safetie and retreate vpon all occasions.” That the planting of a permanent military colony was among the chief objects of the expedition is proved by the number of mechanics and artisans brought over in this fleet. We further find Sir Henry stating that—

“ The provisions wee carried with us at first were, a quantitie of deale boards and sparrs of fir timber; a 100 flock beds, with other necessaries to furnish an hospital withall; one piece of demy cannon of brass, two culverins of iron; a master gunner; two master masons, and two master carpenters, allowed in pay, with a great number of tooles and other vten-siles, and with all furniture and victuall requisite.”

Having unloaded those stores, the forts were at once commenced, the general assigning to each company their several tasks, and where to work.

But among the twenty-five captains who, according to Fynes Moryson, accompanied Sir Henry Docwra, there were some restless and fiery spirits, who murmured at this servile labour, and chafed at the delay of the prudent general; but he was not a man to be disturbed from his line of action by the remonstrances of his junior officers: we find him, therefore, alluding gravely but calmly to the matter in the following words:—

“ I know there were some that presentlie beganne to censure mee for not stirring abroade, and making journeys up the countreye, alleadging wee were stronge enough, and able to doe it. I deny not but wee were, *but that was not the scope and drift of our coming;* wee were to sitt it out all winter; prayes [preys] would not be sett without many hazards and a great consumption of our men; the countrie was yet unknowne unto us, and those we had to deale with were such as I was sure would chuse or refuse to feight with vs, as they sawe their owne advantage;

these considerations moued mee to resolve to hould on other course, and before I attempted any thinge else to settle sure the footing we had gayned."

To this object the English commander diligently directed his attention, availing himself of the natural aids supplied by the locality. The work rapidly progressed. Obtaining a supply of lime by burning the sea shells found on the shores of the Foyle, cutting timber from the wooded slopes of the hills on the side of the river opposite to Derry, and using without hesitation the stones of the old buildings he found at hand, whether ecclesiastical or not, and drawing a further supply from a quarry hard by, before the winter set in, the English commander had the satisfaction of seeing his troops safely housed, and secured from the assaults of "the Irish enemie" by strong ramparts and fortifications. "Whether this," he exclaims, with excusable pride, "was the right course to take or noe, let them that sawe the after events be the judges of."

It must not, however, be imagined that these operations were effected without opposition from the native Irish. On the contrary, the contest with them was fierce and unremitting. In the very beginning of the works, the timber that was required for the rafters, roofs, and domestic purposes of the new colony could not be obtained without bloodshed. "O'Cane [thus the narrative states] having a wood lying over against us [on the other side of the river], wherein was plenty of old grown birch, *I daylie sent workmen, with a guard of soldiers, to cutt it downe, and there was not a sticke of it brought home but first was well fought for.*" It is evident, therefore, that during the first four months the English held "the Derrie," their power did not extend a musket shot beyond their intrenchments, and the attention of their able commander was exclusively bent to securing the safety of his position. That this was no light task, an event noted in the "Annals of the Four Masters" abundantly proves. We find therein, that in less than two months from the date the English occupied the Castle of Elagh, namely, on the 28th June, 1600, it was besieged by the O'Doherties, and its garrison placed in peril. On Sir Henry Docwra and Sir John Chamberlaine, with 40 horse and 500 foot, hastening from Derry to their assistance, a brisk skirmish ensued, in which Sir Henry had his horse shot under him, and Sir John Chamberlaine was slain outright. In fact the "Annals" claim a victory, asserting the English were defeated, and many of their soldiers, with their second in command, killed by the mountaineers of Innisowen. Neither, in the interval, were the able leaders, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, inattentive to the English expedition. Watching, from the first, its course along the eastern and northern coast of Ireland, they had collected an army to oppose it, fully aware of the danger of its obtaining a permanent footing in

Donegal. Baffled by the cautious proceedings of Sir Henry Docwra in intrenching his army, they drew back in the hope of luring him into the open country. But while thus closely observing the operations on the shores of the Foyle, word was brought to the Irish leaders that the Deputy, Lord Mountjoy, had left Dublin, and was marching in force, with the Queen's banner displayed, towards Newry. Leaving O'Donnell to watch Sir Henry Docwra, Tyrone hurried to the south, razing to the ground the fort of the Blackwater as he passed by, and burning Armagh over the heads of its English garrison, he met Mountjoy at the pass of Moyra. A fierce struggle ensued, which ended in the defeat of the English ; and the Lord Deputy, finding the passes to the north bristling with Irish pikes, had to retreat to Dublin.

Although Sir Henry attempts to conceal the check given to the commander of her Majesty's forces in Ireland, by stating—

"My Lord Deputie att the time wee should land (to make our descent the more easie) was drawn downe to the Blackwater, and gave out that hee would enter the countrey that way, wereupon Tyrone and O'Donnell had assembled their chiefest strength to oppose against him; but his lordship, now being aware wee were safe on shore, and possest of the ground wee meant to inhabite, withdrew his campe, and returned to Dublin"—

yet a comparison of the date of the landing at Culmore, namely, the 16th May, with the date of the battle at Moyra, which was, according to Cox, about the 17th May, and the impossibility that any information could be sent between the English leaders in so short a space of time, will prove that the repulse of the able but merciless Mountjoy was a serious one, and that his falling back shortly afterwards on Dublin was caused, not by military strategy, but by the imperative necessity of defeat.

The summer of the year 1600 had now passed, and we find the prudent governor keeping strict watch and ward in his Castle of Derry. This is graphically brought before us in the following extract from the Irish Annals, A. D. 1600 :—"The English of Derry for a long time were so much in dread, that they did not come outside of the ramparts except a short distance, and a great number of them were on guard every night lest they might be surprised by an attack." It was therefore clearly the policy of the governor to remain on the defensive, to extend and build forts, and lay up stores for the winter; thus, in his own emphatic words, settling and making sure the footing he had gained. Occupied fully with those duties, the summer of 1600 passed, and autumn was at hand. In the month of September of that year a circumstance occurred which brings to light a peculiar trait in Sir Henry's character, and proves likewise the ceaseless vigilance with which the Irish chieftains watched the proceedings of the garrison on the shores of the Foyle.

In the map furnished in the Ordnance Survey, and which is copied from a manuscript one in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, we find the "Cittie of Derrie," as built by Sir Henry Docwra, fairly delineated. This map bears date of the year 1600. A goodly castle stands close to the water's edge, where sundry high pooped caravels, bearing on their flags the cross of St. George, are at anchor; before this castle is a storehouse, behind an hospital; on a line with the storehouse is a square enclosure, titled "a place to lay in the Queens timber;" extending from the castle, landwards, are several houses, one of which, "Babingtons house," is a fair mansion of two stories high; passing thence through a street, we reach the walled town of Derry, evidently then, as in after times, a city of refuge. The walls are carefully laid out according to the approved rules of fortification of the period, and have one gate facing the causeway from the river, and a sallyport on the eastern side. Within the walls, the houses, of which there are a sufficient number, are somewhat irregularly disposed; there are, however, two main streets intersecting each other at right angles; at the upper extremity of one of those are the governor's house and garden, both large and commodious, covering about one sixth of the area enclosed within the walls, showing that the worthy knight was not unmindful of his personal comforts. The three cannon,—to wit, "one piece of demy cannon of brass, and two culverins of iron,"—are placed under the governor's eye, and are pointed towards the enemies' country. Beneath one of those cannon is the sallyport mentioned previously, leading to what is traced lightly on the map as "a Paterne to make the Towne by." Whether this is the model after which the town was built, or was yet to be built by, when it would extend itself in that direction, there are no means of ascertaining. Adjacent, at the extreme left-hand corner of the map, are two erections which attract attention. One apparently is of wood, consisting of two upright posts with a cross beam, bearing a suspicious resemblance to a gallows—a resemblance which is decidedly increased by a cord or rope pendent from the cross beam. Behind this, in suggestive proximity, is a large building called "*the Gouvernor's Horstal.*"

Now, there is no city in Ireland at the present day whose neighbourhood, within a circle of five miles, is less adapted for cavalry operations than Derry. Taking into consideration its mountainous character, its frequent ravines and steep watercourses, its many swamps, extended bogs, and dense woods, Derry in the year of grace 1600 must have been a caution to the boldest rider; yet there are many proofs that Sir Henry Docwra was partial to this arm. A predilection we can account for in no other way than having been born in a celebrated northern English county, the able governor of Derry shared that weakness for horseflesh from which it is asserted

that no Yorkshireman is ever thoroughly exempt. This taste, however, in a few months after his landing, nearly cost him his life. In September, 1600, it appears that the horses of the garrison of Derry were daily driven out to pasture beyond the walls, with a guard of soldiers to protect them. O'Donnell, hearing this, determined to seize the English steeds; accordingly, he placed an ambuscade in a ravine near the city, probably in the narrow glen of the neglected demesne of the present bishop, and, as the cavalcade trotted by, his kerns, rushing out with loud shouts, slew several of the guards, and drove off the horses at the gallop. Some of the soldiers who escaped brought the news to Sir Henry, who, with some of the garrison, mounting the horses that had been left in stable, dashed in pursuit. Hearing their approach, O'Donnell wheeled his rearguard, and awaited their attack. The skirmish was fierce and sharp, and terminated only when a chieftain named Hugh Duv O'Donnell aimed at the English general "with the cast of a dart," and wounding him through his helmet severely in the forehead, Sir Henry fell from his horse, and his troops at once retreated; or, as the "Annals" have it, "all the English, after their chief counsellor and captain had been wounded, retired in sorrow and discomfiture, and did not follow in pursuit of their horses any further"—a sad day for the garrison of Derry, a glorious one for the riders of the Kinel Connell, who on numbering their prey, on arrival at their camp, found they had deprived the clan Saxon of upwards of 200 horses. From this and other accounts handed down to us of the proceedings of O'Donnell, it is evident that, since the English landed at Culmore, that able chieftain had watched them with untiring vigilance, laying waste the country for miles in their neighbourhood, cutting off their foraging parties, skirmishing with their outposts, harassing their garrisons with frequent alarms, intercepting their communications, and cooping up their soldiers within the narrow limits of their ramparts. The result of this plan of operations must eventually have been the retreat of the English, and abandonment of Derry. The Abbe Mac Geoghegan states, in his "History of Ireland," that O'Donnell, who was appointed to watch the garrisons of Lough Foyle, acted with a prudence and valour worthy of the illustrious house of Tyrconnell, of which he was the chief. He pursued several detachments from those places, and killed a great many of them; the forts were also surrounded by O'Neill's army. In the month of August this prince surprised, according to the same authority, 1500 of their men who were foraging, and put the whole of them to the sword; but the English being masters of the sea, and the Irish having no fleet to oppose them, their losses were quickly repaired by fresh arrivals of men and arms from England.

In addition to the constant attacks of a watchful enemy, the English garrisons had to contend with disease and insufficient food.

Confined within their narrow walls, sickness made fearful ravages in their ranks, and the constant use of salt meat acted injuriously on their health. Sir Henry Docwra himself admits that within five months from his landing he had lost 1000 men, or, in other words, *one fourth of his entire force*, from those combined causes. One of the objects of the army of the Foyle was to plant a garrison at Ballyshannon, at the extremity of the lower lake of Lough Erne; for this special purpose a force of 1000 men of the expedition was set apart when it left England:—

"And now Sir Mathew Morgan did demand his regiament of 1000 foote and 50 horse, wch (as I saide before) were designed him for a plantation at Ballyshannon; but upon consultation held, how wee should proceed, and with what probabilitie he might be able to effect that intended business, there appeared soe many wants and difficulties unthought on or unprovided for before, that it was evident those forces should be exposed to manifest ruine, if at that time, and in the state as things then stode, hee should goe forward; the truth whereof being certified both by himselfe and mee to the Lords of the Councell in England, also to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, wee received present directions from them both to suspend the proceedings in that action till another time, and soe I discharged the rest of the shipping reserved for the journey; and not long after, the companys growing weake, and the list of the foote reduced to the number of 3000, that regiament was wholly dissolved, and made as a part onlie of our army—"

a significant proof of the increasing weakness of the English garrison at Donegal.

This was in June; in September matters were worse—in fact, at that date the condition of the forces on the Foyle was one of extreme danger and hazard; surrounded by watchful enemies, with their ranks wasted by disease, and their provisions nearly exhausted, the withdrawal from Derry of the English expedition was a mere question of time that a brief period must have settled:—

"And now [thus the narrative declares] the winter beganne to be fierce vpon us, our men wasted with continuall laboures, the island scattered with cabbins full of sickle men, our Biskett all spent, our other provissons of nothing but Meale, Butter, and a little wine, and that by computation to hould out but 6 dayes longer; Tyrone and O'Donnell, to weaken us the more, proclaiming free passage and relieve through their countrie to send them away to as many as would leave vs and departe for England; our two forts, notwithstanding all the diligence wee had beene able to use, farre from the stais of being defencible."

From this critical position Sir Henry Docwra was relieved by a timely supply of provisions, and a reinforcement of 600 foote and 50 horse from England, and the treachery of an Irish chieftain.

When Hugh Roe O'Donnell perceived that the English re-

mained strictly on the defensive within their fortifications, he left his brother-in-law, *Nial Garv O'Donnell*, and *Sir John O'Doherty*, with a sufficient force to watch, according to the "Four Masters," "the foreigners;" and proceeded with the main body of his troops, on a foray into Connnaught and Munster, to plunder the lands of the Earls of Clanrickard and Thomond. The chieftain thus left in joint command, Niall Garv O'Donnell, was brave, but turbulent; violent in temper, and rude in manner, as his name "Gariff, or rough," implies—fearless, active, energetic, and an admirable leader in the kind of guerilla warfare that it was the present policy of the Irish generals to follow in their contests with the English forces on the Foyle. But he was also fickle in disposition, and false of faith; true to no party, safe to no man; and, although nearly allied to Hugh Roe O'Donnell, both envious and jealous of the rising fame and power of his young kinsman as the acknowledged head of the Kinell Connell—a position to which Nial Garv had himself some claims, and still longed for with all the impetuosity of his fiery Celtic temperament.

Apparently this was well known to the English statesmen, and the governor of Derry had instructions to win him over. Accordingly, scarcely had the Prince of Tyrconnell gone with his troops through the pass of Barnsmore, on his way southward, when the agents of Sir Henry Docwra renewed their attempts to tamper with the fidelity of his kinsman. Acting on the policy which Moore, in his "History of Ireland," observes, can be traced as far back as the intrigues of Caesar with the Celtic chieftains in Gaul, Nial Garv was offered, "on behalf of the Queen, the whole country of Tirconnell to him and to his heirs," if he would betray his trust. The avarice of the rude chieftain was further excited by promises of splendid presents and of great wealth, and his jealousy of his brother-in-law increased by interested parties near his person, who were bribed by the English for that purpose. One of those, a certain Cornelius O'Gallagher (according to Philip O'Sullivan), a principal agent in influencing Nial Garv to desert to the English, afterwards fell into the hands of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and was forthwith hung (*laqueo strangulatur*) by the indignant chief for his treacherous conduct. Meanwhile the temptations proved too strong for the fidelity of O'Donnell's lieutenant; and, abandoning the standard of his house, Nial Garv became a traitor to his country, and joined the English with a force of 1000 men.

This was the turning point of the expedition. The desertion of so powerful a chieftain from the native ranks was in the end fatal to the Irish cause. Subsequent events proved this; but, even at the time of its occurrence, both friend and foe foresaw the consequences that would arise from it.

"His coming [*writes the English commander*] was very acceptable att that time, and such as wee made many uses of, and could ill have spared." "Truly [*lament the Irish Annalists*], the English were the better of his joining them, for they were wearied and exhausted from want of sleep every night, through fear of O'Donnell, and they were suffering from sickness and distemper, on account of the closeness of the place they were in, and having no fresh meat, or other provisions requisite for them. They complained of their distress to Niall Garv O'Donnell respecting all things they stood in need of; and he relieved them from the close imprisonment in which they were, and took with him 1000 warriors to Lifford, which was a town on the borders of the same lake [Lough Foyle], and had been a fortress to O'Donnell; but at that time it was insecure, for there was no strong keep or castle of lime since it had formerly been demolished, and only an imperfect rampart made of clay and sods, surrounded by a shallow water ditch, while it was in contemplation to rebuild the fortress which had been previously there. The guards vacated that fort through fear and terror when they perceived the English advancing, and O'Donnell not being near them; upon which the English entered the fort, and they raised immense great mounds and ramparts of earth and stone to protect them, so that they were sufficiently strong to hold out against their enemies."

On hearing this disastrous news, O'Donnell hurried back from Ballymote. So impetuous was the haste of the young chieftain, that he outstripped the main body of his troops, and, attended by a few horsemen only, arrived before the mounds of Lifford. He was too late; the evil was done, and the English secure behind their fortifications. He placed a cordon of his troops around the fort when the main body of his army joined, but apparently more with a view of protecting his people while they reaped their corn from a sally of the garrison, than from an intention of assault. After a lapse of thirty days, when the corn was cut and placed in small hampers and bags for conveyance across the hills, he drew his troops out of camp, and offered battle. It was declined by the English; and the Irish army retired to its quarters, and dispersed in different directions, having given up the idea of fighting on that day. While scattered and dispersed through the camp, the English, by the advice of Niall Garv, in company with their Irish allies, sallied forth and attacked them. The fight was fierce and protracted, the cavalry of each party especially charging each other with great fury. In the mêlée Manus O'Donnell, brother to the Prince of Tyrconnell, was wounded mortally by one of Niall O'Donnell's chiefs. The combat, which is described with Homeric felicity by the "Four Masters," was disastrous for the Kinel Owen; and shortly after, in November, Hugh O'Donnell withdrew his forces from Lifford, and placed them in winter quarters. Bitter must have been the feelings of the Prince of Tyrconnell when he looked for the last time on the mounds at Lifford. That clear intellect which

rendered him the ablest general the Irish ever had, with probably the exception of Owen Roe O'Neill, at once perceived that the prize for which he had contended so long was torn from his grasp, and the foot of the foreigner placed firmly on Donegal ; and bitterer still to feel that this was done, his plans baffled, his counsels betrayed, and his brother slain by the treachery of a kinsman of his own house, a chieftain of his name and blood.

With far different feelings Sir Henry Docwra watched from the walls of Lifford the retreating army of the Irish, as it swept through the valley of the Finn towards the mountains. The crisis was past, the danger over ; and the English commander felt he was master of the position, and the great primal object of the expedition accomplished. Availing himself of the local knowledge possessed by his new allies, Sir Henry without delay commenced offensive operations : sallying forth from Lifford with Nial Garv, he ravaged O'Cahan's Country, and returned in triumph "with great plunder and sway." On another occasion their united forces plundered the whole of Glen Aicle. Extending his views, and accompanied by Sir Art Lynogh O'Neill, a kinsman of the Earl of Tyrone, and declared the Queen's O'Neill, Sir Henry made a foray from Dunnalong, and plundered a second time the country of the luckless O'Caahans, and—

" Did many other such services all the winter long, which I stand not upon to make particular mention of ; and I must confess a truth, all by the help and advise of Neale Garvie, and his followers, and the other Irish that came in with Sir Arthur O'Neale, *without whose intelligence and guidance nothing could have been done of ourselves* ; although it is true, withall, they had theire own ends in it, which were always for private revenge, and wee ours to make use of them for the furtherance of the publique service."

These frequent excursions and cattle raids spread the terror and fame of the English arms in every direction. So great was this panic among the native clans, that Taaffe mentions that many of the northern Irish fled to Scotland to avoid the ravages of the soldiers of Clan Derry.

The year 1600 was now drawing to a close ; and the Christmas that capped with snow the peaks of Innisowen, and whitened the roofs of the castles of Culmore, Elagh, Derry, Dunnalong, and Lifford, saw their English garrisons in a different condition from their recent plight. They were now well housed, well armed, and well fed, with their united energies directed towards a common object by one able commander. On the other hand, it beheld the Irish enemy, who were opposed to them, dwelling in wattled huts and turf-roofed sheelings, which scarcely sheltered them from the inclemency of the season,—scantily fed, poorly clad, and indifferently armed,

with treachery dividing their leaders, and their numbers thinned by war and internal feuds. The final result of a contest between antagonistic forces of such different character can be readily guessed. In truth the wonder is, not that the English were successful, but that their success was so long delayed—proving not only the unflinching courage and intense resistance of the native Celts, but also that vigour and endurance of physical hardship, that careless contempt of danger and passionate love of arms, which enabled them to contend so long against such fearful odds—qualities which, transmitted to their descendants in the present day, still place the Irish soldiers in the foremost ranks of the military nations of the earth.

Nor must the praise of high courage, indomitable perseverance, and unchanging tenacity of purpose be withheld from their adversaries. Although surrounded by dangers, and opposed to difficulties before which the stoutest might have succumbed without discredit, the army of the Foyle, since its first landing at Culmore, had never lost a foot of ground. Step by step it had won its way. In six months it had established and garrisoned a chain of forts in important positions, communicating with each other, and commanding the passes to the hostile country of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Dohertys, and O'Cahans. It had undergone the ordeal of sickness, and had experienced the privations of scarcity of food, without impairing its discipline or lessening its courage. Thus, while in the narrative so often quoted we see many proofs of the deplorable condition to which the forces of the expedition were reduced by disease and the casualties of war, we find no trace of insubordination on the part of the soldiers, nor a single instance of their failing to stand to their arms when called on to repel the enemy. But, while we willingly award this praise to the stout soldiers who manned the walls of the English garrisons, we must also admit that much of their success is due to their general. Undoubtedly Sir Henry Dowcra was an able and a remarkable man. A veteran soldier, trained in the Spanish and Flemish wars, a safe counsellor, a sagacious leader, keen to foresee, cautious in resolve, prompt to execute, stern of mood, and hard of heart, we fear he was (no captain who made a campaign with the savage Bingham could be otherwise). Plain in manner, and blunt of speech (Sir Henry served in Flanders), we admit he was; but he was also true to his word, upright and honest, although from the necessity of his position ruling by the sword. He was not unpopular with the native Irish. He showed them but little mercy in the field, plundered their lands, and drove their cattle into the bawns of the English garrison without compunction, punished with unrelenting severity any attempt at treachery or double dealing on their part; on the other hand, he was scrupulously just to those who sought his protection; his promises to the Irish chiefs were honestly

made, and to the utmost of his power as honestly kept. This is clearly proved in the narrative. When he found the engagements he had entered into with the O'Doherties, the O'Donnells, and O'Cahans, after being ratified by the hands and seals of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and the Council, subsequently broken for political purposes, and unworthy jealousy towards himself, after vain endeavours to obtain justice for them, and an indignant remonstrance against the wrong thus done both to him and the Irish chiefs, Sir Henry Docwra did what every honest and honourable man would have done,—he threw up the military command he held through so many dangers and trials, and, resigning the governorship of Derry, retired into private life. No stain of broken trust or violated pledges rests, therefore, upon the character of Sir Henry Docwra. In his dealings with the Irish he acted sternly, but with perfect good faith, and thus gained the confidence and won the respect of the quick-witted Celtic tribes by whom he was surrounded. There are many proofs scattered through the pages of the Irish historians of the existence of this feeling. In the "Annals of the Four Masters,"—the writers of which, being natives of Donegal, and living within forty miles of Derry, are competent witnesses—we find Sir Henry Docwra called "a distinguished knight, of wisdom and ingenuity, a pillar of battle and valor"—an amount of praise the compilers of that valuable record are somewhat chary of bestowing on the leaders of the Clan Saxon. Cox also mentions that, when on one occasion Nial Garv O'Donnell, in all the insolence of uncontrolled feudal despotism, dared to tell Sir Henry Docwra "that the people of Tyrconnel were *his*, Nial's, subjects, and that he would punish, exact, cut, and hang them as he pleased," the stout English knight at once confronted him, "and charged him the contrary on his allegiance, and at his peril;" a line of conduct which, while it gained friends among the down-trodden natives, raised up enemies among those English statesmen and political adventurers whose policy was of a far different character in Irish affairs, and towards Irishmen.

Taaffe, in his "History," distinctly mentions that, after the arrival of Sir Henry, many of the Irish came and sought his protection. In truth, it appears that Governor Docwra united with his military office the duties of a judge and a dispenser of justice; and that latterly, in consequence thereof, the hall of his strong castle at Derry had less the aspect of a guardroom than of a court to which the weak and the wronged came from all parts of Innisowen and Tyrconnell for shelter and redress. Two instances will suffice to establish the existence of this state of things.

In the year 1603, in one of the blood feuds, of such frequent occurrence among the mountains of Donegal, a chieftain named Donal O'Donnell slew another chieftain, Manus Oge O'Struithen,

who had previously killed Donal's brother. Subsequently Hugh Buighe, the brother of this Donal, was wounded, taken prisoner, and brought by the English to Derry:—"And the Governor declared that he would not set him at liberty until the person who had committed the slaying, namely, Donal the son of Con, should be given up. Accordingly, *Nial and Donal went on the word of protection before the Governor, and Hugh Buighe was set at liberty, and Donal was retained*"—a practical proof of the confidence the Kinel Connell placed in the good faith of Sir Henry, as well as of the strong affection the rude Celtic chieftain had for his wounded brother.

The other instance occurred previous to this. On the 27th January, 1601, Sir John O'Doherty, Lord of Innisowen, was killed fighting against the English. Hugh Roe O'Donnell nominated Felim Oge, Sir John's brother, as The O'Doherty; but the clan of Ailin and the clan of Daibid brought Sir John's only son, to save him from his uncle and O'Donnell, to the English at Derry, who received him with open arms.

The orphan lad whom his faithful clansmen thus brought down from the mountains of Innisowen, to place, at the early age of thirteen years, under the protection of Sir Henry Docwra, was the unfortunate Sir Cahir O'Doherty.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TRADESMEN'S TOKENS ISSUED IN THE CITY OF CASHEL, AND OF THE FAMILIES OF THE PERSONS BY WHOM THEY WERE ISSUED.

BY JOHN DAVIS WHITE, OF CASHEL, SOLICITOR.

I SHALL endeavour to do for the Cashel Tradesmen's tokens what Mr. Prim has done for those issued in Kilkenny, and the Rev. Samuel Hayman for those belonging to Youghal; and, although the number of them is very small, I trust the information which I have been able to glean concerning the persons who issued them may be interesting to the members of the Society.

By the kind assistance of Dr. Aquilla Smith, I am enabled to give a more complete list of them, and of their several varieties, than I should otherwise have been able to present.

The following list is by Dr. Smith, who has also made the drawings of the tokens:—

**TRADESMEN'S TOKENS ISSUED IN CASHEL, COUNTY OF TIPPERARY,
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.**

1. *Obv. PEETER . BOYTON .* = A Harp.

Rev. OF . CASHILL . MARCHN. + I, with two stars of five points.

The Ven. Archdeacon Cotton ; Dr. Aquilla Smith ;
Mr. J. D. White.



2. *Obv. EDMOND . KEARNEY .* = A plain cross with a pellet in each quarter.

Rev. CASSHELL . MARCT. = E. K. I, with four small annulets.
The Ven. Archdeacon Cotton ; Dr. Aquilla Smith.



3. *Obv. EDMOND . KEARNEY .* = A plain cross.

Rev. CASSHELL . 1666 . (From a sketch by Mr. Molloy.)

4. *Obv. EDMOND . KEARNEY .* = A cross pattée.

Rev. CAS - SHEL - HALFE - PENY = in four lines.
Dr. Aquilla Smith.



5. *Obv. EDMOND . KEARNEY .* = A plain cross, with a pellet in each quarter.

Rev. CASSHELL . MARC^r. = E. K. I, with four pellets. The D over the I is reversed.

Mr. John Davis White.

6. *Obv.* EDWARD . MIHILL . - A cathedral.

Rev. OF . CASHALL . - E . M . I , and five stars of five points.
Mr. John Davis White.



7. *Obv.* JOHN . NEVE . - Arms; on a cross five fleurs de lys.

Rev. IN . CASSHELL . - I . N . I .
Dr. Aquilla Smith.



8. *Obv.* JOHN : PEENS . - Arms; on a cross five fleurs de lys,
same as on No. 7.

Rev. IN CASSHELL . - I . P . I , and two cinquefoils.
Mr. John Davis White.



9. *Obv.* ROBART . PRINCE . - A castle.

Rev. OF . CASHELL . 1664 . - I , and two stars of five points.
Mr. John Davis White.



Varieties in the spelling of the name of the city:—
CASHALL, No. 6 ; CASSHELL, No. 5 ; CASHELL, Nos. 2, and 9 ;
CASHILL, No. 1 ; CASSHEL, No. 4 ; CASSHELL, No. 8.

1. Peter Boyton is one of the subscribing witnesses to the will of Edward Mihill, hereafter copied. I find nothing further to identify him, but the name appears to have been a common one in Cashel in the 17th century. Leonard Boyton, merchant, was one of the aldermen appointed by the Charter of King James II. in 1687, when the old Protestant Corporation were ousted; and among the Common Councilmen appointed by the same Charter, I find the names of Edward Boyton, Simon Boyton, and Robert Boyton; I have also found the marriages of several persons of the name in the old registry in the Chapter Book, from which it would appear that *all* marriages were registered in a public registry during Cromwell's rule in Ireland :—

“Redmond Cantwell, of Ballyduagh, in the Barrony of Middlethird, and Mary Boyton, of Cashell, in the s^d Barrony, married 20 Januarij, 1654.

“James Boyton and Mary Kearney, both of Cashell, married 29 Januar, 1655.

“John Crannors and Margaret Boyton, both of the Parish of St. Patrickes Rock in the Barony of Middlethird, married 30 January, 1655.”

Robert Boyton was Registrar of the Diocese of Cashel, and Chapter Clerk in the year 1664; and John Boyton was one of the Bailiffs, or city sheriffs in 1715. By an order in the Corporation Books, dated 16th May, 1679, Patrick Boyton “liveing without ye gates” was obliged to quarter three soldiers “of ye foote company thata come to this city.”

In the old cathedral, upon the rock, there is a small shield upon which are the arms of Boyton, “three spur rowels,” with the name “Boyton” in old English letters inscribed upon it.

There is a townland of the name of Boytonrath, within a few miles of the city of Cashel.

2-5. Edmond Kearney.—I find Edmond Kearney one of the Common Councilmen appointed by the Charter of King James II. in 1687; by the same Charter Paul Kearney, Senior, John Kearney, and Paul Kearney, Junior, were also named Common Councilmen, and Patrick Kearney, Merchant, and Dionysius Kearney, Merchant, were appointed Aldermen, so that the family were of some importance at that time; in 1679, Paul Kearney was one of those “liveing without ye gates,” who was obliged to quarter three foot soldiers; Edmond Kearney was, most probably, connected with the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, David Kearney, who was born in Cashel about the year 1568, and who was descended from a family whose name was long honourably connected with Cashel, and who is believed to have died A. D. 1625. It is probable that from this Archbishop the crozier which belonged to St. Patrick came into the possession of the Kearney family. From their having

possession of this valuable relic they were commonly styled "Kearney Bacula," or "Kearney Crux;" it was in possession of Bryan O'Kearney, of Fethard, who died about A. D. 1765. He was the last of the male line of the O'Kearney Crux family, and he sold the remnant of their estates to the ancestor of the present Lord Lismore.

Upon Bryan O'Kearney's death the crozier came into the possession of his sister, Miss Alice O'Kearney; upon whose death it went to her relative, Mrs. Bushell, of Ballyvaughan; upon whose death it went to her niece, Mrs. Butler (the wife of John Butler, of Coolmore); upon whose death it went to her daughter, Mrs. Heffernan (the wife of Thomas Heffernan, of Ballyduagh); upon whose death it came into the possession of the late Rev. William Heffernan, P. P., of Clerihan, who handed it over to the late Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, R. C. Archbishop of Cashel, and it now constitutes a part of the crozier in the possession of the present Archbishop.

I am indebted to James Heney, of Cashel, Esq., for the foregoing interesting information about St. Patrick's crozier; he states that its authenticity can be proved by legal evidence. The following curious document I found in the old Chapter Book of Cashel, and it was quite inexplicable until I heard the foregoing account of the crozier from Mr. Heney:—

"The following is the true Copy of a writing found in the Registry of Cashell, which covered the Last Will and Testament of Philip English, which I certify this second day of October, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-threes, 1758:—

"Here followeth a List of such tyths as belong to Oconomy of Saint Patrick's Church of Cashell whereof I had the setting from the year 1643 to the year 1649:—The Great tyth of Ballydoyle & Blackcastle, of Lyonstown, of Killpeak, Ballycumusk, Ballyfwoobeg, Ballyfwoolumore, of ArchBishop Land (vizt) Rathordan, Shanordan, Gleanmore, Killscobin, Bandrily, Ballyourisk Shanquid, Cloynmore, Freaghduff, Brittas, Gortleaglor, Gorticortell Gortmckellis, Marshallstown Ballypadin, Neartown. The great Tyths of all which places did belong to the Oconomy, besides £10 that was reserv'd upon Mr. O'Kearney on consideration of St. Patrick's Rites, and other oblations usually paid throughout the province of Ancient custom to Mr. O'Kearney, in honour of St. Patrick.

"The above is a true Copy, which I attest.

"FRA. WAYLAND,
"Notary Public & Chapter Clerk."

There is no doubt this money and oblations were paid to Mr. O'Kearney on account of the crozier.

The old Cathedral upon the rock is the burial place of the family, though some of the name are buried in Fethard, and more at Holycross Abbey.

Patrick Kearney FitzEdmond, Merchant, of Cashel (probably son to the Edmond who issued the Token), in his Will, dated February, 1666, wills "my boddy to be buried in my ancestors grave, if possibly may be: if not, in St. Francis his abbey" (probably "Hacket's Abbey," which was founded for Conventual Franciscans, and was situated at the rere of Friar-street, Cashel, "Monast. Hib.", p. 65). At the right-hand side of the nave, in the Church on the Rock of Cashel, is the tomb of Nicholas Kearney and family, with the following inscription, as far as can be ascertained, the stone being broken in several places:—

"Hic jacet Nicholas O'Kearney filius _____ Burgensis et civis Civitatis etiam archiepiscopalis Casellensis obiit die _____ A.D. ____ Necnon Helena Ragget filia Thomæ Kilkenniensis uxor quæ obiit 2 Sep. Domini _____ mori memento."

6. Edward Mihill was probably a retired trooper of Cromwell's. I should think he was the first to issue tokens in Cashel, and they must have been issued before A. D. 1663, as appears from the following copy of his Will, which gives all we can learn about him:—

Extracted from the District Registry of the Court of Probate, Waterford.

"In the Name of God. Amen. I Edward Mihill, being sick and weak [of] body but of sound and perfect memory, prayed be God for the same, Considering with myself the certainty of death and the uncertainty of the hour of death do make this my last will and testament, principally bequeathing my soul to God my Saviour, through whose merits I hope to have pardon of all my sins and to be placed with Angles of the Joyes of Heaven. My body I commit to the earth, to be buried in S^t. John's Church, in Cashell, at the discretion of my Executrix. Item, I give and bequeath to my Lovving wife, Jane Mihill, all and singular my goods and chattels, debts and credits due and payable to me or my Assigns, either by Bond, bill, book, or otherwise, appointing her, my s^d wife, sole Executrix of this my last will. It., I give and bequeath to my s^d wife Jane Mihill all the arrears that are due to me for service in Ireland, she my s^d Exec^{tr}., paying thereout my Debts in Ireland.

"EDWARD MIHILL. (Seal.)

"Signed, sealed, and delivered, published and declared by the Testator this sixth day of February, 1663, in the presence of us,

"RICHARD HATTON.

"HEN: DILLON.

"PETER BOYTON.

"DERMOTT TUOHER.

"The foregoing last will and testament was proved in common form of law, and the burden of the Executoⁿ thereof was granted to Jane Mihill, sole Execuⁿ. named therein, the 10th of June, 1663."

Richard Hatton was Alderman of Cashel in 1672, and Henry Dillon a common councilman.

7. John Neve. We find John Neve, Senr. Witness to the Will of John Neve, dated 1667. By the Parish Registry we find that "John Neaves was buried 28th February, 1672."

The following is a copy of the Will of John Neve, most probably the John Neve, who died in 1672, and who issued the Token :—

" In the name of God. Amen. I John Neve, of Cashell, gent., doo make and ordayne this my last Will & Testament, being sick of body, yett of perfect memory, blessed be God. First, I give & bequeath my soule unto Almighty God, my maker, Trusting in the merritts of his Sonne, Christ Jesus, my Saviour & Redamor, ffor pardon & remission of my Sins, that he will take my Soule into his everlasting rest, there to remain wth him for ever. Item, I doo ordayne and make Elizabeth Neve, my well beloved wiffe, my sole Executrix to pay & receive my debts; And I doo also desire Donell Richard Lehunt to be Supervisor. In witness wherof I have hereunto sett my hand & seale the five & twenteth daye of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred Sixty Seaven.

"JOHN NEVE. (Seal.)

" In the presence of
her
" ELIZABETH X MILSAM.
mark.
" I. JOHN NEVE, Sen'."

There was a John Neeves an alderman of Cashel in 1672; probably he was the person who witnessed the foregoing will, and of whose burial the following is the entry in the Parish Registry :—

" John Neeve was buried in y^e Church yard of S^t. John's, Cashel, March 22nd 1742."

The Dominican Friary in Cashel, with its appurtenances, and four gardens in Cashel, were granted for ever to Walter Fleming, *in capite*, at the yearly rent of 2s. 6d. Irish currency, in the 35th year of King Henry VIII. From him it passed to a family of the name of Lehunte, one of whom, Peyton Lehunte, was Mayor of Cashel in 1672, 1673, 1674, and 1675, and died in the latter year. From the Lehuntes this property passed to the Neves; a Payton Lehunt was buried October the 7th, 1740. "Lehunt, son of Samuel and Anna Neve, was buried Feb. 3, 1771. Samuel Neve was buried Decr. 1, 1795." This Samuel Neve was father to Lehunte Neve, the last of the male line; by his will he left his property to his niece Anna Bunbury (daughter of his sister Elizabeth). Anna Bunbury married 1st, Robert M'Craith; 2nd, Lieutenant-Colonel Calder, and the property went first to the son of M'Craith, and on his death to his half brother, Calder; Miss Cal-

der sold a reversion to which she was entitled, and the property is now altogether alienated from the Neve family. Mrs. Wall (formerly Miss Calder), is now the representative of the family of Neve; the last of the *name* was Miss Anna Nove, who was buried March 14th, 1820.

8. John Peene.—This token is very rare ; I have seen very few of them ; I have not found the name in any of the old documents connected with Cashel which I have had access to. There are poor people of the name of Pyne in Cashel who are probably his descendants.

9. Robert Prince was City Treasurer ; there are several entries in the old Corporation Books in which his name is mentioned : in 1672, Mr. Robert Prince to pay £5 to the Town Clerk. The following order was made May 3rd, 1673, and is interesting of itself : “ A tankard of the value of £10 voted to Richard Melsam, late Maior, as a signall and remarkable token of the Citties thanks for his good service in his Maioralty, more particularly for his stronge opposing of the seditious rabell pretending right to the King’s sword, and to the Maioriall Jurisdiction and government of the ^{s^d Citty ;” and it was ordered “ that Mr. Robert Prince forthwith pay unto Mr. Joseph Demors hand the sum of ten pounds ster. afores^d for the ^{s^d use,” this was no doubt “ Damer” of whose riches fabulous stories are told, and who built the Court at Shronell ; he was a common councilman of Cashel, and lent money to the Corporation.}}

June 12th, 1677—“ Ordered that Mr. Robert Prince should have a lease of that stone slated house, situate in the middle row in Cannafee street, opposite the water pype.”

28th Sept., 1678—“ Ordered that Mr. Robert Prince doe pay out of this half years rent, ending at Michaelmas 1781, to y^e L^a Lieutenants Serjeants at Mace, the sum of fifteen pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence, and seven shillgs and sixpence to Thomas Robinson, Esq^r, Mayor of this Citty, for money expended by him for their treatment.”

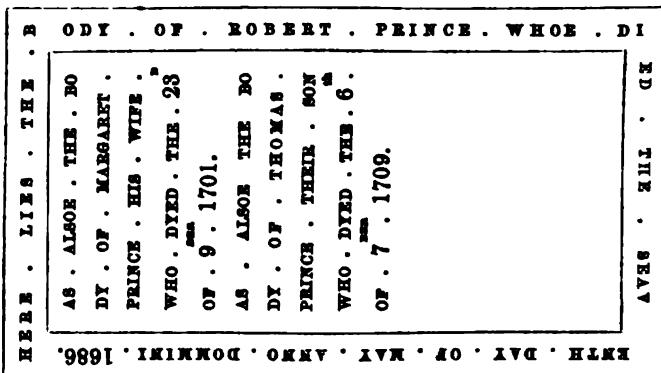
7th May, 1680.—Thomas Meagher was at a former meeting ordered to be paid by Mr. Robert Prince the sum of £1. 10. 0, “ which said sume the ^{s^d Mr. Prince upon some reasons best known to himself hath hitherto delayed to pay,” ordered “ that it be paid without any further delay or pretence whatsoever.”}

“ 15th December, 1683.—“ £50 to be raised in order to the renewing of the Charter.” Robert Prince, Alderman, lent the amount to the Corporation.

Robert Prince died in 1686 ; the following entry of his burial is taken from the Parish Registry :—

“ Robert Prince was buried at St. John’s, May 10th, 1686.”

The following is a copy of the inscription on his tombstone :—



"Charles Prince, M. A., an Englishman, was Precentor of Cashel in 1665; in 1666, he was made Chancellor of Waterford, and in 1669, a Prebendary of Lismore; he died in 1696."—Cotton's "Fasti."

29th June, 1686.—Thomas Prince was chosen Alderman, and appointed City Treasurer in the room of his father on 1st October, 1686.

25th Jan^r. 169^g.—"Alderman Thomas Prince, Town Clerk, to be discharged of any debt due by him or his late father, 'from the beginning of the world' to this date; and upon said discharge the s^d Alderman is to spend two gynnys in a treat upon the s^d Common Council."

16th Feb^r. 169^g.—"Alderman Prince to spend two gynnys on a treat on Whitsun Monday, on condition of getting a renewal of his lease."

Until very lately a family of this name were owners of the lands of Killconnell, which are within a few miles of Cashel, and upon which there are remains of a fine old castle.

Prince's tokens are rather common, and are generally well preserved.

In conclusion, I beg leave to state, that, though the information which I am able to afford concerning the parties who actually issued the tokens is very scanty, still I think it is well to put together whatever is known even upon this subject; in a few years it might be impossible even to identify the persons; and even the matter which I have introduced may hereafter be valuable, when the documents from which I have derived my information may possibly have mouldered away.

INDEX.

ABBEYLEIX, ancient tomb in, 367, n.
Aedh Buidhe, 127, n.
Eli, Lord, casket made for, 269.
Aenghus Oisraigh, 260.
Aigred-Ros, the territory of, 259.
Ale, price of, in Kilkenny, in 14th century, 158.
Anderson, Col. Henry, of Kilkenny, 175, n.
Antrim, Ordnance Survey of county of, 238.
Archaeological Institute, donations from, 7, 143, 184, 340, 375.
Architectural Society for Chester, donation from, 7.
 — Societies of York, &c., donations from, 7, 281.
Argyleshire, rock carvings in, 381.
Armlets, ancient, 96.
Athassel Priory, plan of, 377.
Austin, St., abbey of, 48 n.
Ballinaboul Castle, 235.
Ballybrennan, the house of the Sinnots of, 80.
Ballygawran, 49, n.
Ballyhaly Castle, notice of, 319.
Ballyneale, ancient tomb in church of, 9.
Ballynunnery, Castle of, 46, 46, n.
Bannow, oldest corporate town in Ireland, 59, n.
Barnacles in Wexford, account of, 89.
Barnwell, Rev. E. L., donation from, 303.
Barony Forth dialect, 56, n.
Barrington, the family of, 369, n.
Barry, Viscount, fined by Queen Elizabeth, 214.
Beggerin Island, 61.
Bells, ancient Irish ecclesiastical, 345.
Bennet, Richard, of Youghal, his tomb, 326.
Bernas, the word, 349, n.
Bind Kunes, 12.
Birch, Mr. J., donation from, 343.
Black Abbey, remains found in, 378.
Blacker, Rev. Beaver H., donations from, 143, 302, 375.
Blackwater, the river, 320, n.
Blunt, Thomas, of Kilkenny, 157.
Bold, Mr. John, donations from, 185.
Bower, John, Esq., C. E., donations from, 238.

Boxes, ancient, found in grave, 202.
Boyd, Andrew, bishop of Argyle, 186.
 — Mr. A. J., donation from, 95.
Boyton, Peter, of Cahel, 407.
Bradston, family of, 41, 41, n.
Brazen Head Inn, Kilkenny, 164.
Breakfast Club, Kilkenny, 174.
British Archaeological Association, donation from, 95.
Brittany, antiquities of, 319.
Bronze pin, ancient, 202.
Brunswick, on ancient Runic casket in, 267.
Buckingham, Architectural Society of, donations from, 7, 231.
Budds, Mr. W. F., donation from, 95.
Builder, the, donations from publisher of, 7, 95, 143, 185, 281, 302, 340, 375.
 — The Dublin, donations from publisher of, 7.
Bull Inn, Kilkenny, 152, 177.
Burrell's Hall, Kilkenny, 195.
Burren, the river, 43, 43, n.
Burthall, Peter, Esq., C. E., donations from, 238.
Bush Inn, Kilkenny, 160.
Butler, Sir Walter, of Kilcash, 279, n.
Buttevant, Lord, his letter respecting Florence MacCarthy, 212.
Byam, Rev. Burgh, donation from, 840.
Byrne's monument in Tullagh churchyard, 49.
Calleston, 49, n.
Calry, territory of, 130, n.
Cambridgian Archaeological Association, donations from, 7, 143.
 — Institute, donation from, 143.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, donations from, 7, 281, 375.
Campion, Dr. J. T., donations from, 187.
Canice, St., birthplace of, 389, n.
Cannibalism in Ireland, St. Jerome's assertion respecting, 263, n.
Carhoo, 119, n.
Carlow Castle described, 38, 38, n.
 — Castle hill of, 44.
 — Dineley's account of, 38.
Carman, Lough, 88, n.

Carrick Castle, account of, 277, n.
 Carrigan, Mr. Daniel, donation from, 95, 187.
 Cashell, the word, 371, n.
 Cashel, tradesmen's tokens of, 404.
 Caskets, ancient, 275.
 Casket. *See Runic.*
 Castlescreen, antiques found at, 233.
 Catherlaugh. *See Carlow.*
 Ceann Gabhra, a hill in Idrone, 254.
 Celts, ancient mould for casting, 307, 380.
 Charles I., Lake Toher crimson at death of, 62.
 Chevron ornamentation on cinerary urns and round towers, 305.
 Ciaran, Saint, of Saighar, 265.
 Cleare, Thomas, tombstone of, 249.
 Cloghrenan Castle, account of, 42.
 Cloughan Castle, 188, n.
 Cod, Squire of Castletown, 62, 76, n.
 Cody, P., Esq., J. P., donation from, 187.
 Coin, Frankish gold, 245.
 —— *See Wheel money.*
 Coins found at Westgate, Wexford, 307.
 Colclough, Beauchamp, Esq., donations from, 307.
 Colonists in Ireland, conditions of royal grants to, 367.
 Colum, St., burial place of, 48.
 Comerford, Philip, tombstone of, 10.
 Conall Mageoghegan, his compact with The Fox, 127.
 —— Cearnagh, ancestor of the O'Moores, 349, n.
 Constantine, Geoffrey de, 351.
 Copenhagen, Royal Society of Antiquaries of, donations from, 184.
 Coppering, Edward, tomb of, Youghal, 333.
 Cork, tomb of Earl of, Youghal, 327.
 Cornwall, Royal Institution of, donations from, 184, 375.
 Corran, townlands called, 99.
 Corraneaduffe, the place of the Earl of Ormonde's capture, 97.
 Cosby, Richard, royal grant to, 367, n.
 County-cloth (linen), 46.
 Courtown, the Earl of, donation from, 144.
 Cow, former value of, 135, n.
 Cowley, Walter, map of Leix made by, 346, n.
 Cranial conformation, 203.
 Crannogeas, description of articles found in, 36, 379.
 Croker's Cross, Kilkenny, 163.
 Cromleac of Leac-an-Scall, 309.
 —— meaning of word, 310, n.
 Crosby Duff, 370, n.
 Crosslands, why so called, 69, n.
 Crosses of cemeteries, De Caumont on, 194, 318.
 Crozier, inscription on ancient, 232.
 Cruithnians, origin of the, 350.
 Crutchley, William, of Carlow, 41.
 Cvnoconni, word on Ogham stone, 207.
 Currey, Francis, Esq., donations from, 232.
 Dagger, ancient bronze, 305.
 Dalton, Mr., donation from, 96.
 Danes' raths, 63.
 Davallier, Sir John, 42, 42, n.
 Davis and Watters, of Kilkenny, anecdote of, 172, n.
 Dean, iron works in Forest of, 52, 52, n.
 De Caumont on round towers, 192, 318.
 —— on sepulchral chapels, 194, 318.
 —— on crosses of cemeteries, 194, 318.
 Derry, arms of, 386.
 —— early settlement of city of, 386.
 —— mace of, 387.
 —— swords of, 387.
 —— the word, 388.
 Desmond, Katherine, the old Countess of, 111.
 —— Earl of, his dispute with the Earl of Ormonde, 281.
 Dickson, Thomas, anecdote of, 236.
 Dineley, Thomas, extracts from Journal of, 38, 103, 320.
 Dinnrigh, the hill of the kings, 356.
 Docwra, Sir Henry, narrative of, 391.
 —— his character, 403.
 Donnelly, W., Esq., donation from, 143.
 Douglas, Mr. James, donation from, 306.
 Douglas' regiment, the flag of, 337.
 Dowly, Patrick, 98, n.
 Down, Ordnance Survey MSS. relating to county of, 14.
 Dromada, John, of Youghal, 321, n.
 Dromiskin, ancient interment at, 199, 319, 341.
 Drumkit Spa, 50.
 Duels in Kilkenny, 171, n.
 Dunaghy, parish of, 101.
 Dunamase, origin of the name, 355, n.
 Dunne, Mr. John, donations from, 233.
 Dyer, tombstone of, Youghal, 331.
 Eagle Inn, Kilkenny, 168.
 Earstown, meaning of, 264.
 Ecclesiastics mentioned in the Kildare Rental, 116.
 Eithne Vathach, wife of Aenghus, son of King of Munster, 263.
 Elagh, the castle of, 392.
 Eligius, the goldsmith, 270.
 Elizabeth, Queen, her letter respecting Florence Mac Carthy, 214.
 —— bond of, to John Rademaker, 234.
 —— effect of her accession on Leix, 366.
 English in Ireland, rules for isolating the, 367, n.

Eric of Fearghus Scannal, 256, n.
 Esmond, Lord, account of, 76-7.

 Fahy, meaning of the name, 66, n.
 Famine in Ireland in 5th century, 268.
 Fanaux de cimetière, analogy between
 Irish round towers and, 190, 317.
 Fearghus Scannal, account of, 258.
 Fethard, Co. Wexford, 85, 85, n.
 Fees paid to Earl of Kildare, 114.
 Feranokane, the territory, 355.
 Ferkeall, the name, 126.
 Fethard, abbey of, inscriptions from monu-
 ments in, 146, 246.
 Feudal system in 16th century, 118.
 Fiddown church, old monuments in, 9.
 Fines for crimes in Ireland anciently, 256, n.
 Fingal, origin of name, 58.
 Fintan, Saint, 67, n.
 Fitzgerald, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, rental
 book of, 110.
 — provision for table of, 115.
 — hawks belonging to, 115.
 — John, tomb of, Youghal, 384.
 Fitzmaurice, Michael Carney, tomb of, 247.
 Fitz-Stephen, Robert, 64, n.
 Fleming, Thomas, tomb of, Youghal, 381.
 Flemings, invasion of the, 54.
 Fomuireach, a name for Norsemen, 38, n.
 Forests formerly in Ireland, 347.
 Formoyle, denominations on ancient map of,
 308.
 Forth, account of barony of, 58.
 — subdivisions of, 59.
 — catalogue of churches and chapels in,
 66.
 — character of inhabitants of, 70-1.
 — curious habits in, 86.
 — dress of women of, 65, n, 70, 70, n.
 — particulars relative to, 84.
 — precedence of barony of, 59.
 Fort O'Nolan, 120, n.
 Fosterage recorded in monumental inscrip-
 tion, 9.
 Frankish gold coin, 245.
 Furze wood formerly used for roofing, 60, n.

 Gabhair, meaning of the word, 253.
 Gaelic tribes and New Zealanders, analogy
 between laws of, 362.
 Galway family, monument of, 384.
 Garter Inn, Kilkenny, 160.
 Gentleman's Magazine, donations from pub-
 lisher of, 7, 95, 148, 185, 281, 302, 340,
 874.
 Geoghegan, Arthur Gerald, Esq., donations
 from, 304, 348.
 Geological Society of Dublin, donations from,
 95, 281, 340.
 George Inn, Kilkenny, 168.

 Glasgow Archaeological Society, donation
 from, 231.
 Glebe land in Ireland belonging to an Eng-
 lish clergyman, 285.
 Glengarry, Lord, 78, 78, n.
 Goats' Beard Inn, Kilkenny, 165, n.
 Gobban, Saint, 258, n.
 Godwin, Peter, Youghal, his token, 287.
 Gowran, origin of the name, 255, n.
 Grace, William, of Kilkenny, fate of, 176, n.
 Graham, Colonel T. D., donation from, 144.
 Grain na Uile, her raid into The Rosses,
 185.
 Grange, sepulchral vases found at, 284.
 Gumley, Rev. W., donation from, 231.

 Hacketstown, 50, n.
 Harford, Cristas, tomb of, 380.
 Harp, ancient Irish, 845.
 Harpoole of Shrude, the, 869, n.
 Hartford, William, Esq., donations from,
 144.
 Harvey, Captain George, 390.
 Hayden, W., Esq., donation from, 144.
 Hemphill, W. D., Esq., M. D., donations
 from, 232.
 Hennessy, Mr. Edward, donation from, 144.
 Herpelennin, the residence of Bryan Costoret,
 50, n.
 Herrings, Wexford, 88.
 Heynes, Richard, tombstone of, 250.
 Hogan, Mr. J., donation from, 7.
 Hole-in-the-wall Inn, Kilkenny, 169.
 Holland, Countess of, anecdote of, 291.
 Holy-water stone, ancient, 9.
 Honey, a staple commodity in Ireland for-
 merly, 124, n.
 Hore, H. F., Esq., account of barony of
 Forth, edited by, 58.
 — particulars relative to Wexford, edited
 by, 84.
 Horse Isle, Youghal, 320, n.
 Houldship, Thomas, tomb of, Youghal,
 382.
 Huson, George, of Kilkenny, 166, n.

 Iberius, chapel of Saint, 61, 90.
 Inmail territory, 128.
 Imocha, Saint, advowson of the church of,
 68, n.
 Inisorthy possessed by the Wallops, 61.
 Inns. See Kilkenny.
 Inn signs, stone, 177.
 Inwood, Richard, of Kilkenny, 156.
 Iragnut, the word used for sept, 370, n.
 Iregan, territory of, 125, n.
 Ireland, English invasion of, 64.
 Irish clans, their opposition to the English,
 56.
 Irishtown of Kilkenny, 251.

James, Rev. Albert B., donation from, 186.
 Jewitt, Llewellynn, Esq., donation from, 375.
 John, King, at Wexford, 68.
 — Saint, priory of, Dublin, remains found on site of, 148.
 Jolly, Robert, tombstone of, 248.
 Jones, Mr. Frederick, donations from, 8, 96.
 Jose, Robert, of Kilkenny, 178.
 Journal of Thomas Dineley. See Dineley.

Kearney, Edmond, of Cashel, 407.
 Kelly, Mr. Edward, donations from, 144.
 — Richard, Esq., donations from, 281, 282.
 Kemp's cross, 60.
 Kent Archaeological Society, donation from, 302.
 Keogh, Michael, of the Red Lion Inn, Kilkenny, 166, n.
 Kevan, Saint, 67, n.
 Kildare, Marquis of, donation from, 281.
 — Earls of, their duties upon Irishmen, 118.
 Kilkenny amateurs, 165.
 — Castle, Dunton's account of, 110.
 — Dinsley's account of, 108.
 — illustrations of the suburbs of, 251.
 — inns and taverns, notes on, 152.
 — notice of celebration of birthday of George II. in, 375.
 — origin of name, 107.
 — private theatre of, 808.
 — schools and seminaries, 195.
 — society in, formerly, 107, n.
 — stage coaches in 1768, 159.
 — the Mayor of, donation from, 144.
 Killiloge, 67, n.
 Kiltennel parish, name of, 145, 198.
 Kiltinan Castle, 109, n.
 King's and Queen's Counties, the bounds of, 366.
 King's Arms Inn, Kilkenny, 168.
 Kirwan family, documents connected with the, 876.
 Kistvaen found at Dromiskin, 200, 341.
 Knapp, Bridget, of Kilkenny, 167, n.
 Kynalfiyagh, territory of, 126, n.
 Kytelet, Dame Alice, 155.

Lady's Isle, Our, 62, 87.
 Laighin deas Gabhair, the territory of, 259.
 Lambetown, battle of, 79, n.
 Lancashire, Historic Society of, donations from, 148, 302.
 Lawless, Mr. William, donations from, 15, 187.
 Leac-an-Scall, cromleac of, 309.
 Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, donation from, 7.

Leinster, lordship of, 92.
 — tribute of the province of, 260.
 Leix, ancient map of, 345.
 — taking of the fort of, 370.
 — treatment of people of, in 1600, 371.
 Lepers' hospitals, 66, n.
 Lettered Cave at Knockmore, Runic inscription in, 11.
 Lewellen, William, tomb of, Youghal, 331.
 Leya, the name, 123, n.
 Linen manufacture in Carlow, 46.
 Liverpool, Literary and Philosophical Society of, donation from, 231.
 Lloyd, Major Charles, sad story of, in connexion with the Sheaf Inn, Kilkenny, 158, n.
 London Society of Antiquaries, donations from, 94, 281, 340.
 Losseran, Mr. Patrick, donation from, 307.
 Long, Richard, Esq., M. D., donations from, 232, 342.
 Lotherwite, the term, 80, 80, n.

MacAdam, Robert, Esq., donations from, 7, 281, 375.
 Mac Carthy, life and letters of Florence, 210.
 — his enemies, 210.
 — his letter to Lord Burleigh, 221.
 — Reagh, death of, 223.
 — his letter to Lord Burleigh, 228.
 M'Cartney and Young, of Kilkenny, duel between, 171, n.
 Mac Cuolahan, Mr. Hugh, donation from, 144.
 Mac Etig, robber of altar of Temple More, 389.
 M'Enny-harin, 124, n.
 Mac Evoys, ancestor of the, 369, n.
 M'Goillamurea, a remnant of the Norsemen, 38, n.
 M'Hue, Owen, 369.
 Mackarness, Rev. G., donation from, 95.
 M'Morriah's country, 125, n.
 Mac Murrough's country, 118, n.
 Macreddon, 50, n.
 M'Vadick, 118, n.
 Madden, Rev. Samuel, donation from, 95.
 Magh Femin, tribe land of, 257, n.
 Malcomson, Robert, Esq., donation from, 377.
 Map of Leix, &c., ancient, 345.
 Martin, Saint, 67.
 Mary, Queen, orders of, concerning Leix, 365.
 Maryborough made a market town, 367.
 Masterson, family of, 49, n.
 May, Thomas, his account of a remarkable well, 50.
 Meany, Mr. J., donation from, 376.

Mease, Rev. James, donation from, 95.
 Menapia, a former name of Wexford, 88.
 Merovingian coins in Ireland, 246.
 Miagh, Peter, of Youghal, his tomb, 328.
 Middlethird. *See Femin.*
 Mihill, Edward, of Cashel, 409.
 Mirmynes of Ardmore, family of, 888.
 Monasteries, formerly used for inns, in Ireland, 153.
 Monk, General, 81, n.
 Monksgrange, ancient stone found at, 99.
 Montpelier, 272.
 Montrose, epitaph on Marquis of, 108.
 Moore, Thomas, his mother's family, 68, n.
 Moore's Almanack, probable originator of, 187.
 Motes and raths, 370, n.
 Mould. *See* Celt. *See* Spoon.
 Muintir Fiadhbhuidhe, 855, n.
 Mulgrave, Earl, address to, in Barony Forth dialect, 57, n.
 Mullaghmast, or Maistin, 356.
 Mullinahone, meaning of, 264.
 Munster Arms Inn, Kilkenny, 164.
 Murphy, Mr. J. J., donation from, 7.
 Music, love of Irish for, 70, n.
 Nagil, Richard, tomb of, Youghal, 888.
 Nethii, the name, 278.
 Neve, John, of Cashel, 410.
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Society of Antiquaries of, donations from, 7, 281, 875.
 Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, donations from, 95, 840.
 Norman names in Wexford, 54.
 Norsemen pirates, 88, n.
 Numismatic Society, donations from, 7, 148, 184, 281, 340, 375.
 O'Bryan, Mr. James, donations from, 144, 876.
 O'Byrne's Country, 121, n.
 O'Carroll, Rev. Thomas, donation from, 377.
 O'Daly, Mr. John, donation from, 185.
 O'Doherty, Sir Cahir, legend of, 887.
 O'Donnell, Niall Garve, 400.
 O'Dorans, the family of, 856, n.
 O'Gormain family, the, 856.
 Ogham found at Tralton, 207.
 O'Hanlon, Redmond, house of, in Letterkenny, 251.
 O'Kerney family, legend of, 247.
 O'Kinsellagh's Country, 119, n.
 O'Meagher, Thadeus, inscription on, in Fethard Abbey, 246.
 O'Moore of Leix, 849, n.
 O'More, Lysagh, 858.
 — Connel, the five sons of, 357.
 — articles alleged by, in 1588, 361.
 — Rory, 868.
 O'Mores, the, 55.
 Ordnance Survey documents relating to Co. Down, 14.
 —— documents relating to Co. Antrim, 288.
 —— documents relating to Armagh, Londonderry, and Donegal, 810.
 O'Reilly, Hugh, seal of, 878.
 Ormonde, account of James, first Duke of, 276.
 —— family, monumental inscriptions of, 108.
 —— Margaret, Countess of, 154, n.
 —— Pier, eighth Earl of, 279, n.
 —— Thomas Dubh, tenth Earl of, 278, n.
 O'Ryan's Country, 122, n.
 Ossianic Society, donation from, 95.
 Osseory, ancient kingdom of, 124, n., 252.
 —— extent of diocese of, 266.
 O'Sullivan, Rev. John, donation from, 376.
 Paris, Thomas, Youghal, effigy of, 325.
 Patrick's money, St., 97.
 —— St., legend of, 247.
 —— his journey to Magh Femin, 265.
 —— his crozier, 407.
 Peene, John, of Cashel, 411.
 Pembroke, Earl of, his epitaph, 109.
 Pembrokeshire plantation, the, in Wexford, 55.
 Péthès, M. Boucher de, donations from, 7.
 Philipstown made a market town, 867.
 Playbill, old comic, of Kilkenny, 165, n.
 Popham, Sir John, opposed to Florence Mac Carthy, 211.
 Portingall, the family of, Youghal, 888, n.
 Portraits, register of historical, 188.
 Preston, Mr. Richard, Jun., donation from, 95.
 —— Lady Elizabeth, 286.
 Prim, Miss Fanny, donation from, 187.
 —— Mr., donation from, 848.
 —— and Watters, of Kilkenny, duel between, 171, n.
 Prince, Robert, of Caahel, 411.
 Prophecy, the Earl of Ormonde's, 279.
 Pyen, John, tomb and family of, Youghal, 884-5.
 Queen's County. *See King's.*
 —— chief inhabitants of, in 1599, 869.
 Quint, Henry, tomb of, Youghal, 880.
 Race-bowl, ancient Irish, 14.
 Rathhill of Leinster, the, 870, n.
 Rathaspoche, 66.
 Rathlin Island, inscription from, 186.
 Ratha, used as places of meeting, 370, n.
 Reade, Mr. John, donations from, 7.
 Red Book of Kilkenny, 154, n.
 Redman, Colonel, 285.
 Reformation, effect of the, in Ireland, 364.

Register of historical portraits, 188.
 Rental book of Gerald Fitzgerald, 110.
 Retaliation, law of, in Ireland, 256, n.
 Richards, Colonial Solomon, 84.
 Rígh Riada, the, 349.
 Rinuccini's proceedings in Ireland, ancient account of, 14.
 Robertson, Mr. J. G., donations from, 95, 187.
 Roch family, tombstone of, 249.
 Rock carvings in Ireland, 380.
 Rosceter, family of, 75, n.
 Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny, 161.
 Ross, Dineley's account of, 52.
 Rotho family, escutcheon of, 842.
 Round towers, theory of the, 191, 817.
 Royal Irish Academy, donations from, 94, 802.
 Runic inscription from Lettered Cave at Knockmore, 11.
 —— casket, on an ancient, 267.
 Russel, Susanna, tomb of, Youghal, 885.

St. Alban's Architectural and Archaeological Society, donation from, 184.
 Sainthill, Richard, Esq., donations from, 7.
 Saxon names in Wexford, 54.
 Schools and seminaries of Kilkenny, 195.
 Scotland, Society of Antiquaries of, donations from, 143, 802.
 Scurlack of Kostare, 79.
 Sedan chairs, a mark of a town's importance, 170, n.
 Sept, the word, 182, n., 847, n.
 Sepulchral chapels, De Caumont on, 194.
 —— vases at Upper Grange, 234.

Seven-partite. See Sept.
 —— saints, chapel of the, 67.
 Shannon, Rev. G. L., donation from, 95.
 Sheaf Inn, Kilkenny, 156, 286.
 Shelburne, the name, 55.
 Shells found in a kistvaen, 341.
 Shelmalier, the name, 55.
 Skull, examination of ancient, 201, 342, 348.
 Slane, the river, why so called, 61, 85, n., 91.
 Sliebhmarry Hills, effect of position on appearance of, 254, n.
 Slogan, the word, 388.
 Smith, Thomas, tomb of, Youghal, 881.
 Smithsonian Institution, donations from, 94, 184, 281.
 Smithwick, E., Esq., donation from, 342.
 Smulkin Tavern, Kilkenny, 155.
 Society for promoting Scientific Inquiries, donation from, 340.
 Somersetshire Archaeological Society, donations from, 184, 875.
 Sparrys, (spearmen) quartered by the Earls of Kildare, 183, n.

Sparthe, or battle-axe, 112, n.
 Spencer, James, tomb of, Youghal, 882.
 Spoon mould, ancient bronze, 805.
 Staffords, the family of, 75, n.
 Staplestown, 42-3, 45, n.
 Statistical and Social Society of Ireland, donations from, 184, 231, 340.
 Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, donations from, 94, 340.
 Surrey Archaeological Society, donation from, 231.
 Sussex Archaeological Society, donations from, 148, 802, 875.
 Sutton, Mr. J. P., donation from, 144.
 Swords, ancient Danish, 8.
 Synnott, probable editor of account of barony of Forth, 53.
 —— Nichols, 81, n.
 —— family of, 81-2.

Tail male in Wexford, 65, 65, n.
 Talbot, Thomas, of Kilkenny, 157.
 Tascoffin, origin of the word, 254.
 Taverna. See Kilkenny.
 Temple, Sir John, his work on the Irish rebellion, 48, n.
 —— Sir William, 45, n.
 —— family of, 52, n.
 Tench, John, account of, 43, n.
 Tenure of land, feudal and clan, 58.
 Thurles, Lady, order of Cromwell respecting, 282, n.
 Tides of England and Ireland, Giraldus on, 62.
 Tillo, St., 271.
 Tobyn, Francis, tomb of, Youghal, 329.
 Togher, Lake, 62.
 —— fish in, 68.
 Tokens, tradesmen's, Cashel, 404.
 —— —— Waterford, 282.
 —— —— Youghal, 100, 149.
 Towers, square, in Wexford, 72, 72, n.
 Transplantation of Wexford, 74.
 Triptych, ancient-brass, 806.
 Tullagh, Dineley's account of, 47.
 —— Castle, 49, n.
 Tullogh, Lord, prophecy relative to, 280.
 Turner, John, Esq., donation from, 282.

Ui-Barrtha, the sept of, 856, n.
 Urn, ancient cinerary, from Ballybit, 13.
 —— from Dunaghy, 101.
 —— from Mackrakens, 804.

Vignoles, Rev. Charles, donation from, 377.
 Villiers, Sir Edward, his tomb, 826.

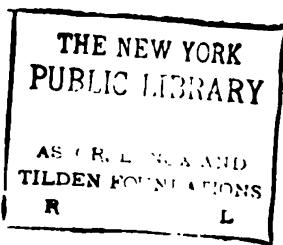
Wadding of Ballycogly, 79.
 War cries derived from rocks, 383.
 Waterford city, Dineley's account of, 38.

Watters and Prim of Kilkenny, duel between, 171, *n.*
 Wellington, anecdote of the Duke of, in connexion with the Hole-in-the-wall, Kilkenny, 171.
 Wells, remarkable, 50-1.
 Welsh Church, the early, 209.
 Wemyss, Patrick, 286.
 Weston, Rev. Thomas, 40, 40, *n.*
 Wexford, Dineley's account of, 52.
 —— origin of name, 64, 64, *n.*
 —— particulars relative to, by Colonel Richards, 84.
 —— parishes in, 91.
 Wheel money, account of ancient bronze, 304.
 White, John D., Esq., donation from, 340.
 Wicklow, Dineley's account of, 51.
 —— origin of name, 51, *n.*
 Wild Runes, 12.
 Wiltshire Archaeological and Nat. History Society, donations from, 184, 340, 375.

Winkle, Arnold, tomb of, Youghal, 385.
 Wisconsin State, Historical Society of, donations from, 281.
 Women of Farn, the, 258, *n.*
 Wood-kerne, 50, *n.*
 Woods in Ireland. *See* Forests.
 Wynne, Right Hon. John, donations from, 340.

Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society, donation from, 7.
 Youghal Block-house, 388, *n.*
 —— derivation of name, 323, *n.*
 —— Dineley's account of, 320.
 —— longevity of inhabitants, 388, *n.*
 —— tradesmen's tokens, 149.
 —— tokens, Peter Godwin's, 287.
 —— St. Mary's Church, 324.
 —— seamen, 322, *n.*
 —— the ferry of, 320, *n.*

Young and M'Cartney of Kilkenny, duel between, 171.



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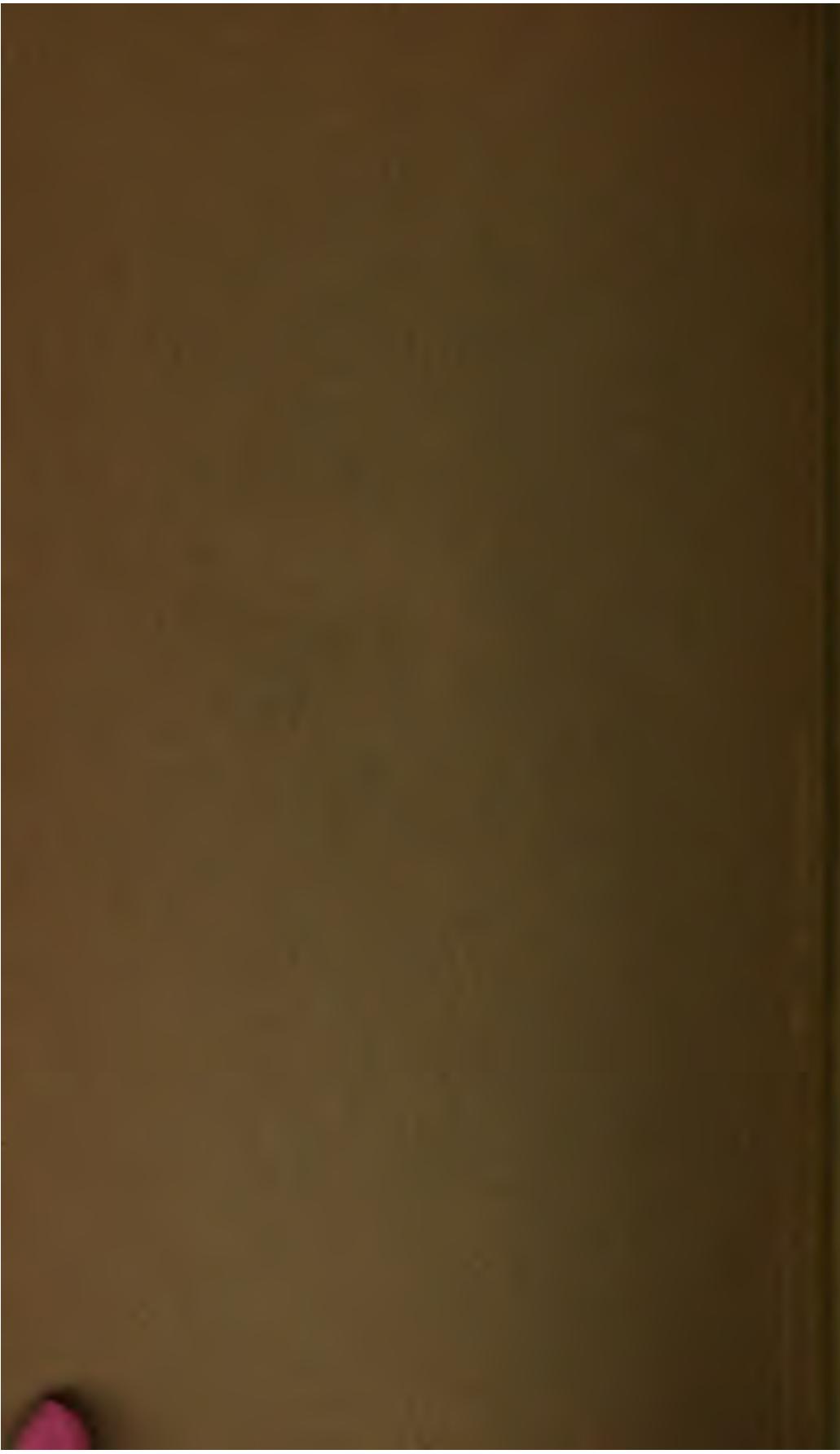
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